GUIDE TO THE MW11 SHLUH FILE

[This file is concerned with the Shluh (Chleuch) who are a Berber nation of the Masmuda or Shluh division inhabiting the Grand Atlas and Anti-Atlas Mountains, the plain of the Sous River Valley between them, and the adjoining coastal region in Morocco. The Shluh are divided into a very large number of small tribes, among them being the Seksawa (Sekasoua), who are the focal group of the file. The Shluh originally extended throughout the coastal plain now occupied by the Arabized West Moroccans, with Islam probably being accepted prior to 1000 A.D. The Shluh country was pacified by the French in 1933. The economy is primarily agricultural, with barley and wheat being the staple crops. The Shluh keep considerable numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats. They are almost completely sedentary, occupying permanent settlements. The mountain Shluh are strongly egalitarian, but in the regions which have come under the control of the Sultan of Morocco, there are marked class differences, from feudal aristocracy to slaves. The most crucial political unit is the district or canton (taqbilt), which is a petty state of perhaps a dozen communities on the average which acts as a unit in time of war. The Seksawa number about 12,000 in 80 settlements in 11 taqbilt.

There are four sources in the Shluh file, three of them being translations from the French, and one (4: Hoffman) being in English. 1: Berque and 2: Montagne are the major sources. 1: Berque is a lengthy monograph concentrating on the Seksawa but bringing in comparisons from other groups in Morocco and North Africa. Its focus is on the interrelationships between law and religion, but also includes a good deal of information on geography and environment.

2: Montagne deals with the history and political evolution of the Shluh, dealing in turn with the Sous region, with the political organization of the Berber republics, and with the rise to personal power of individual chiefs. 3: Dupas is a short description of the community storehouses in use among the Shluh. 4: Hoffman contains general information on the structure of traditional society, ecology, and economy. The Shluh file is adequate as it stands for some comparative purposes, mainly in the sociopolitical area. However, it is deficient in a number of respects, particularly in regard to life cycle and seasonal activity materials. In addition, one of the principal sources (1: Berque) is very difficult to understand because of the manner in which it was written. The researcher should be aware of the time focus of the materials he is using as well as of the political and geographical foci when he is making comparisons. A number of marking decisions have been made for the file. The hamlet or village (tadchert) has been marked for Category 621, the subfraction (3-4 villages together) for 632, the fraction (ca. 10 villages) for 634, the tribe (union of 3-10 fractions) for 619, the confederation (20-30 tribes) for 631. The lef (f), a moiety-like aggregation of districts, has been marked for Category 616; soff (alliances of families) for 571; diwan or inflas (district councils) for 634; khoms (a name for a tribal division) for 619; caids (great chiefs) for 631; canton (taqbilt) for 634; moqaddem (president of a council) for 622, 623, or 634; jemaa (a democratic assembly) for 619, 623, 634; and agadirs, casbahs, and tighremt (fortified buildings of different types) for 712 as well as functional categories. The file was processed between 1969 and 1975.]

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 114 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the 824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart [856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer 122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of 124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Celeriet.

000 /1/

First Part
First Approach to the Country and the People

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions, hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

102
131

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /3/ flowing. [illegible] signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/ we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these [illegible] on the other hand, convey exact topographical [illegible]. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained [illegible] since the twelfth century, date of the [illegible] and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the direction of this

[175] history in full motion, a history of [illegible] of transfers of people and of ethnic conquerors; here is a country of the Rif, is a people who very likely have not budged, whose [illegible] in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. But that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of the

[361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly know that we were in a country of sedentary peoples, that it was even a country of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But what the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 Just as certainly as the Sanhaja have preserved themselves
144 here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and
101 left them in the same place, today in the south, as even there are nothing more than allogenous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations inherent in the life of a people and which mean that there are no pure races in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of [illegible] consignment in popular memory and which, even the four centuries which pass by, local traditions, assert themselves as the most indisputable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given people, what
619 has been the determining factor, of the group or of the [illegible]
144 (1).
101

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/ 1923 pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that [illegible]

/4 cont./

121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/", R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 288 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H Ifa and Nkida "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modern than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any fine analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that has effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Saadians.

/5 cont./

101 Sâadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
191 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

/5 cont./

101
171

/footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâc.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkî. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Lévi-Provençal ed., p. 462, l. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. 1, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 v. l. 11. That would point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Ise[illegible]wan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chîchâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same water-course, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

101
171
197

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Merinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. chassés-croisés/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chichawa: Sessau, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebâla.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," op. laud. p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Iseksan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa even. One thinks also of the Wad

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ kind of the Mayen /Middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes: [illegible] Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbere [illegible] the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm) pl. Igedmawen, we are dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in amekas / imekawen (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the names. Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative. I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tamekawt (cf. also tiebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hesitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmawen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmawen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Seksawa and Gadmiwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmiwa they were including a suffix and that in Seksawa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmiwa, [illegible] etc., they were mistreating the Berbere /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Sakalwa? One could [illegible]

/8/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

133
[101]

A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is real, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world", Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
• 101 the "sons of Geryon," Idaw Geryun, from their being called Tizgi
634 Ufella, "the supreme Seguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense impressively "knotted," agg"mi iggan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the between-
[233] flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Ikaw Sejar, Tigguga, a. Tkasit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Sekawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba Araba. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green pennoncels in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, and destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic Tizgi of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escarpes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Moulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,710 meters) is a minu-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80 % slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Ali, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous. Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Ali, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tamgonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
137 cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
[133] Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the and Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi-t-tuffih, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Ali.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers and bushes, among them the "briar," tidhifert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Ivesawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "equestrian"
101 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
634 are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
[103] Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the Ait Addoywa, starts there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
[217]
[127]

/42/cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi-y-Iklu, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aawal, Tems'dahen, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait M[illegible]]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of the past of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite ancient, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Memagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble mannigrana intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the [illegible] of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indicate the Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious, by way of a [443] however, intrepid marchers frequent the way /[illegible]/ of the Tig- [778] guga, and even the a. Tamment: where the sanctuary of sid Abdallah u Sfid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, the [484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely expanded. 166 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But 619 immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive, without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con- 634 stituted has itself become conqueror. The immense rectangular 619 house of the last independent amghar, Ait Imedlal, [illegible] in the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fenas, at the very base of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief: the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. [illegible]/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong 619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor, the a. D'alh a. occupy several villages and, in the native
634 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
619 secret but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addu. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless the great ancestor.

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
487 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new masters: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. with
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the self-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Dwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat have from 2,600 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine seguias and their five ishs
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwakla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Igunzar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Tgar
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tguf-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrit ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Ijgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ît, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
195 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd., between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 2,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separates the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heterocline populations,
[184] among the richest of the Sekawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines descending from Iguntar via Sekrat,[7] from Wanz'id[8] and from Bouille.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a heterogeneous population linked together by the torrent, whether it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amagerdat or in the vast thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, as ma, and the classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the canal platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Sakrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the arrgh, the aksum,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuhan display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awinen along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messâud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmikhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Sekawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place. Z'lmit' and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 1,300
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
"mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[487] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[776] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enor-
mous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor al-
mond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: por-
tions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 10 634 [172] [361]

old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamegout, picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its [illegible] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkin, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country from the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S. S. W - N. N. E., down all to the east. The impression of severity increases when, one penetrates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, obstructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an unmoulted abundant flow has not restored to prosperity, since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Ijgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tassumamite lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all the region, reveals former bucolic moreu from Wanchkin, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," Ijggis, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, this itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the land of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the [illegible] of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

133 172 634 [103] [795]

[illegible]

/53 cont./

619
184
• 101
634

The Parvis of the Temples: the Plain of Tadmamt

A clear geographical and anthropological [illegible] with the [illegible] Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," [illegible] "those from below," the occupants of the sections in the valleys immediately lower, starting from the temple-tombs "of Chouaib," Lakhmis. They live in a small [illegible] square kilometers, full of ruins, [illegible] agglomerations follow one another [illegible] the village, in ruins, of a residual [illegible] knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new [illegible] family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a [illegible] tween a. Musa and a. [illegible] Higher, but in a different landscape, where the [illegible] cased anew in the schistose [illegible] y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the [illegible] saints, as one will see, the most [illegible] Mh'and Ah'ormi, [illegible] to say, on the side of the [illegible] troublesome, the approach to the [illegible] asylum of Z'init'.

361
101
634
619
[776]
[778]

133
101
634

The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Indians toward the N. on the right bank of the [illegible] toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two [illegible] called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well [illegible] old and legendary Portuguese [illegible] other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. [illegible] the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky [illegible] N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without [illegible] openings that allow passage to the [illegible] a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tidem, which [illegible] of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of [illegible] portant.

[Ait-Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims [illegible]
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, [illegible]
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable opulence.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, that
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The son of the chief, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the imagery does not allow such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the other, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her aggif with his compatriots from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the morgin and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistous
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower bends. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Tadlaq. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of T'abratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abra and Igunnan.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduywa,
101 Idma, and even Dwitan. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyfan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Abdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'ajj Bujuf a Abderrah'man, from Talfint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduywa poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'inir

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejkoubt (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Ali (1,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can see, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, formerly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. [794] Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton
• 101 of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity
619 at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the
634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to
175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the
726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a
619 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennah." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul'wfa, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the [illegible] that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of veterinary
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the second place
● [101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sofyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is it perhaps a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Amer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Sekkawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'addaywa, which itself interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ïnal," reconcile
613 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of divine
619 origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content anymore. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

[Ait Abbella]
[Ibubanen]

619 634 621 613 173 166 /66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Berque, [illegible])
	a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghla, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefnut, a. Ih'ian u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Cheheiab H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Ih Mh'and of Bul'wfin.
	a. Wana'id' (high a. Ih'ian, descendants of Sidi Musa).
	a. Buhadi (Ibechan, Demnate).
	a. Mançur (Dwiran).
	a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Bu[illegible]bila (same origin as the a. 'Lqaid)
	a. Loçir (same origin as the a. 'Lqaid)
	a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. 'Lqaid)
	a. Lihfan (same origin as the a. 'Lqaid)
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts"
	Ih'naychen (Dwiran).
	a. Kawsir (Dwiran).
	a. Jfa (Dwiran).
	a. H'med (Dwiran).
	a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran).
	a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran).
	a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 634 /67/ Third Case

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a [illegible] [101] herited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abubas, [illegible] Tabubant (in the Arab documents, forms al-Bubâs), [illegible] [312] high declivities between the Anqudder and the Amesnia. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent [142] streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type [181] from the very first contrasts with the [illegible] [illegible]

[Ibubamen]

619
634
[142]
[181]
[173]

/67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634
184
101
619

1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-yserngan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

[648]

1. At this moment the Bani Mîger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift. Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berberophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat n Qyas. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr: they are the present ait Bumellîs, miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen Ikhs-n: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of subordination to the a. Lh'sen.

[628]

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbu of Tizmiren, living without communication with the others, or like the Ibeyhayn of Talburt, related to the a. Mseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 •101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkala -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Hauz, where the habitat of the Dukkala extended up until a recent epoch -- lies settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they throw themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idna from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'md, are in turn settled as offspring vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a

[778] Mulid, in the villages of Tizukert and especially of Igoyen, where they have established a maqam of their saint, the Sidi Lh'ajj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and inculcated in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "maqam" of Sidi Ah'med u Ali, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'ar, for the totality of the Ibubanen, composite cultus, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of [illegible] made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyw, the a. Abdalla, and the Dubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, humble villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa. I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 Only a tiny handful of families are [illegible] as origin a
619 high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter [illegible] is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, Ijar that of the a. [illegible]
634 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as
632 follows:
613
166
173
619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin [illegible]
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjat-Agadir.	Sidi Amer u H'addu.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the [illegible] with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the [illegible] a. Gess.
	a. Ijaw.	--	Came from the a. [illegible] (a. H'addiyw).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the [illegible] a. Ish'Ik.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Amer u H'addu.
	a. Ichchiyaïn.	--	Derivative. "[illegible]" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Igerm-[illegible]	Derived in origin.
	a. Lïsri.	--	A d'ord'u (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	[illegible]	a. ba M'amma (a. H'addiyw).
	a. Wammen.	--	Descendants of the [illegible] about Sidi Mh'and.

634 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has
184 maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the
101 "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with
619

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose tabiaa or sanctuary, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer u H'addu, just as theirs
● 101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the movement. Be-
tween them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the Oued
has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa.
This rupture marked the collapse of the national unity. But these
islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of
chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They served, in
a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantees." Be-
tween them are arranged the new arrivals, between them who
sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country
altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call
themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addû. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Zemmour re-
mains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The people still
claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The
mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant constitutes his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the mid-
619 dle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which
have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail con-
cerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the rela-
tionship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'addu yws, on both sides of
the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed property
structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking contribu-
tion to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
small type./ A family of Iger n-mus, the a. Bassi, has [illegible]
in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Sometimes, some a.
H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'ayza. Still
downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ramu (Ahmed)
keep, with titles of origin, ag[illegible], an important mine property. In
olden times, and still in the time of Ch'ig n'Ud, a feudal

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

101
194
619

Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in s. Abdalla, these s. Sibi u. Sâid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Sap, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the s. H'addûyw. Above Azrouem is seen a Tagâdirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'fh'a). Let us also mention the s. Ait'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in s. H'addûyw; the Ikorsi of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Chfib; the Demas, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Sekawa documents. First the s. H'ugg"a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ugg"at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Sekawa, these s. Hugg"a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the s. Dingan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the indigenous." Would they go back to the oldest Sekawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these s. Dingan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukfnf distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryuh, but to places such as Tewemmam, Igelwan, not situated in s. Gâir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the Sekawa of these two groups to a certain Sekawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the orig-
174 inal source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
619 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tasin and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Sebaou without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Isma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Asmif ravine, there in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggmut, Amlal n-Gâr, Tanneemt, Jjgit, Tanbamekht, Iggis, Wanchaw, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'zilo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Asmif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: [illegible]

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the
619 sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demnate usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its commonness recalls
174 three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggés, Ugâça. Le /al-/
619 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Gendîsa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Ungbasa (1).

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

174 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
619 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

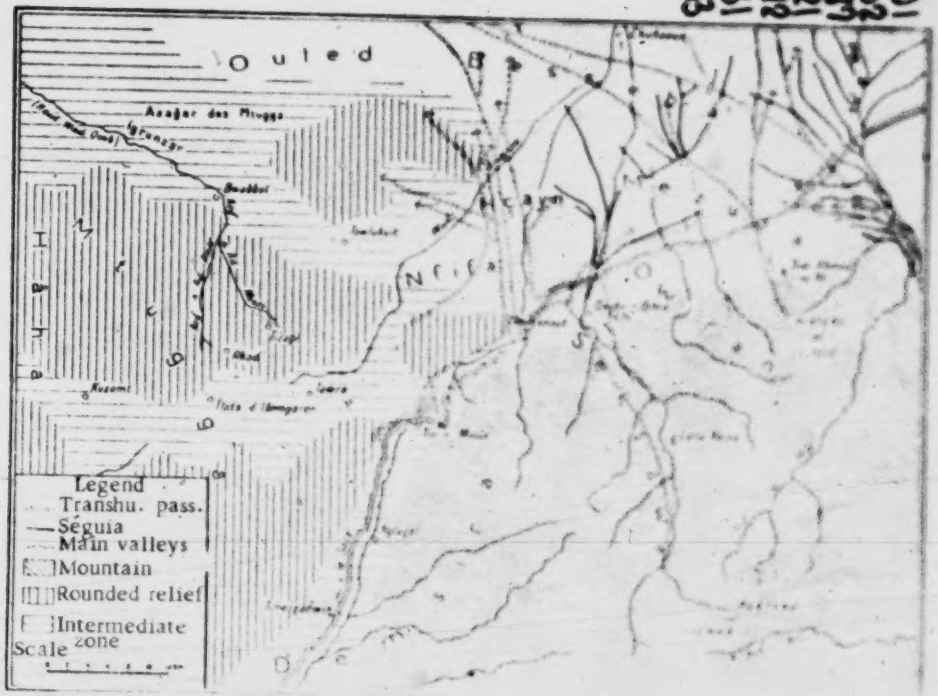


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/413 cont./

423 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the
182 same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more
182 general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonst, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can ex-
103 ceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mfl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfla," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

000 /1/

First Book
The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

First Chapter
The General Conditions of Human Life

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

121 101

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- The history of North Africa, in its general effect, gives us the spectacle of a series of dynastic undertakings without any order, vainly attempted in the most diverse regions in order to found Berbere /Berber/ or Arab kingdoms in the heart of a land that has remained essentially anarchic and rebellious toward unity. It is not impossible, however, to distinguish in this disorder two distinct regions. In the immense territory that goes from the Gulf of the Syrtes to the Moulouya, it seems that the chiefs, rising from the tribes or coming from the outside, are more often unable to triumph and that their ambitions are more quickly wearied by the obstinate resistance of the sedentary peoples or worn out by the inconstancy of the nomads. The far Maghreb, on the other hand, under the domination of powerful rulers, has frequently come to take on the aspect of a State. The Idrisite shorfa /shurfa/, the Almoravide, Almohade, Mérinide /Marinide/ conquerors, the Saadian and Filalian shorfa, who in the course of the centuries successively wielded power in the same places, and not without interruptions, succeeded in creating there, in spite of the opposition of their subjects, the tradition of a government of the Occident, which is not unworthy of being compared with the great monarchies of eastern Islam.

/3 cont./

121 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Mo-
•101 rocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical ar-
133 rangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.

In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi'a, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of re-
121 volts and anarchy. In these natural centers of resistance, the
101 Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient institutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/4 cont./

121 stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in
101 this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish to our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

[197]

1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ʿAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

/6 cont./

121 be able, in studying them, to discover with sufficient accuracy the political rules of the Mussulman sovereigns with respect to their rebel subjects; on the other hand, tribal life, full of apparently insignificant events, of revolts and obscure struggles, lends itself poorly to large-scale research. What we know of the history of the provinces permits us only to perceive a monotonous alternation between periods of organization and of anarchy, whose deep causes are not easily discoverable at first sight.

But if we narrowly limit our field of observation, choosing a part of the Maghreb in which are found joined together in a small space and a short period the successive aspects of an evolution that is going on everywhere according to the same laws, it is possible to understand the nature of the great rhythm of Berbère /Berber/ life. One observes first of all the agitated existence of the small anarchical republics, then the appearance and development of chiefs who bring order and oppression at the same time, finally the return to disorder and liberty.

121 We shall study here, as closely as possible, the social and
101 political organization of the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the south of Morocco between the Dra and the Atlantic, in this region to which the historians give the name of Sous (1).

1. Here we give the province name of the Sous to the whole region that is the domain of the dialect of the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/. Stricto sensu, the name of Sous is often reserved for the valley of the Oued /wadi/ of that name itself and for the two versants of the Anti-Atlas. But in the eyes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the country of the Masmouda, the Atlas Occidental, is likewise part of it. The relative unity of the social structure of the tribes, the close relationship of the various languages, the existence of a kind of civilization common to all the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco justify our terminology.

/6 cont./

121
•[101]

/Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The khalifas /caliphs/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn [illegible] and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in miniature, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

121
171

While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. Proof examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

121

Only the country of the seminomads of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of our protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzan /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-taleb /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling
[181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berberie /Barbary/.

101 133 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geographical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tilemin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait 'Atta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions firm can
241 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Gharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur:
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
• 101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/24/

Chapter II

000

The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

• 101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion. It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

101 184 619

The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

128 127 * 175

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khela Tifernin, the ʿArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maʿqil formerly was.

*175 167 174 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of [101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives.

/35 cont./

*175 167 174 •101 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Isouktana, settled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas: the Ouagna of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Ait Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Ait Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas: the Ida Ou Bousia, Ait 'Amer, Ait 'Aisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood: many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

*175 648 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil/for the cohesion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the marboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

[101]

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past: in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
•101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples. In the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*63 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

• [101] 2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chamba by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwen, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilalt. Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the [792] richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, [795] is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Soukrana, the great confederation of the A'lt Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this 159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan 175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

2: Montagne

- 101
  102
  131
  133
  631
  619
  648

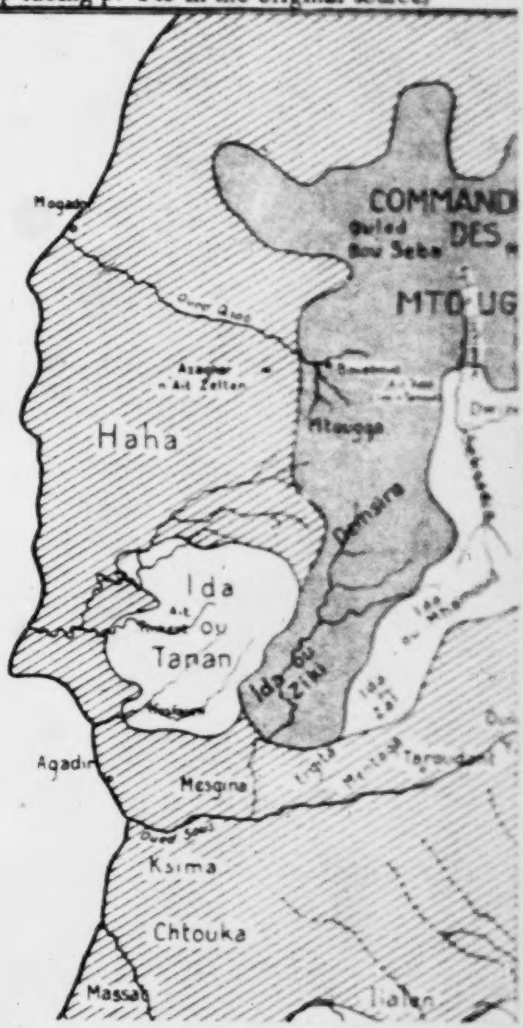
P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

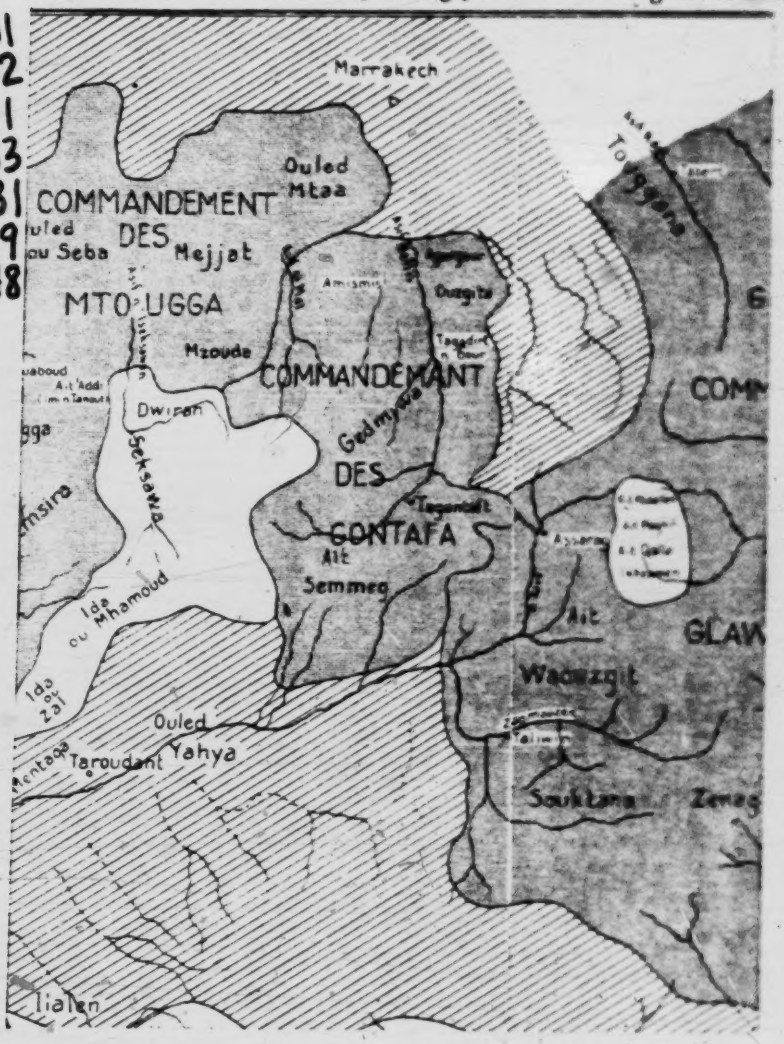
•101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

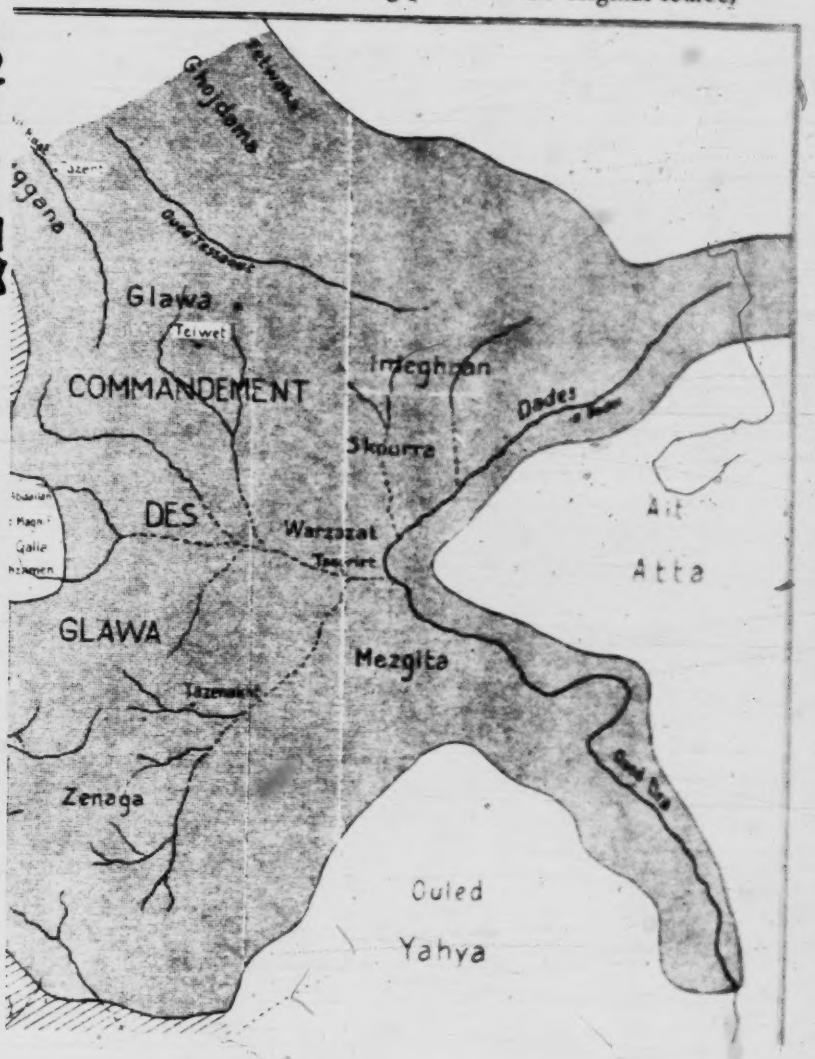
•101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

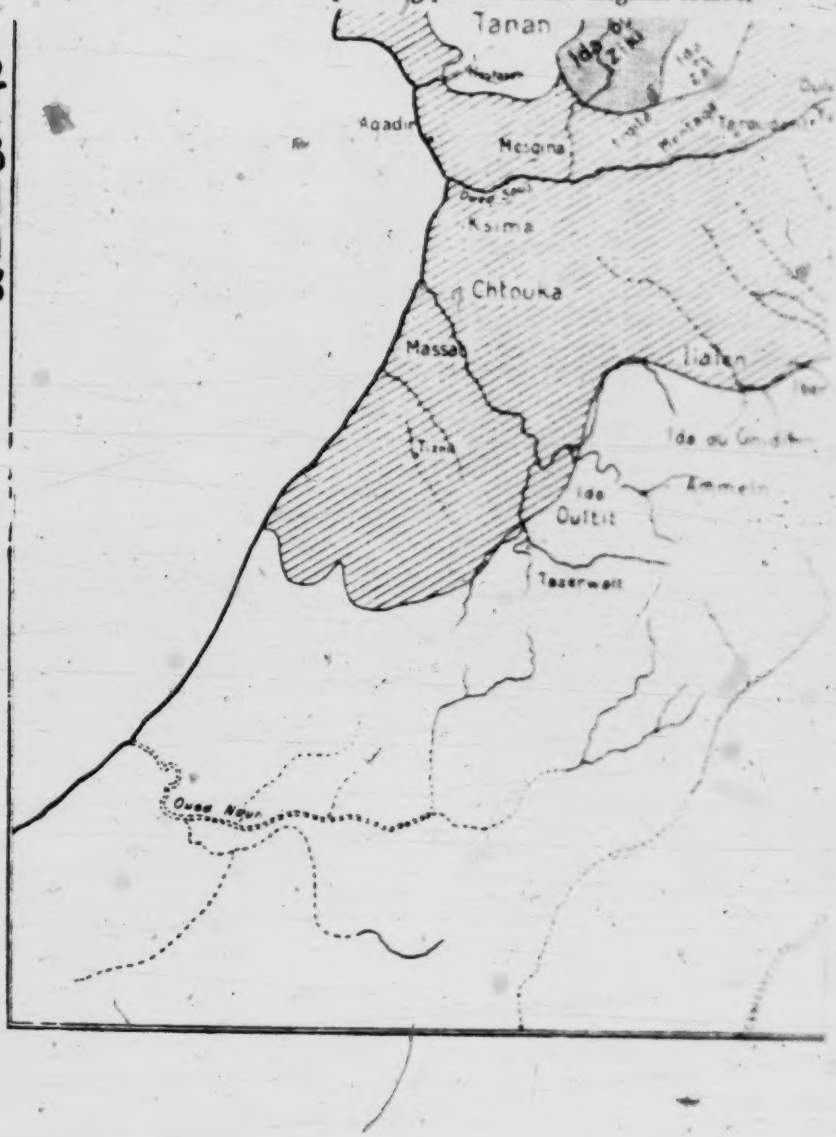
•101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

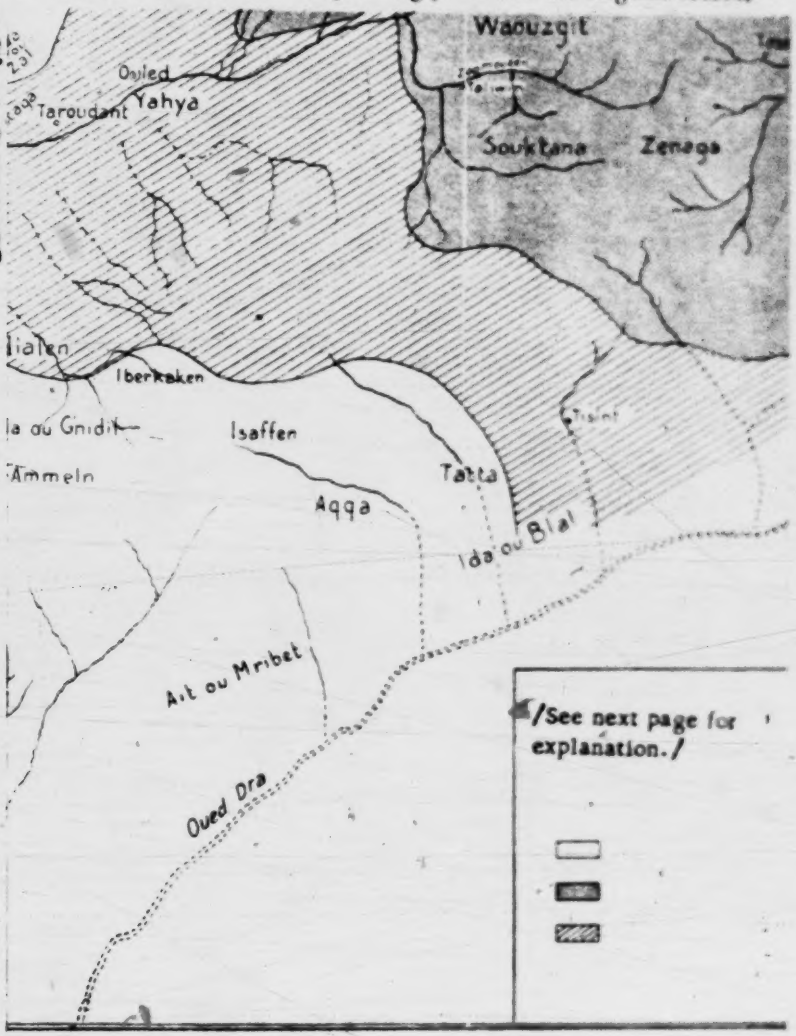
• 101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

•101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

•101
102
131
133
*631
619
648

The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtóuggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2).
613

> 2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/201 cont./

616 114 *634 [113]

with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Ct Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../." Hesperis, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Ait Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

•101 616 619

We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential aspects.

Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

•101 616 619 The "Aoggwa" (1)

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 619 184 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In go- 616 619 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Ait Sous, Ait Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Ait Tazoult, Ait Ighriten, Ait Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Ait Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. It seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 361 342 343 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
312
137
132

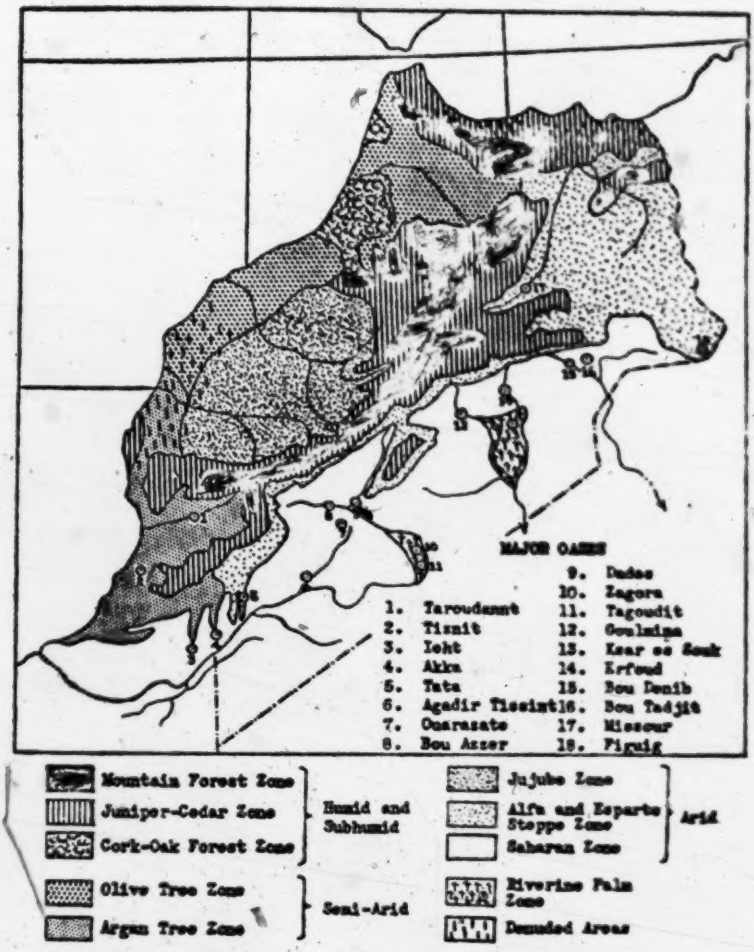


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfioua (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

1, [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower moun-
tains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all culti-
vated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher moun-
tains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats,
which are tended by the women and children. In the high moun-
tains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see
below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among
the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired
shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of fami-
lies may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder
staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because
of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19
26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns
Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83,
fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22;
Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The
argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador)
and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered
with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (580-
541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with
difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system,
is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute
the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree,
whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes
along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is
generally not sufficient to permit this else-
where.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

000 /1/

First Part
First Approach to the Country and the People

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

102
131

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

Ii Berque--15 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shiuh MW11

181

102
103
131
133
487
361

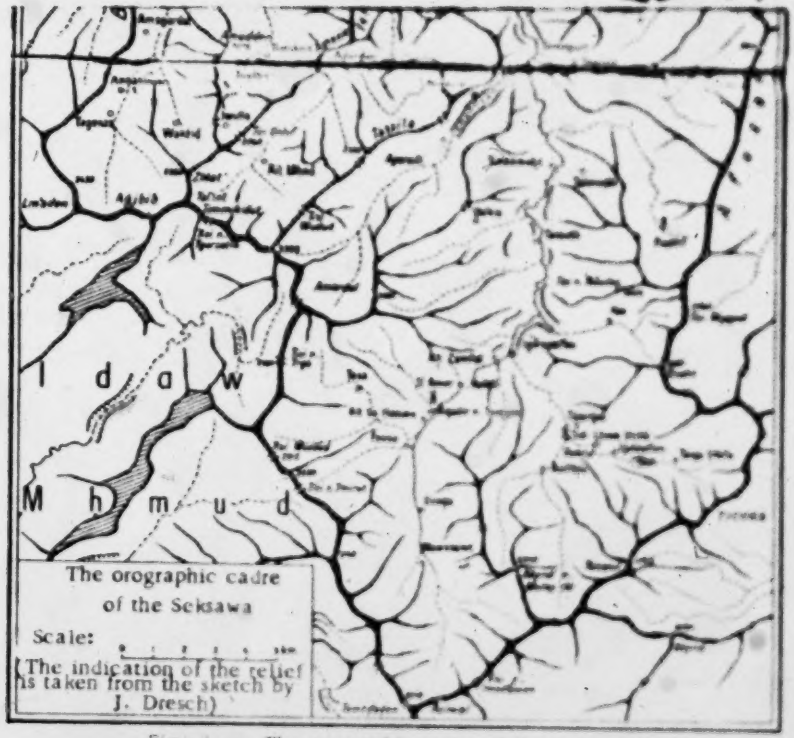
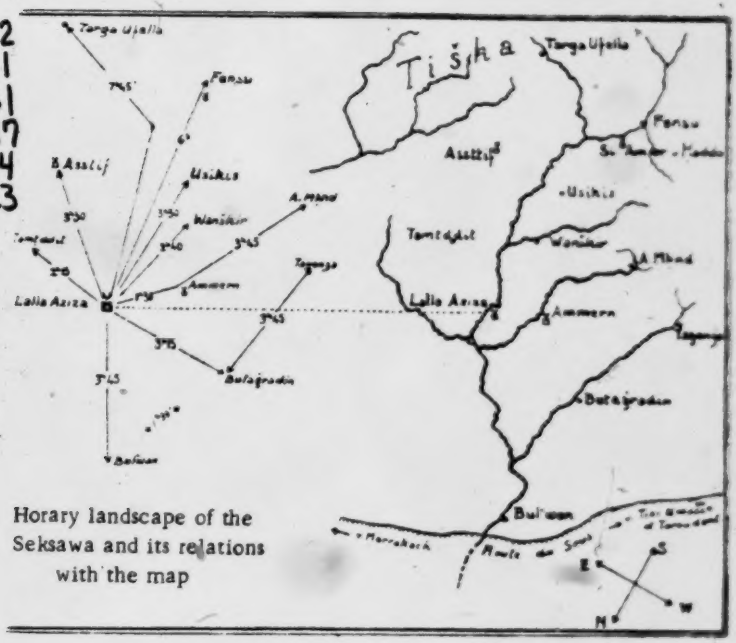


Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

1: Berque--56 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 39 in the original source./

102
634
131

Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

/83 cont./

102
131
133
361

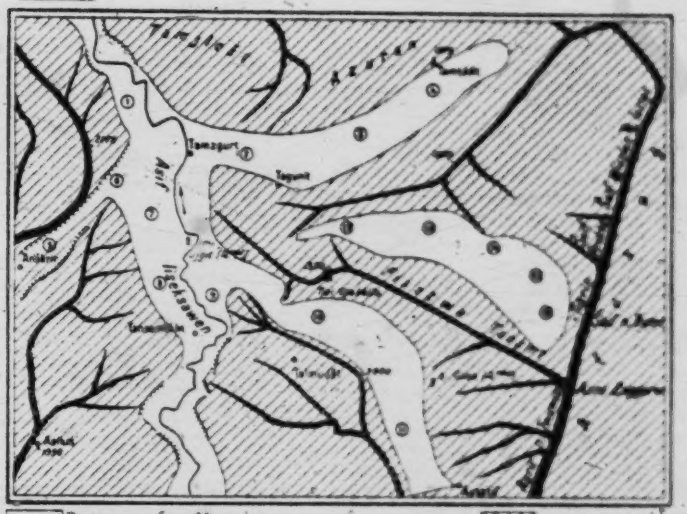


Fig. 5 - Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. — 4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-ygaiz. — 8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. — 11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. — 14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gäer. — 16. Tkemi.

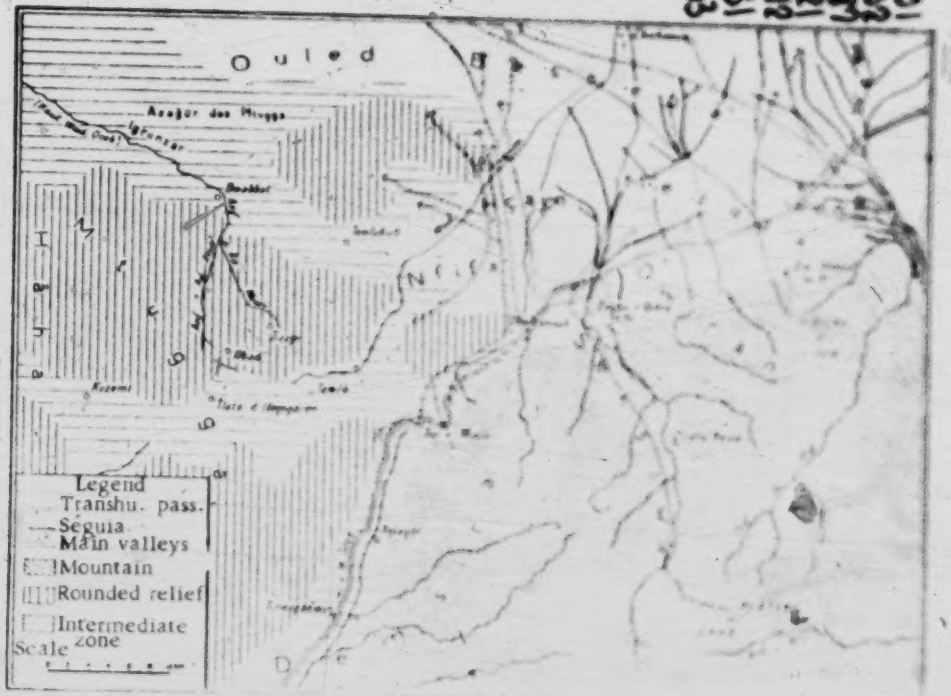


FIG. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

1: Berque--210 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 150 of the original source./

312
102
423
613

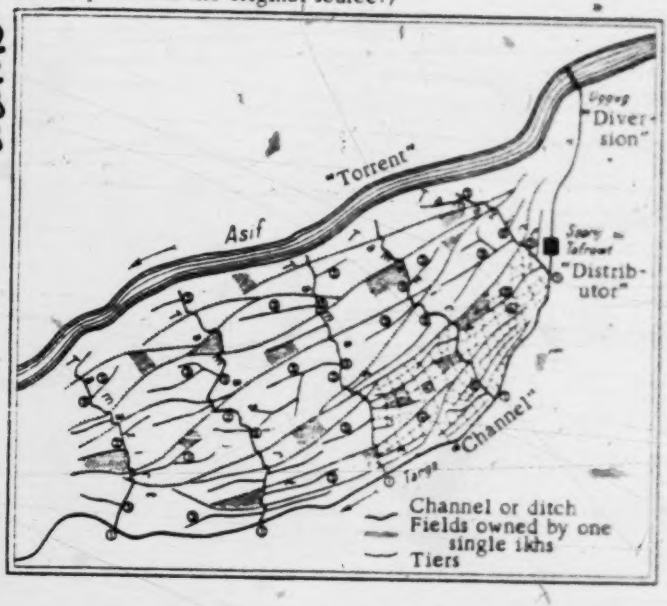


Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

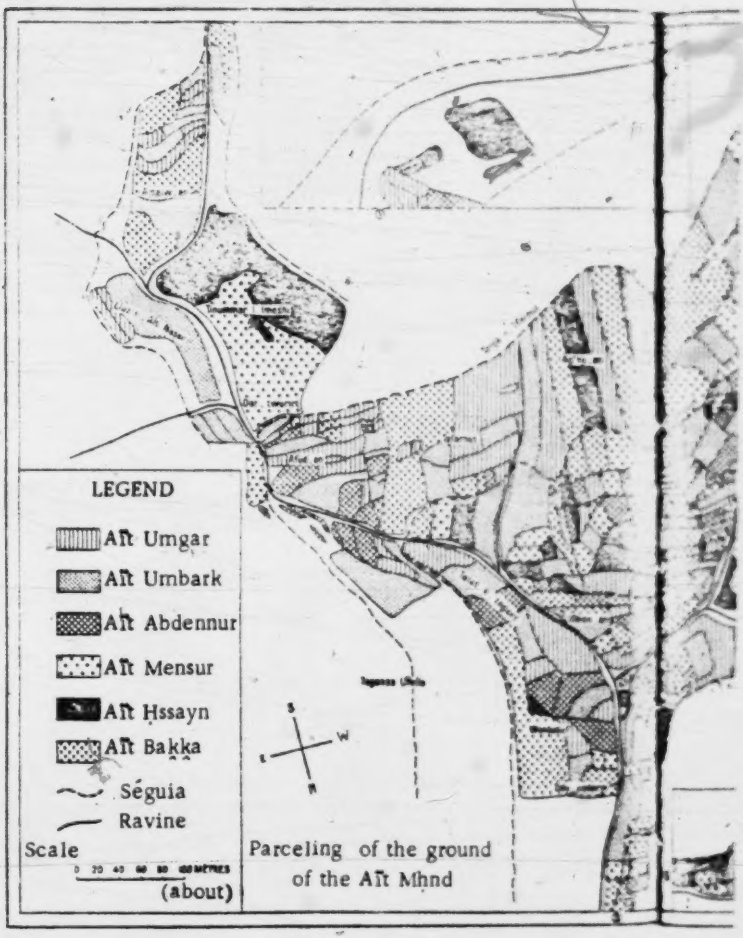
The "channel," targa, leaves from the ççarij, or chcharij, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," asaru, 2, plur. isura, which leave from "principal intakes," açder, plur. içdar or içdran, or further ighin, plur. ighaniwin, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, taghamut, 5, plur. tighuma, opening on the "discharging ditches," isura, 3. Irrigation planches, tisirit, tisaratin, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," uzun, plur. uzunen, 4.

1: Berque--261 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613

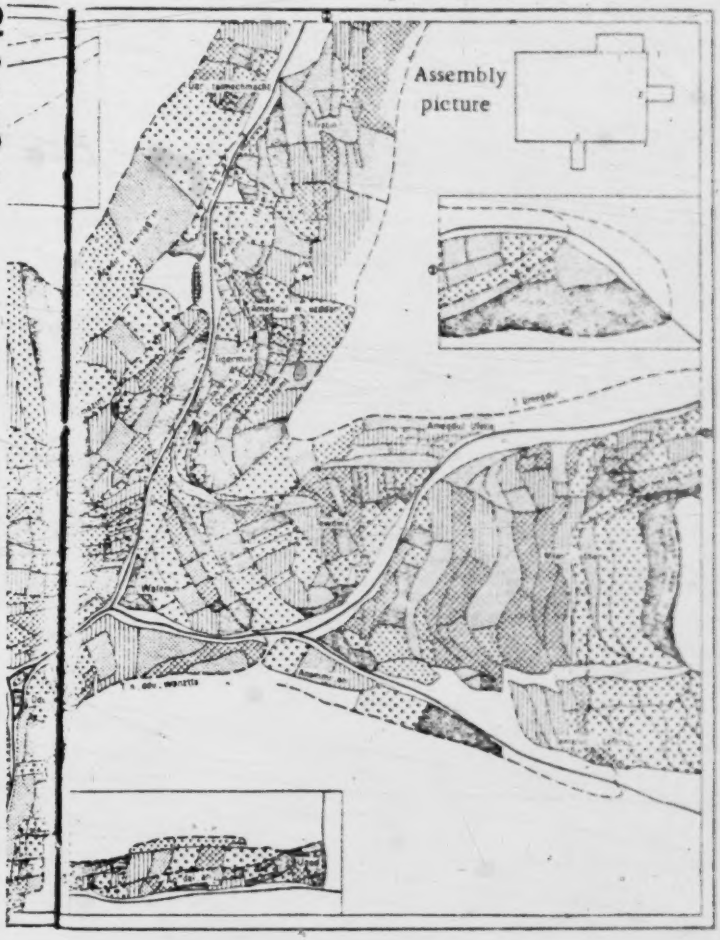


1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613



[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

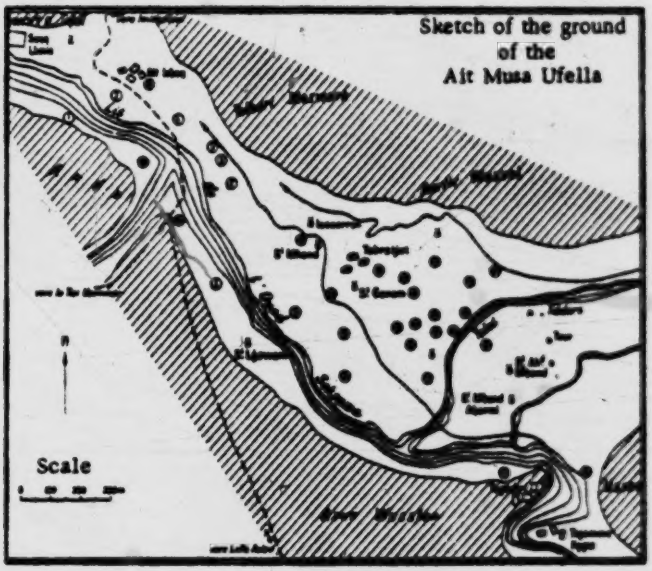


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).

The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward": Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

2: Montagne

102
103
131
133
619
491

P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

•102
103
131
133
619
491

Mogad

Imsv

C.Bir

[Map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--28 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

• 102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

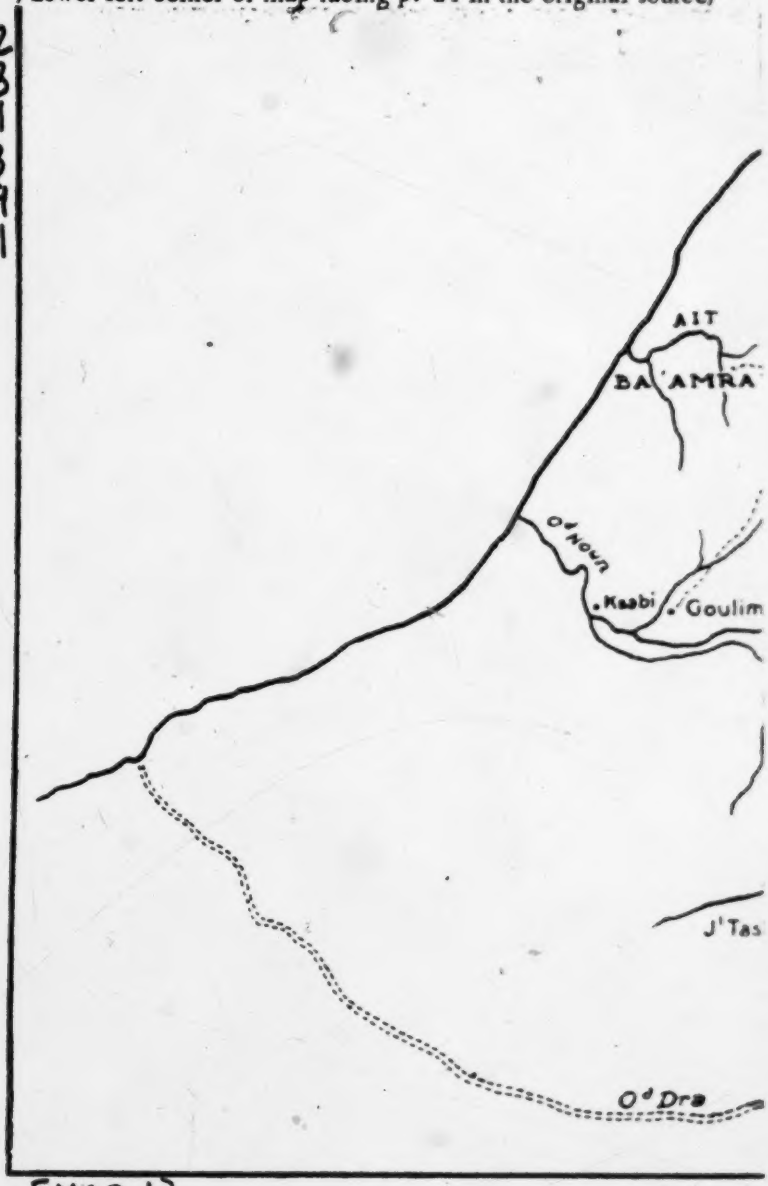
•102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

•102
103
131
133
619
491



[MAP 1]

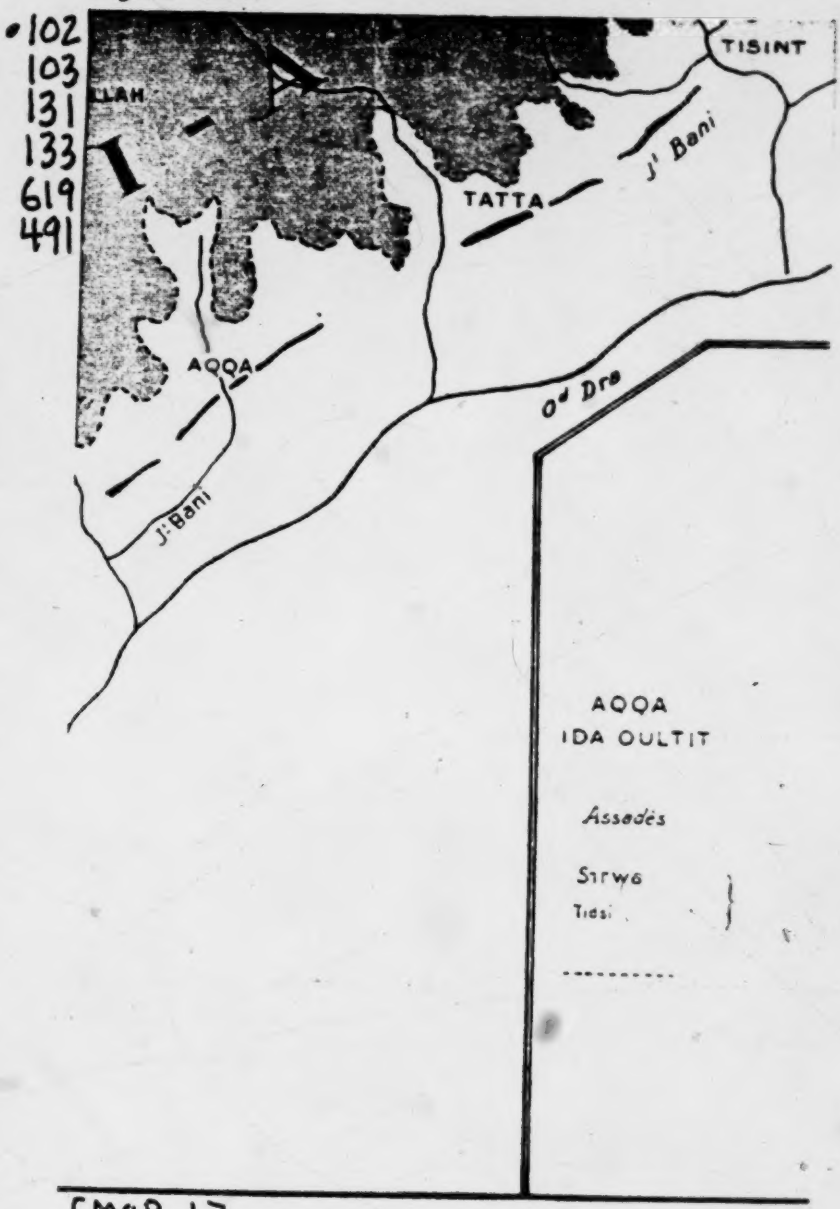
2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

[Map 17]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

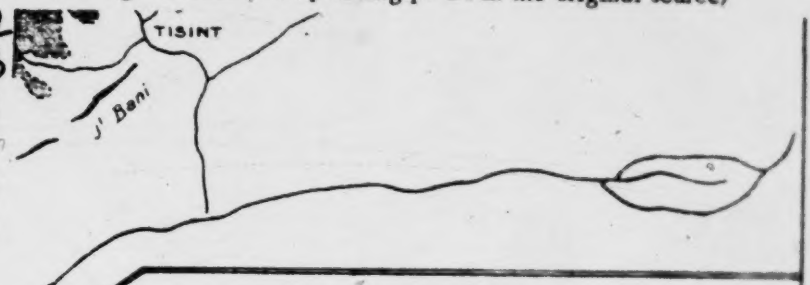


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



The Province of the Sous
Physical Map

Scale $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$

AOQA IDA OULTIT	Name of district or of Tribe
Assedès	Name of oued /wadi/
Sirwa Tids.	Name of mountain of Place or Town
----------	Path of communications

The shaded region is the one whose altitude is higher than 1000 m.

[Map 1)

2: Montagne

MW11 Shish MW11

101
102
131
133
631
619
648

P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

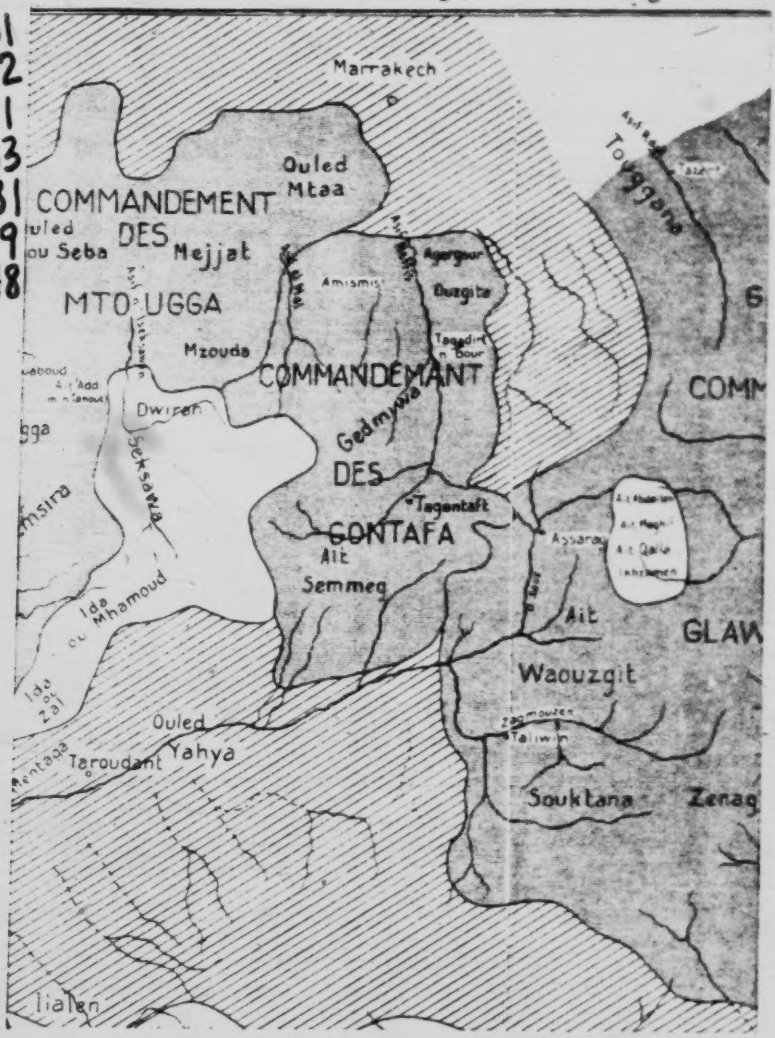
/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
•102
131
133
*631
619
648

2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
• 102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
•102
131
133
*631
619
648

2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

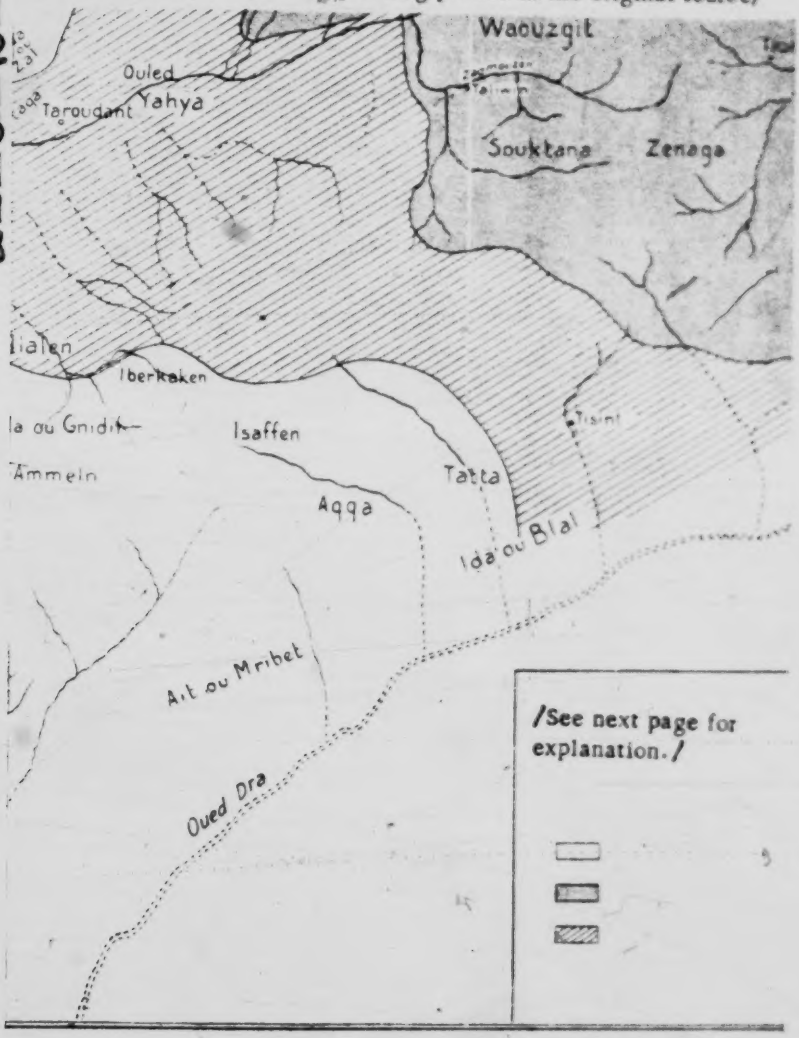
/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
• 102
131
133
*631
619
648

2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

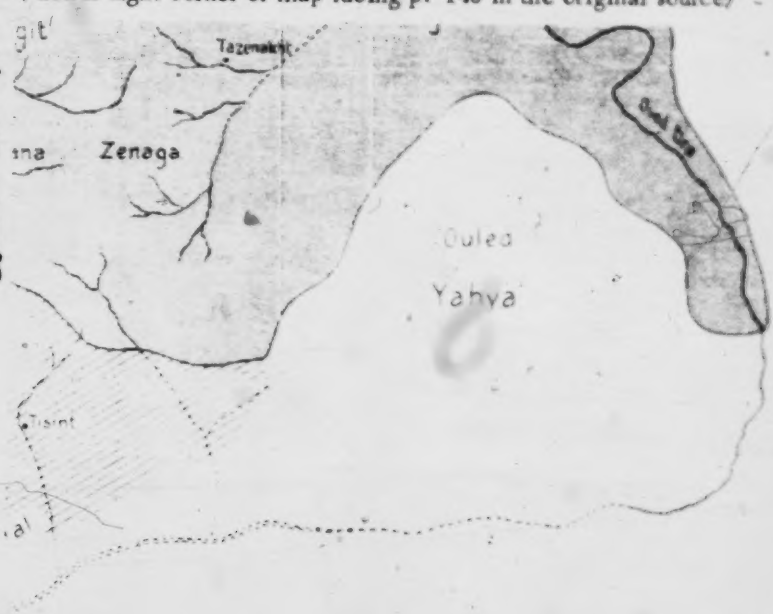
101
•102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
•102
131
133
*631
619
648



The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

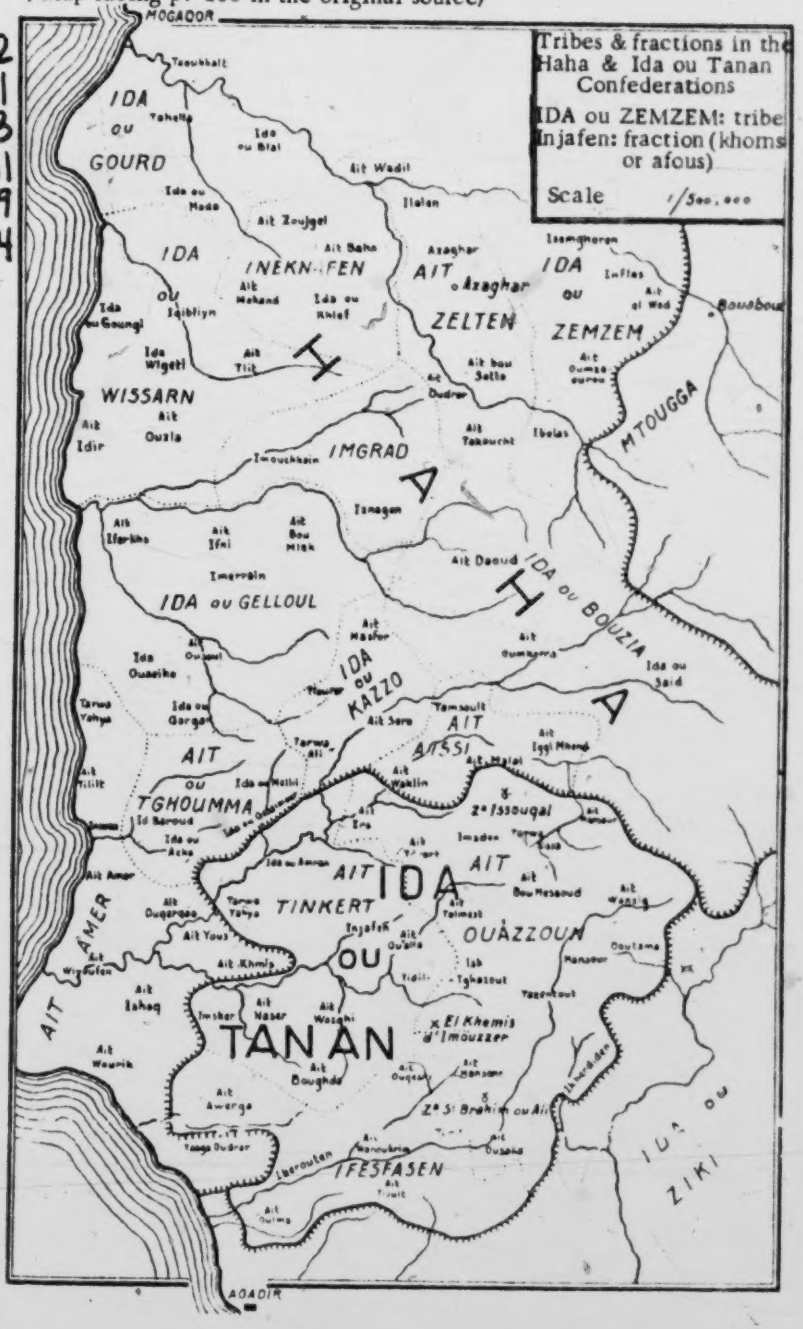
Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

2: Montagne--218 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

•102
131
133
*631
619
*634



2: Montagne--261 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

•102
616
619
131
133

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shlub MW11

102
616
619
131
133

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1. Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs

Zone 2. Region of the leffs of the western Atlas
- Ait Atman, Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis)
- Indghertit, Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa)
- Ait Fademt, Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)
- Ait Zolit, Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)

Zone 3. Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua
- Inemzel . . . . . .
- Ait Iraten . . . . . .

Zone 4. Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas
- Isouktan . . . . . .
- Igezzoulen . . . . . .

Zone 5. Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)
- Ait Atman . . . . . .
- Ait Tintlet . . . . . .

2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

•102
616
619
131
133

Imeshwen
Isouktan
Ait Waouzgit
Ivouriken
Ighighain
Ogoemt
Onein
Semmega
AIT
WAOUZG
5
4
Isouktan
Ait Hamid
Ait Waggas
Ait Tahyat
Ait Fraser (Souktana)
Ilounan
Dunsin
Ef Hasin
Azrar
Imghartiyn
Ighghadiyou
Agrdan
Ait Tadrart
Ait Bou Beker
Ait Bourd
Ait Yassin
Ait Tikent
Ait Tessaout
Ait Ouladjoun
Tinfat
Imadidan
Intaoun
Ait Ouadelwint
Ait Ghanian
Ait Tamadrint
Ait Qaria
Ait Ouaqlan
Ait Ouaqlan
Ait Ouaqlan

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

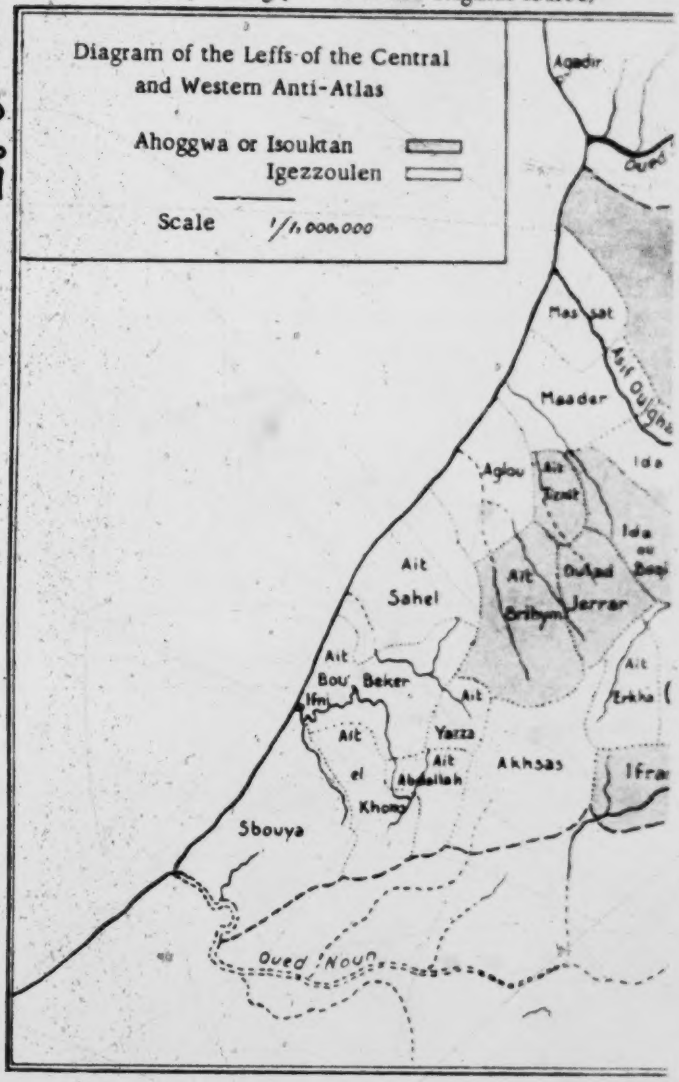
/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133

2: Montagne--268 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

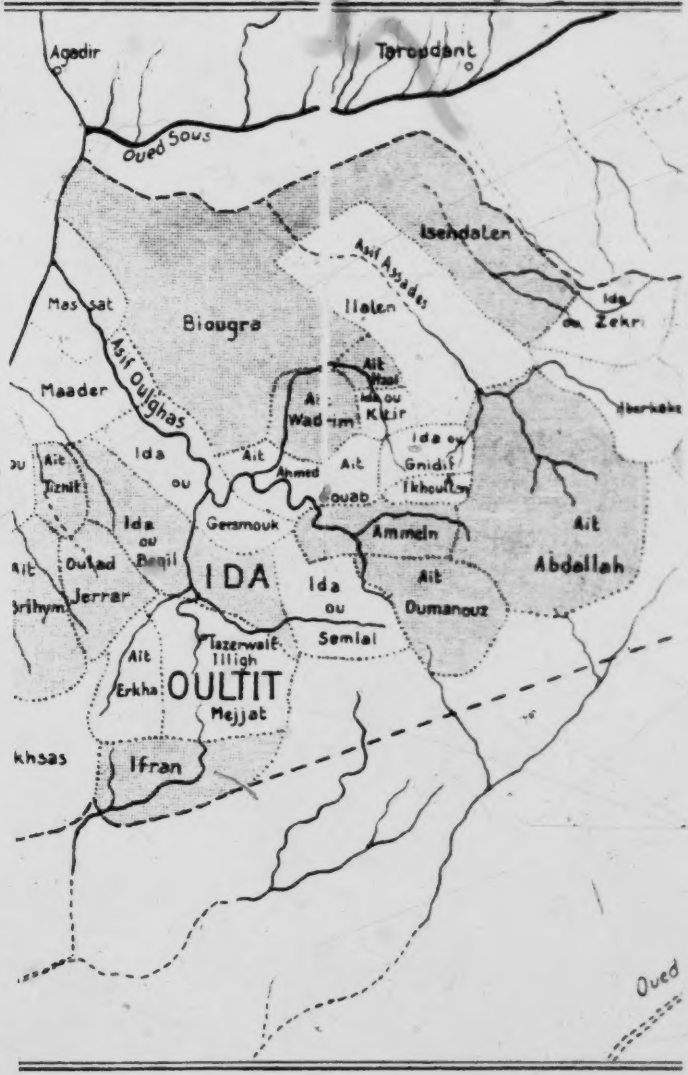
• 102
131
133
616
619



2: Montagne--269 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

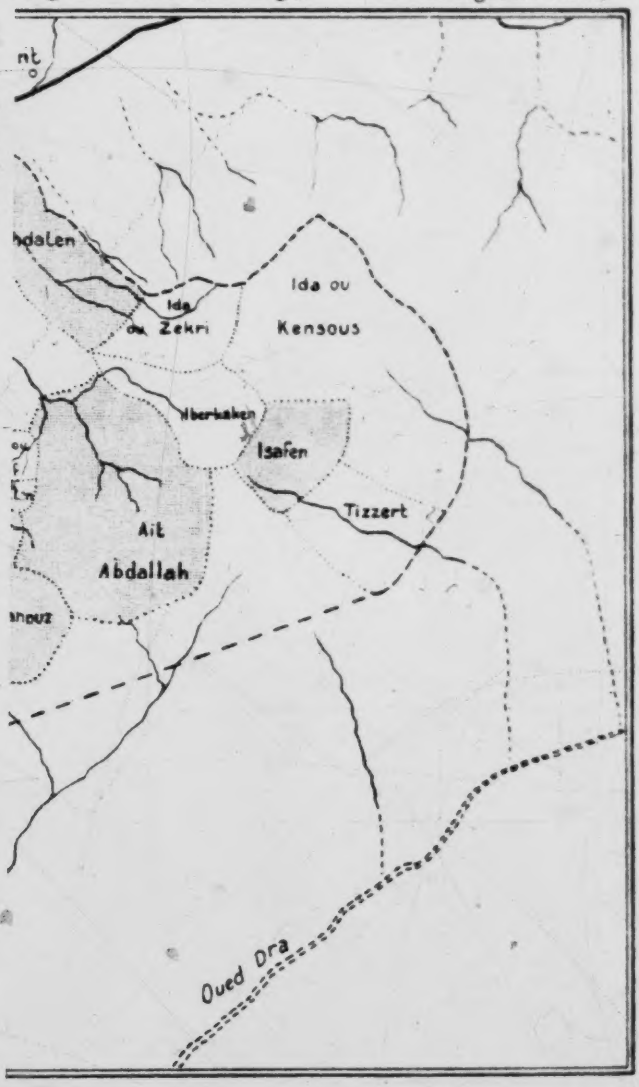
102
131
133
616
619



2:) Montagne--270 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 ,MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619



2: Montagne--369 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

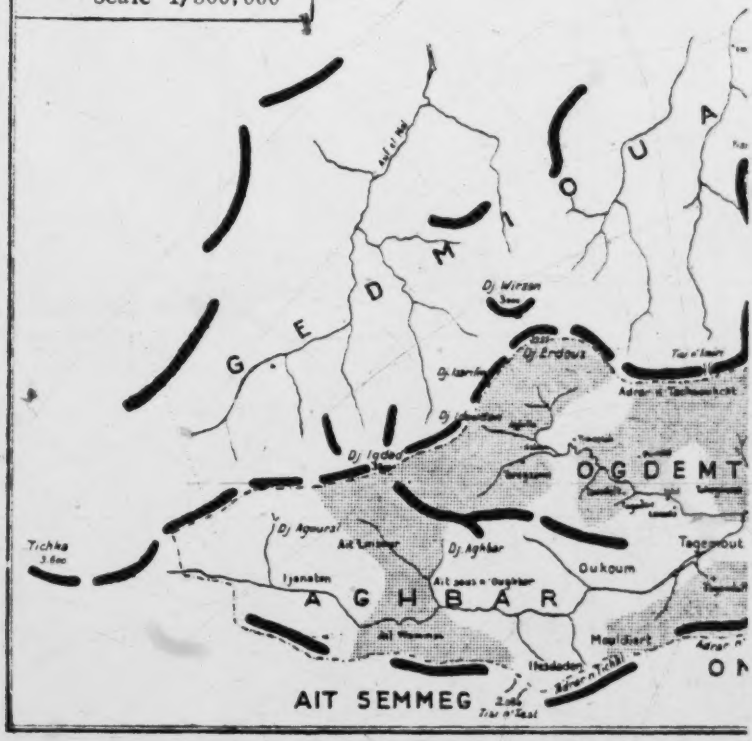
•102
133
*634
616
131

The valley of the Nefis in the 19th century

Fraction of the leff of the Ait Iraten (or Imsifern)

Fraction of the leff of the Ait Atman (or Indghertit)

Scale 1/300,000



2: Montagne--370 E-5 (c,1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

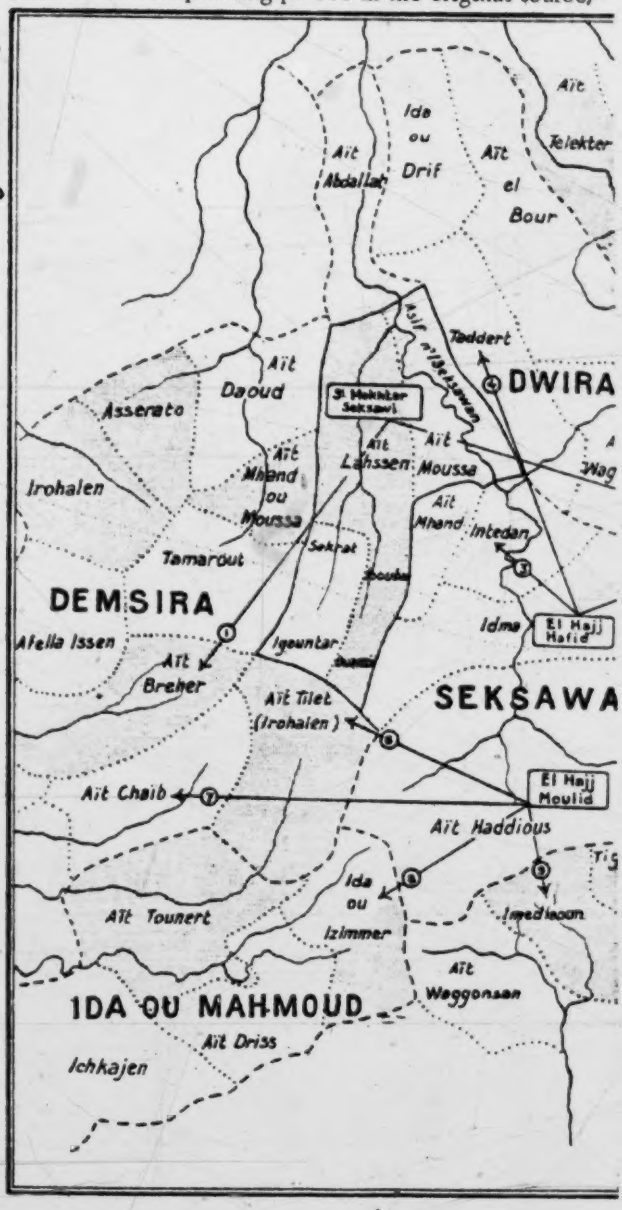
/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

•102
131
133
*634
616

2: Montagne--406 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

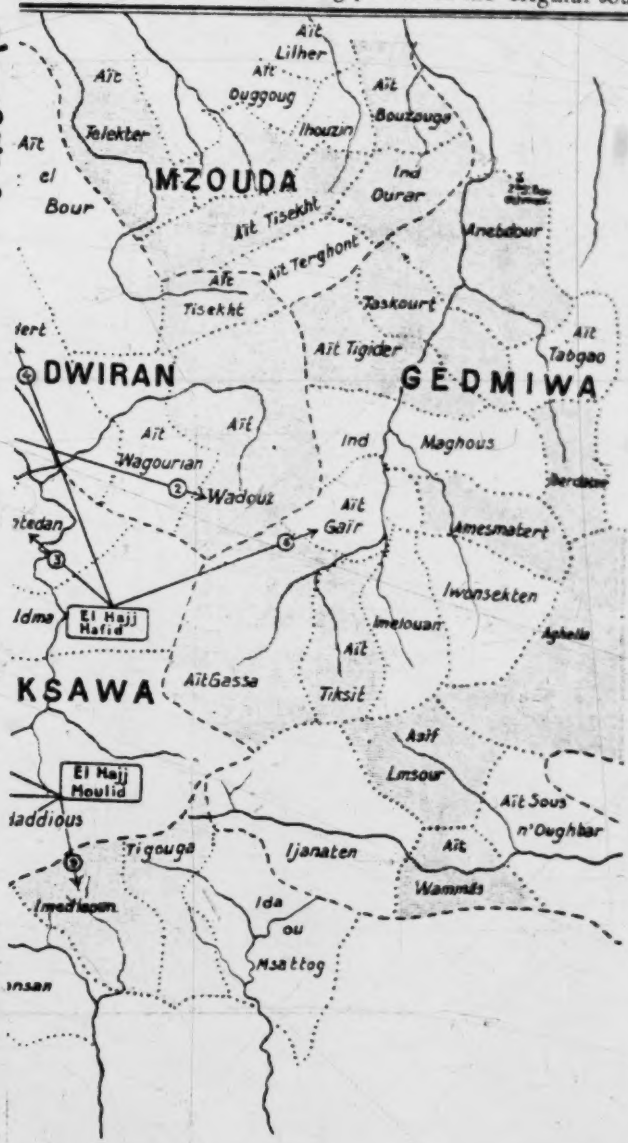
• 102
131
133
*634
616



2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

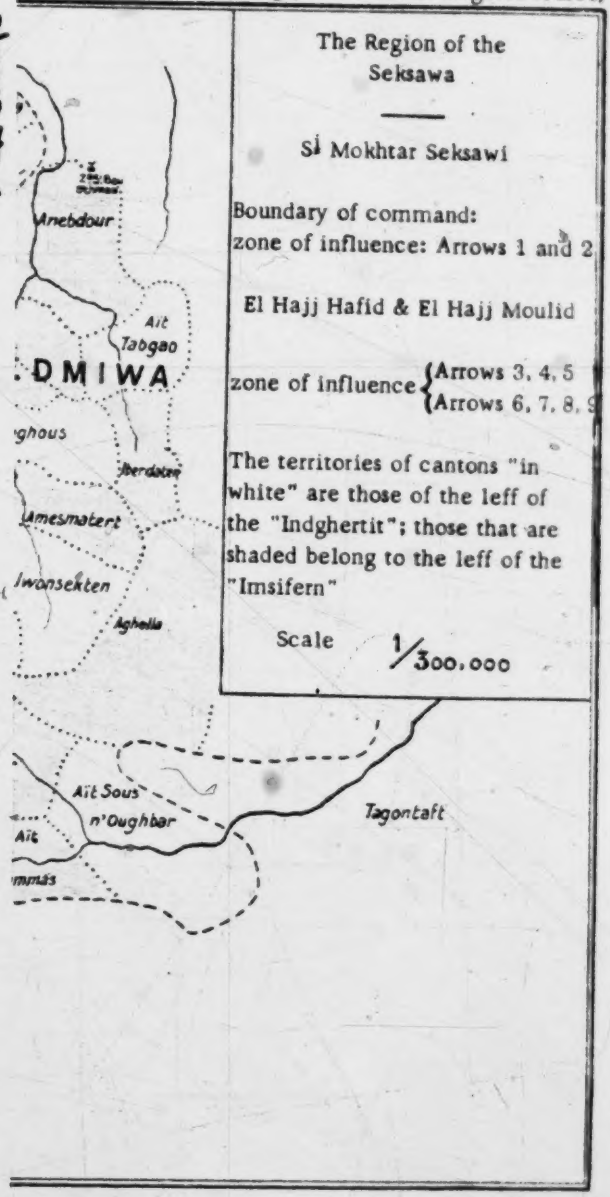
/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

•102
131
133
*634
616



/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

• 102
131
133
* 634
616



.102
361
343
N12

/304/

N. Dupuis C-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shilh MW11

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

102 •
312
137
132

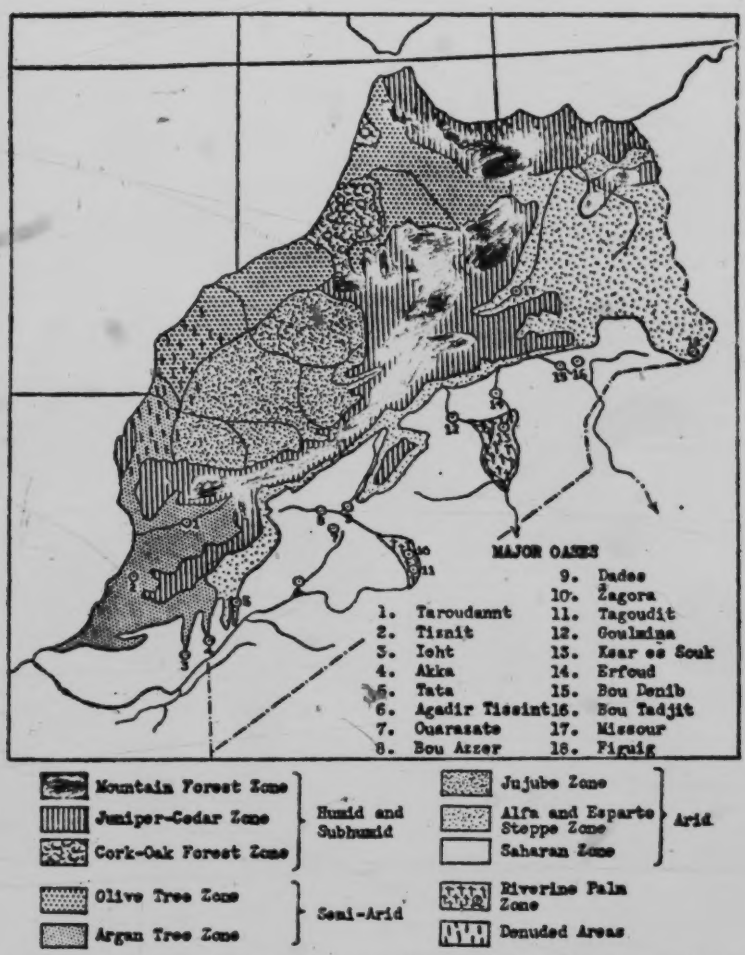


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

1, [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

• 102
571
616
634
635

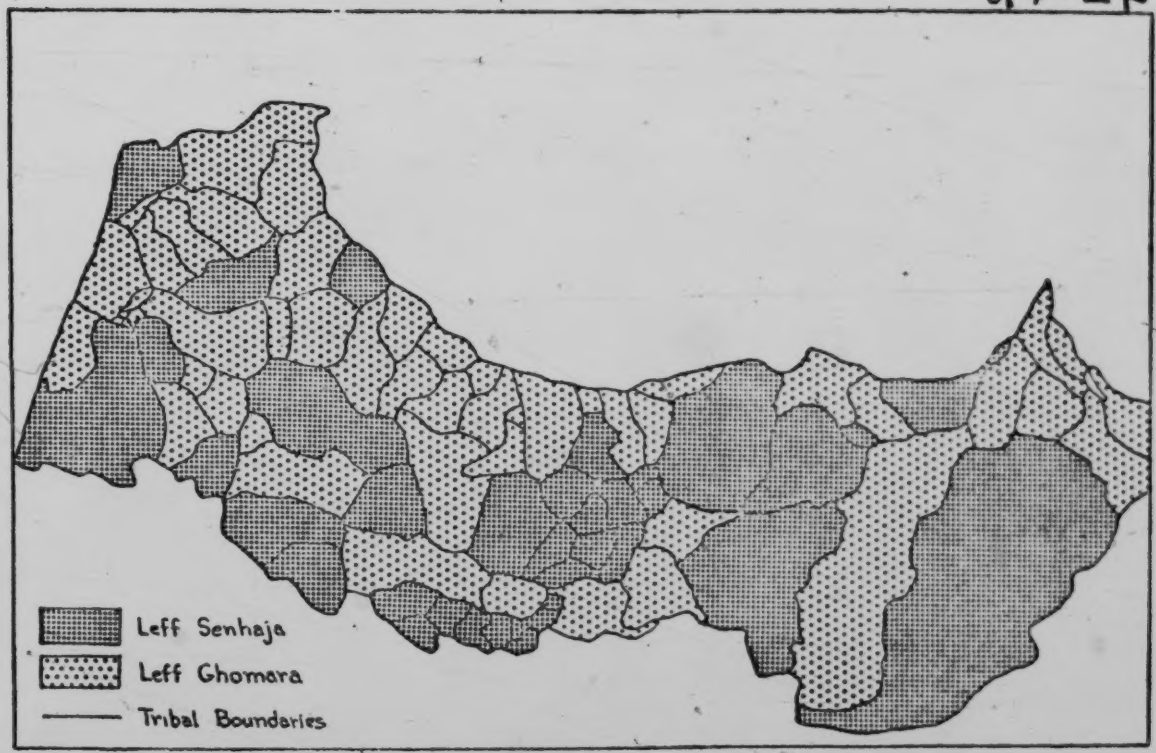


Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
133
487
361

102
131
133
484
361

/9/

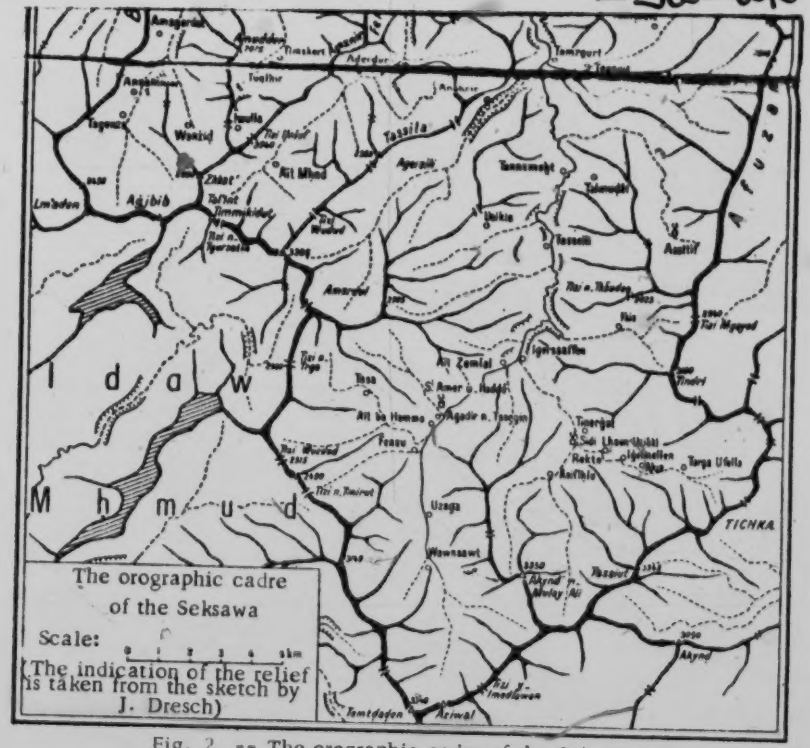


Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Ali, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Ali, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Ali.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree, and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 10 634 [172] [361] old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt, picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida, prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
133 172 634 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, obstructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moress from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
[195] erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[176] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[192] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the orig-
174 inal source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
619 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

•[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief,

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
193 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ It A is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
	a. Daud.	a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
22 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, igʷmi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tighʷmrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlilin, Anrarʷ-Waman, Naštjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Ait Mh'nd]

423
103

/182/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd
/Left side of chart/

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters			
Twuttyan (cf. awuttu, "limit").	Talghachit (derived from an ikhs name).	Agerd"w Wazar, "col of the fig tree."	F-usderm-an, "on this escarpment."	Iwchchah'en.
	Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ifdisn-an, "the walls of dry stone."	Taglagalt-an, "the place where the waters stagnate."	Uzrar, "thirst" (very dry place where there is gravel, "Imezrar").
Tacddut, "the declivity."	Wa-lemri, "the reflecting."	Asdrem"w Wanz'-et't'a, "the escarpment of the a." (cf. below).	Ihlawen (derived from a name).	Ush'aq (derived from a name).
Tighermin, "the fields in tiers."	Amlal Wuggu-g"en, "the fine sand of the catchments."	Tagh"zit n-ait Said, "the field of the a. S."	Ughzif n-tghermin, "the fields lengthwise."	Agd'ay n-tghermin, "the pool of the fields."
Amegdul w-uzddar, "the park below."	Bu-ih'chach, "the huts."	Talh'chut, "the pebbles."	Dar wad'il, "at the vines."	Mm - wamimrad (plant name).
Amegdul ufella, "the park above."	Amegdul Ichahan, "the park of I."			
Tawddwa.	Targa n'ayt Zbayr, "the séguia of the a. Z."	Makan"w uchboro, "beyond the retrenchment."	Tamalutl-Leftrug, "ubac of L."	
Anammran, "the adret."	Adukk"ali.			
Ddu-wanz'et't'a (anz'ell'a, "pellicle of moss on a stone or on the water").	Tagh"zit m-Mazuz, "the field of M."	Findus.	Tighedwin-an, "the poles" (long and parallel parcels).	Mm-ti-leh'la, "at the apple trees."
Tafarnut, "bread oven."	Tafarnut n-ayt Umghar.	Tafarnut n-a. Bakhkha.		

/adret, flank of valley oriented toward the south;
ubac, flank of valley oriented toward the north./

1: Berque--257 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955. MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/183/
/Right side of chart/

103
423

Mm-uqel-mun, "in hood form."	Im-tmid'i (ti-mid'i: "the 100 walnuts").	Agerd' wad'-il, "the col of the vine."	Agh^{w}zafan, "length-wise."	Bu-tfaliyn, "at the fallen rocks."	Tar agharas, "without road."
Imi l-lutrat, "the opening of the harness collar."	Ag^{w}mmad' i-yghzer, "the bank of the ravine."	Bu-lh'chu, "at the gravel."			
Tamggay-nant, "the damp hollow."	Ddu-taswikt, "under the walnut tree."	Mm-telggut, "at the aloggo (genista)."			
Ag^{w}mmad'n -tafrawt, "the bank of the basin."	Ikniwun, "the twins."				
Ag^{w}dal-an, "the park."	Aghdaw wagmar. "the pole of the horse."				

[Ait Mh'nd]

/184/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
103

Names of quarters	Name of subdivisions of quarters		
Afud-an, "the knee."	Amlalʷ wafud'-an, "the fine sand of Afud'an."		
Talat n-tenghort, "the hollow of the excavation."	Lluz n-ait Naçer, "the almond trees of the a. N."	Tinummar l-lmechh'i, "the adrets of the dry fruits."	Taghʷzit u-wamalw-an, "the field of the ubac."
Tagenza ufella, "the talus above."	Ddu-Tgenza, "under the talus."	F-ugenza, "on the talus."	Amlal n-fu-wasif, "the fine sand above the torrent."
Ddu-wsderm, "under the escarpment."			
Wankutuf.			
Ddu-tgʷmma, "under the houses."	Içd'ar-an, "the sluices."	Talat n-wkhrib, "the hollow of the ruins."	
Ddu-wz'ru, "under the rock."	Amlal l-ymzilen, "the fine sand of the blacksmiths."	Ait Lamin.	Ait Bakhkha.
Ughad', "of the goat."	Ibh'irn n-ait Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lah'sen u Said, "fields of the a. L."	
Igherman-an, "the parcels."	Taghʷzit n-ait Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	Tighʷziwinn ait Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Amlal n-ait Umghar, "the fine sand of the a. U."
Dar - Talmechmacht, "at the apricot tree."	Taghʷzit n-a. Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Taghʷzit n-a. Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	
Tifratin, "the small basins."	Taghʷzit n-ait H'sayn, "the field of the a. H."	Tighʷziwin n-a. Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Taghʷzit n-a. H'ammu u-Bella, "the field of the a. H'."

/185/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters		
Iger zegg^{w}aghen, "the red field."	Tigh^{w}ziwin i-ymzilen, "the fields of the blacksmiths."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Lamin, "the fields of the a. L."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ayt Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L."
Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ibh'irn n-ayt Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L." (cf. above).	Ibh'irn n-ayt Buirddamen, "the fields of the a. B."
Amettul m-Merzug, "the land of M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Bakhkha, "the fields of the a. B."	Ibh'irn n-ait Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	
Talat n-tsettuft, "the hollow of T."	Ibh'irn n-T't'aleb eAli, "the fields of the T'."	Ibh'irn n-ayt H'fid u yidar, "the fields of the a. H."	Ibh'irn n Abdella, "the fields of A."

Irrigated Crops

103 What is striking first of all is the extreme toponymic density.
423 If our appellation of ground can be turned to account for the ensemble, keeping in mind the fact that it is a continuous whole, a
[312] first differentiation by quarters appears at once. I mean here by "quarter" an agrarian unit having its irrigation autonomy. The ground of the a. Mh'nd includes some 25 quarters thus comprised. Here are the names of them: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul, Tawddwa, Annammeran, Ddu-wanz't't'a, Tighe dwinan, Ag^{w}dalan, Tafernut, Afud'an, Talat n-Tnghort, Tagenza, Ddu-wsderm, Wakuntuf, Ddutgomma, Ughad, Ddu w-wz'ru, Ighermanan, Dar-talmechmacht, Tifratin, Iger zegg^{w}aghen, n-dar-uzerg, 'Amtul m-Merzug, Talat n-tsttuft.

But many other names, corresponding to smaller spaces, could be cited, within the still rather exiguous cadre (about 1/2 ha. each) that the quarter constitutes. A veritable toponymic pullulation comes out between the meshes. In relation to the

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu
423 waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner
[823] of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'-umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

[Agersili]

/From p. 194 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

a) Left bank

103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tghauni.	"the séguia of the cascades."	AytYus.	(proper name).
		Ighzer-an.	"this ravine."
Imi n-talat i-Ylarzg.	"the entrance of the hollow of Ilarzg."	Ddu-wderg-an.	"under this rock."
Tanluft.	"color of blight of erosion."	Asarun-temd'a.	"the ditch of the pond."
Talh'yant.	"with goat-ee."	Asaru n-ait-Yirz'.	"the ditch of the a. I."
Talat-an.	"the hollow."	Ighzer n-ait-H'sayn.	"the ravine of the a. H."
Adaghas n-talt-an.	"the shelter of the hollow."	Asaru awragh.	"the yellow ditch."
Ddu-f-igherm-an.	"under the top of the bench."	F-tabarin.	"succession of vertical tiers (tamart or tabart), " "beard."
Tiz'ma y-Ij'anaten.	"the grasslands of I."		
Uggug n-trga n-tsila.	"the head of the séguia of the Tasila."	Az'ru^{u}wawuk.	"the stone of the owl."
Talat n-ggud'it.	"the hollow of the pile."	Amalu n-talat n-tfrawt.	"the ubac of the hollow of the basin."
Amettul n-^{c}isa.	"the field of A'ssa."	Tinummar umençur.	"the adrets of A."

[Agersili]

/Continuation of p. 194 of the original source./

103

Tigh^{w}za-y-an.	"the parcels."
Ag^{w}erregg^{w}in.	"between the séguias."
Alkawsu.	"the billhook."
Iz'ma-an.	"the meadows."
Ighzer ulberj.	"the ravine of the château."
Imi n-tghersi.	"the mouth of the sacrifice."
Asaru y-imezran.	"the ditch of I."
Targa y-Irz'.	"the séguia of I."
Tirwil.	"narrow band of parcels enclosed between several séguias."
Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the barrier to the entrance of the grasslands."
F-yighil-an.	"on this crest."
Ddu-wdaghas.	"under the shelter."
Bu-yilf.	"the place with the wild boar."
Targa wammas.	"the séguia of the willows."
Uggug n-trga wammas.	"the head of the séguia ..."
Imezughan.	"red earth."
Talat n-tfrawt.	"the hollow of the basin."
Bu-lkhukh.	"that with the peach trees."
F-takuj'j'ut.	(improper word).
Timezgida n-f-irazaten.	"the mosque of Firazaten" (araza: cleared land).
Badis.	(proper name).
Timutar-an.	"kind of genista."
Taghuni.	"the cascade."
Ighzer n-ait-Ali.	"the ravine of the a. A."

[Agersili]

/From p. 195 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

b) Right bank

103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tussa-irh'h'alen.	"the séguia of the esplanade of the nomads."	Talat Umghar.	"the hollow of the chief."
Targa n-talburt.	"the séguia of the field in the dry."	Targa w-umalu n-talat u-wmghar.	"the séguia of the ubac of the hollow of the chief."
Amalu.	"the ubac."	Imi n-tegsart-an.	"the outlet of the steep."
Targa w-umalu.	"the s. of the ubac."	Targa-wan-ammr-an.	"the s. of the adret."
Awerz u-wmalu.	"the fine sand of the shade."	Talat i-Yburk.	"the hollow of I."
Berqiqch.	"the plums."	Ddu-ws^{w}g-glegh.	"under the flagstones with salt."
Talat g-ys^{w}g-gligh.	"the hollow of the flagstones where one puts salt for the flocks" (asswgglagh).	Idughas u-wgerd'-an.	"the shelters of the butte."
Amalu n-dduwgadir.	"the ubac of the under side of the fortress."		
Asaru l-Ibaz.	"the ditch of the falcon."		

[Agersili]

103 /Continuation of p. 195 of the original source./

Ddu-turirt.	"under the hill."		
Tanikt.	"stone having the appearance of the remains of smelting."		
Targa n-tanut.	"of the entrance of the small well."		
Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	"the ubac of the entrance of the small well."		
Talggut-an.	"kind of genista."		
Targa n-ddu-wgerd'an.	"the s. of the under side of the buttes."		
Isdram.	"the escarpments."		
Targa w-umalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	"the s. of the ubac of the entrance of the meadows."		
Awerz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the fine sand of the entrance of the meadows."		
Imi n-talat u-wmghar.	"the entrance of the hollow of the chief."		

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to
613 the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part
423 of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely
[103] neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/

Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. [103] Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two a., as at Z'init'. [243] Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/Left side of table, p. 204 of the original source./

Toponymy of the ait Musa Ufella

103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters	
Tamselnt.	Taryat't' n-Âli u Buzid, "the small orchard of A."	Azerg u Âli, "the mill of A."
Ammayn, "the tamarisks."	Tigid'it, "the small pile."	Tachbenit, "the flat (of flowers)," cf. jbâniya.
Imi Umaslan, "the outlet of A."	Taz'mut, "the grassland."	Tikwerkur, "at the pile of flints."
Ameslen.	Imi y-ighzer wazar n-Çalh', "the outlet of the ravine of fig trees of."	Agwd'ey Umeslen, "the filled pond of A."
Ddu-Wanghemmi, "under the ighemmi (plant)."	Akriwn-an, "the pebbles."	Tammachin "the tamarisks."
Tkunt, "the clay."	Bu-ilalen, "the pink laurel."	Imi n-Taryat't', "the outlet of the orchard."
Targa meqqurn, "the great ditch."	Dar-tazzuntit, "at the olive tree."	It'u Bujmâ (name).
Ager-ggiwn, "between the séguias."	Id Bella u-Jac. (proper name)	Mm-ulili, "the one with the pink laurel."
Igidar, "the fortresses."	Tugg Lgwni.	Tijuffa, "the fires of joy."
Imi n-talat, "the outlet of the hollow."	Lmercht, "the bog."	Mosgwin, "where the irrigation is centered."
Berra imlaln-an, "out of these fine sands."	Dar tasafsaft, "at the poplar tree."	Ikri n-Si Mulid, "the pebbles of S."
Imiri y-igwrramen, "the low wall of the marabouts."	Afus n-ghonja, "the handle of the spoon."	
Ddu-Wjjin, "under U."	Imiri Lah'sen u-Menâim, "the low wall of L."	Tawirt u-wjjin, "the hill of U."
Tikid'a n-ait Brahim, "the carob tree of the a. B."	Izemran n-Âisa, "the oleasters of A."	
Talat n-teddart, "the hollow of the apiary," or "the depression toward Teddart."	Lmercht, "the bog."	Amlal n-zzit, "the fine sand of the olive trees."

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/Right side of table, p. 205 of the original source./

Lâin n-Beikhir, "the source of."	Bu Lbruj, "the fortresses."	Tammachin n-ait H'mmu, "the tamarisks of."
Imi y-ifri w-umach-cho, "the outlet of the basin of the red earth."	Tigzirt-an, "the peninsula, the intermediate."	Uggugn-an, "these barriers."
Timetlin, "the parcels."		
Azar u-Warᶜawch, "the fig tree of A."	Ddu-Jaghenna (name of spirit).	
Ighin n-Aziza, "the sluice of."		
Azar u-wd'erd'ur, "the fig trees of the deaf."		
Imi y-igidar, "the outlet of the fortress."	Tad'hurin, "the overhangs."	
Akhlij n-ait Sâdun, "the bush of the a. S."	Askawn i-yzimmer, "the horns of the ram."	
Lârrach, "the vine-trellises."		
Uz'z'uʷ i-ysemgan, "the plant of the slaves."	Ddu-Iberj, "under the fortress."	

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/From p. 206 of the original source./

Toponymy of the ait Musa Ufella (cont.)

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters				
Ibh'ir, "the field."	Asdrem, "the escarpment."	Amensif i-ybh'ir, "place fertilized by the water and the alluvia."	Ikwerkwaren, "the piles of flints."	Tughlit, "the steep climb."	Targha wazwaw, "covered enclosure of A."
Ddu-wgwadir, "under the fortress."	Imi n-Tsukt, "the outlet of the street."	Ddu-inraranan, "under the threshing floors."			
Inebdar, "under the watch" (plur. of anebdur).	Ddu-Tmugwal, "under the relief."	Imi n-Tobnekha (name of a small valley of bad omen)	Imi l-lqus, "the entrance of the arch."	Amlal, "the fine sand."	
Aryad'en, "the orchards."	Dar-Tefrawt, "at the small basin."	Tawulult.	Taryat't'Umkuku, "the orchard of A."	Taryat't' Uyanin, "the orchard of A."	Bukris.
Imejjad'an, "the scurfy persons."	Ag"d'ay n-tazarin, "dell of the fig trees."	Ddu y-iferd, "under the reservoir."			
Lmegzart, "the slaughterhouse."	Imi y-ighin, "the outlet of the intake."	Megzar-ufella, "the slaughterhouse above."			
Dar waswik, "at the walnut tree."	Ibh'ir u-Waz'i, "the field of."	F-ucheddir-an, "on this bush."	Usulan, "at the calcareous flagstones."		
Lemkhazin, "the hiding places."	Id-mm-ifzi, "those at the ifzi (kind of rock)."	Id Abdelmalk (proper name).	Lfis's'at-an, "the lucerne field."		
Imi n-Tebratjut, "the outlet of the road."	Ger igharasen, "between the roads."	Tirit u Fars, "the parcel of the u F."	Ger-ikad'iwn, "between the carob trees."	Tikid'ut i-ysemgan, "the carob tree of the slaves."	
Iussran (hagiological name).	Tirit-uyyis, "the parcel of the horse."	Tasukt uz'ru, "the street of the rock."	Tamalut-en, "the ubaç."	Talat w-Wardes, "the hollow of A."	Ighzer n-ait Wakrim, "the ravine of the a. W."

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

18! a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by a.pects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

[103]

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'âjj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâîd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called imçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Abdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
[624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to
178 groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of
[624] the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[423] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423 312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

121 423 [103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name survives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of
[103] toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment
[192] (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/413 cont./

423 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the
182 same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more
182 general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can ex-
103 ceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

1: Berque--579 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/416 cont./

A Third Element of the Analysis:
The Name (3)

103
182

3. The toponyms: these "fossils of human geography," as was said by J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine de la France, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

System of place names and system of group names are entangled according to a gradation and correspondences still /417/ readable between the quarter, the ground, and the canton, on the one hand, the ikhs and the taqbilt on the other. On superposed levels, divisions and subdivisions correspond to each other from one order to the other. The human civil state and the civil state of the space intersect, so to speak, their effects, each prevailing according to the level.

At the base, the "parcel" has almost no local substance, but a reality almost purely anthroponymic. It is a fluvial system that prevails at the summit, to the point that great collective designations like our Seksawa are perhaps only geographical expressions. In any case, in the intermediary degrees, the "group" corresponds to the "ground." The "quarter" expresses an equilibrium that forms influences and reflects, between the collectivity and the land, a complex appropriation conferring upon it complete consistency. In this privileged case, local definition and social definition are conjugated, leaning on each other, so to speak.

Now this entire toponymy, and not only that of the named places, but more profoundly the one that intimate exchanges with the man push to the most extreme detail, is original. Singularly the names of quarters, for which an almost constant intelligibility has been noted, within larger and less clear meshes, are evidence of a direct linguistic authenticity. How valuable an indication(1)!

1. Cf. L. Febvre, "Histoire et dialectologie," R. de synthèse historique, t. XII, p. 249.

/417 cont./

121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élémentaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

/418 cont./
coff, leff (1).

103
182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

(634)
(619)

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171
103

An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/418 cont./

171 103 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

•103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessât; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
[137] crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ʿAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ʿAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Ait Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Ait Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
[166] pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

2: Montagne

102
103
131
133
619
491

MW11 Shluh MW11

P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

Mogad

Imsw

C.Bir

[map 1]

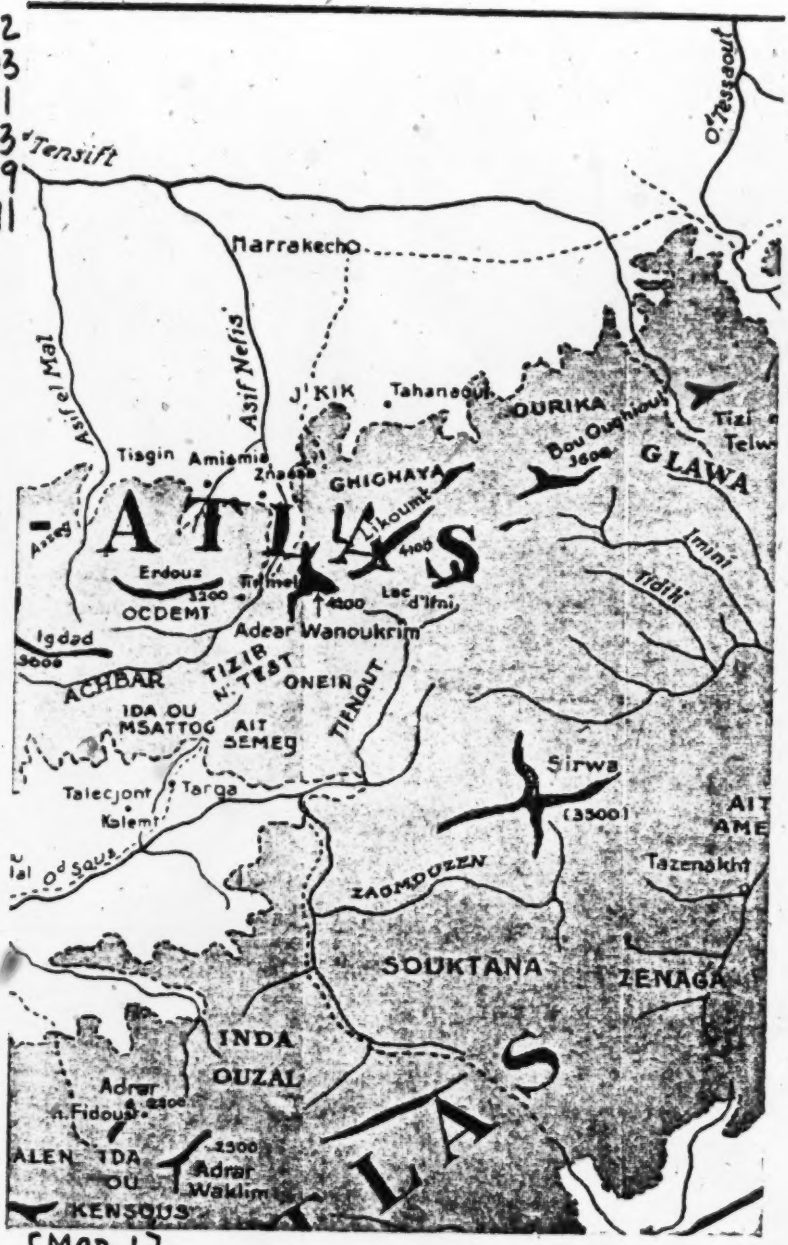
/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

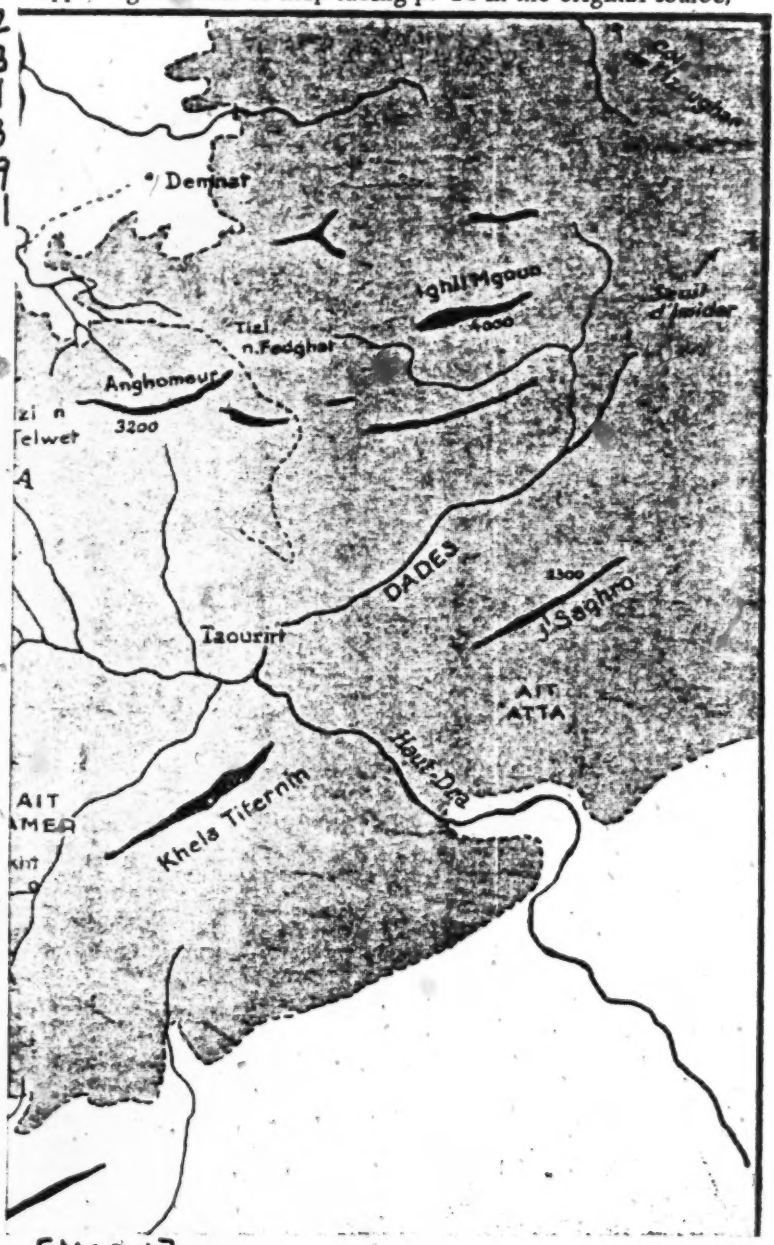
102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

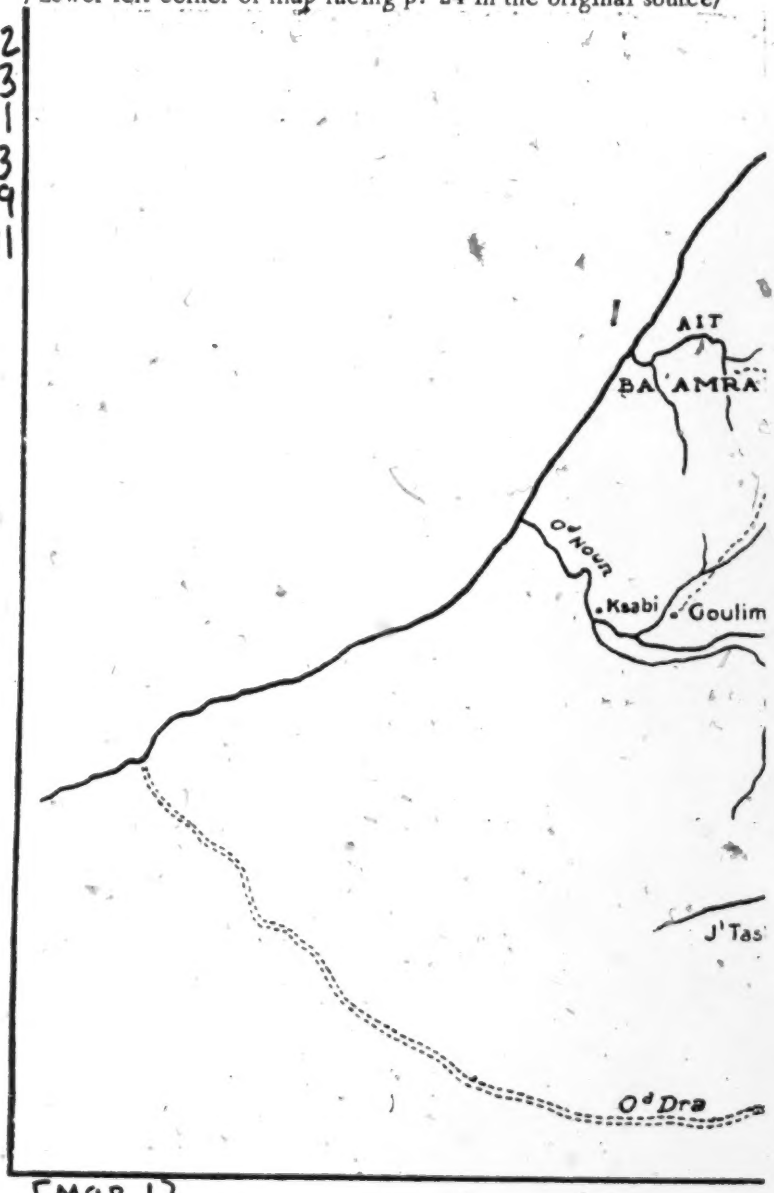


[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

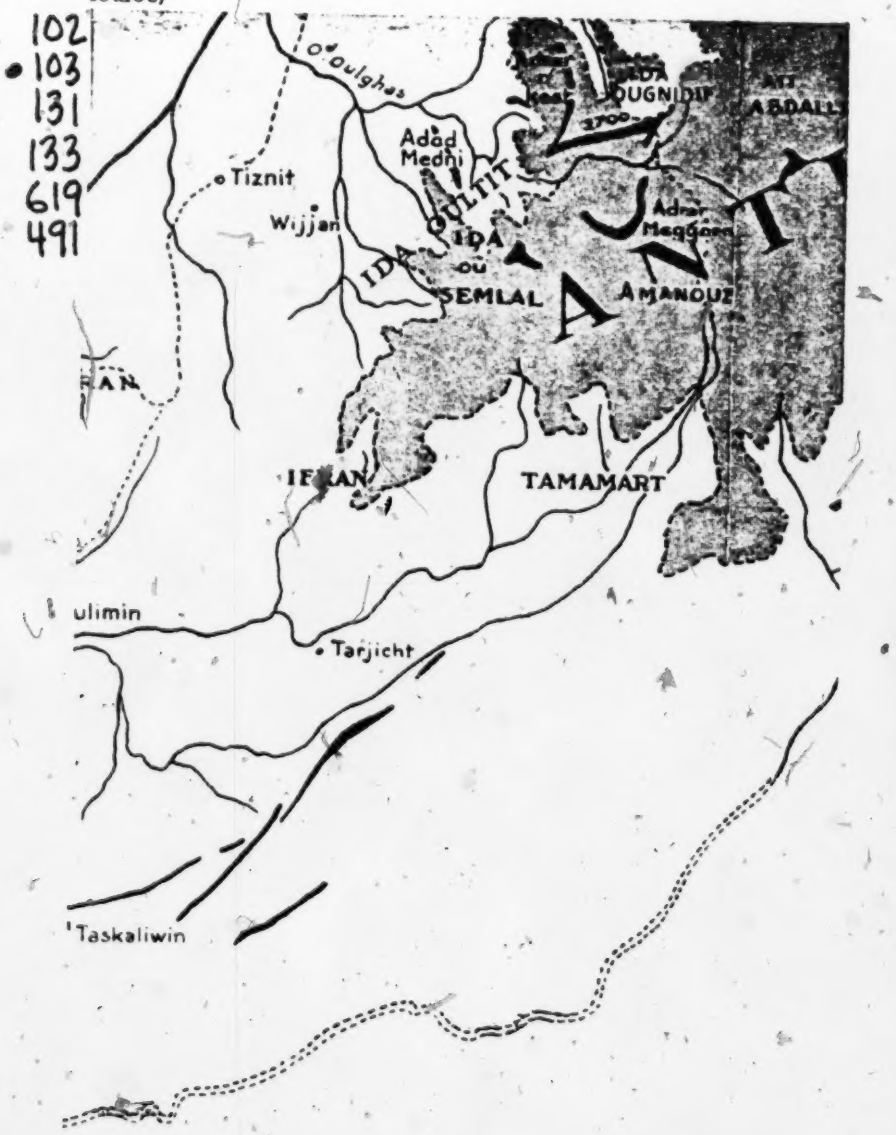
102
•103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

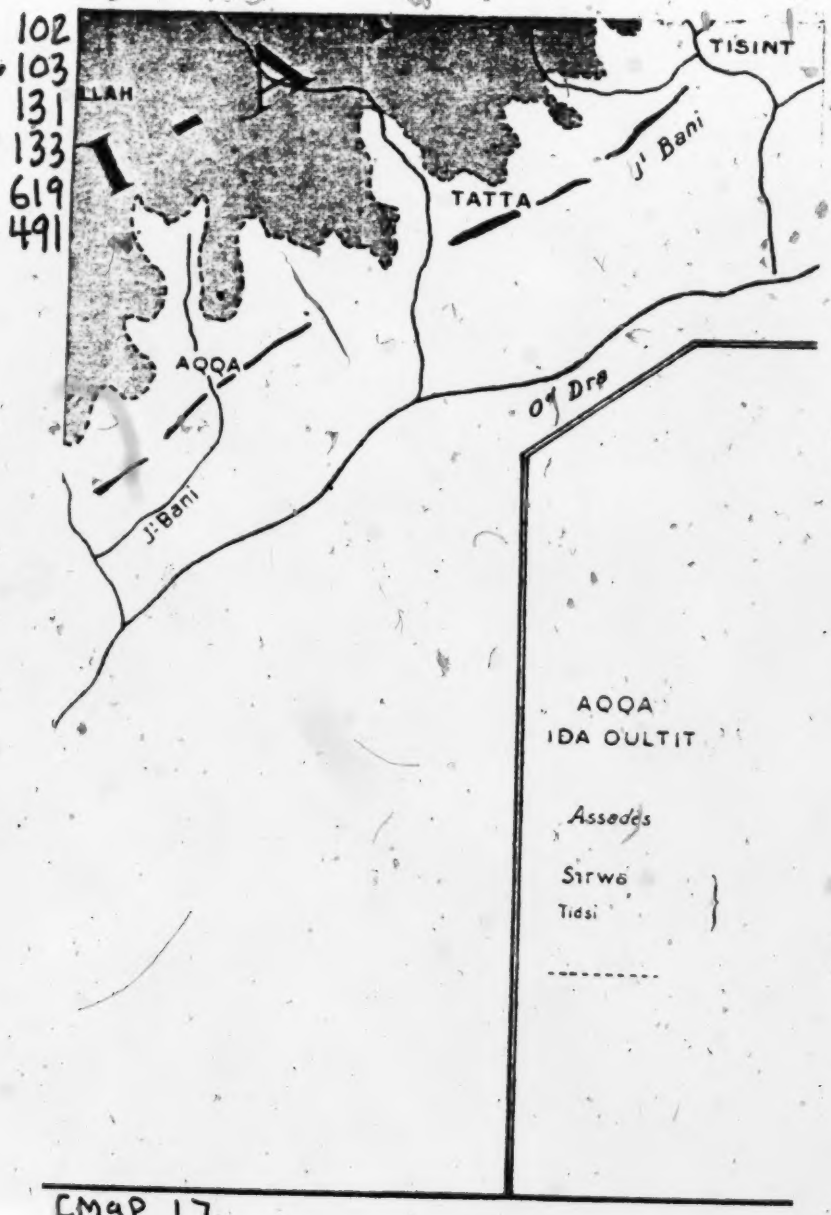
/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[Map 1]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

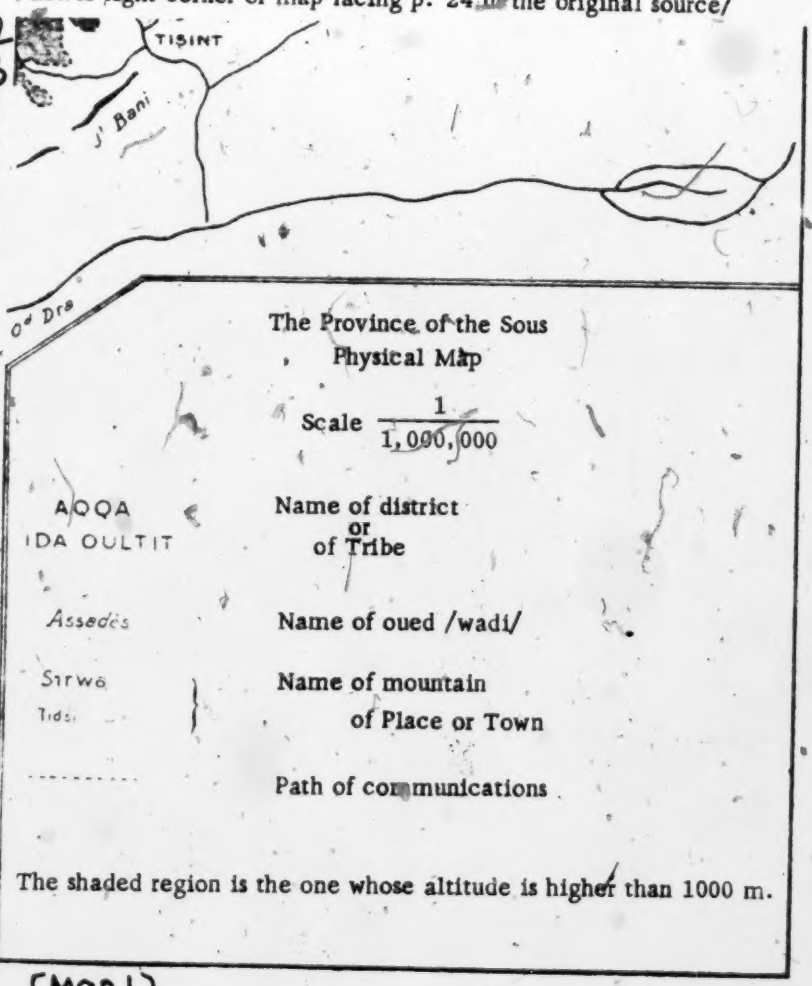


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/74 cont./

*175 taken supreme authority by using the name of the Almohades. After hard fights the brother of the sultan Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub scattered the Beni Gommi and destroyed Taroudant (1).

[712]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. -- Perhaps it is necessary to attribute to Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub the construction of the immense fortress which is still seen among the Aït A^{c}issi (Haha) on the Jebel Asles facing the territory of the Ida Ou Tanan. From its appearance it seems to date from the Mérinide period; tradition attributes it to Ali Ya^{c}ich, a personage about whom there are only imprecise legends. Tadert, the place where Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub was first defeated, could be the village of this name among the Aït Zelten, near the kaid's house. Irgharen, where he put the rebels to flight, would be the present-day Iregharen among the Ida ou Tanan (Aït Ouqsri). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. III, p. 493.

In the reign of Abou Tabet, in 1308, there was first of all the disturbance created by a pretender, Yousof Ibn ^{c}Ali ^{c}Ayyad, at Aghmat among the Heskoura; then in the western part of the Deren an independent chief, ^{c}Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, claimed the title of "agellid," Berbère /Berber/ king of the Seksawa. After a semblance of war, the Sultan contented himself with receiving presents from ^{c}Omar ben Haddo, had the Rokna, a rebel tribe who had taken refuge among the Haha, pursued, and left again to chastise the Arabs in the plains of the North (2).

[103]

2. Roudh el Kartas, p. 551. Tamezouart is without doubt the present village of Tamezaourt near our post of Bigoudine, on the main Makhzen /makhzan/ road from Bibaoun. The Rokna

/151 cont./

621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
6 [103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n Aᶜlt lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3).

114
613
621
632
113

3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/vii/ Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 104 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ᶜ), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an â.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 104 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

/281 cont./

778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825] [171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436]
[104] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, waĵh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/457/

Glossary of Local Terms (1)
Cited in the Text

• 104

1. The term is cited in the form of the singular, followed, if such should be the case, between parentheses, by the modification of the initial syllable in the constructed state. Then comes the form of the plural. /The entries in the double columns on pp: 457-461 in the original source have been put in a single column in the translation./

abadu(u) ibuda: furrow, sheltered bed.
abelhas(u) ibelhasen: juniper berry.
abuhu(u) ibuhuten: acorn.
açd'er(u) içd'ar: head of a ditch, sluice.
acheddir(u) ichedran: blackberry bush.
adaghas(u) idughas: shelter for the transhumant livestock.
ad'ar(u) id'aren: peduncle (of terrain).
ad'erras(u) id'ersan: wall of dry stones.
ad'erg: passage reserved for the animals.
adrar(u) idraren: mountain, high country.
adunkal(u) idunkalen: preliminary irrigation by spreading.
afghyus(u) ifghyas: superficial and very hard layer of sheep dung dried for at least a year.
afqir(u) ifqiren: old man, sober personage (and of the commune).
afraw(u) iferwan: basin not walled up.
afza(u): calcareous rock (cf. afur).
agadir(u) igudar: strong position or building, monumental construction or ruin.
agellay(u) igellayen: orchard, enclosed field.
agellid(u) igeldan: king.
agelzim(u) igelzam: hoe.
agenza(u) igenzaten or igenzwan: talus separating tiers.
aghu(u) ighuten: whey.
agh^{w}zzir(u) igh^{w}zran: mountain plant.
aglib(u) igliben: tillage preceding sowing (= leqlib iqliben).

104

/457 cont./

agrur(u) ig^{w}rar: stable, ground floor used as a stable.

agudi(u) igudiyen: pile; dim.: tagudit.

ag^{w}las(u): barley given to the animals green /Fr. en vert/.

ag^{w}rram(u) ig^{w}rramen: marabout.

ah'riq(u) ih'riqen: dam of resurgence.

ah'wach: communal dance with choruses.

aida(u): patrimony.

ajaffu(u) ijuffa: torch, bonfire; dim.: tajaffut(t) tijuffa: small torch.

akchchud'(u) ikchchud'en: wood, plank, and, by extension, table of codification.

ak^{w}erkur(u) ik^{w}erk^{w}ar: pile of stones.

akchchaw(w) akhchawn: preserved fruit or vegetables.

akheddam(u) ikheddamen: day laborer.

aknari(u) iknariyen: opuntia.

akuray(u) ikurayen: stick; dim.: takurayt(t) tikurayin: shepherd's crook.

amachchu(u) imuchcha: somber land.

amadagh(u) imadaghen: loose sheaf.

amater(u) imutar: species of genista.

/458/

amchchard'u(u) imechchurd'a: communal agent charged with surveillance of the harvests.

amazir(u): manure.

amaz'uz'(u) imuz'az': late.

amazzal(u) imazzalen: communal agent charged with the distribution of the water.

am^{c}chur(u) i^{c}yud um^{c}chur: the feast of the ^{c}achûrâ'.

amddakk^{w}el(u) imddukk^{w}al: person who is in regular relations with another, partner.

amerwas(u) imerwasen: matrimonial gift.

amenzu(u) imenza: precocious.

amghar(u) imgharen: chief.

^{c}ammer: to exercise a legitimate usufruct.

amlal(u) imlalen: sand, sandy terrain.

/458 cont./

104 ᶜam rruz', ᶜam farina: year of famine when one nourishes oneself with rice or farina distributed by the administration.

amud ih'ellan: favorable period to till.

anflus(u) ineflas: bearer of good fortune, leader (understood, but unusual.

anrar(u) inraren: threshing floor.

anual(u): place where one does the cooking.

aqarid'(u) iqarid'en: sou, some sous (in the sense of money).

aqend'ar(u) iqend'aren: quintal.

aqerbus(u) iqerbas: stack of straw protected by a circular wall of dry stones.

aqeryan(u) iqeryanen: kind of impermeable soil.

arabbu(u) irubba: subgroup, in turn.

aruku(u) irukuten: dotal contribution of the bride.

aryal(u) and dim. taryalt: basket, basketful.

asais: place for municipal operations, choruses, dances, etc.

asarag (like asais).

asaru(u) isura: irrigation ditch.

asengar n-ddu tadla: maize cultivated immediately after barley.

asemlal(u) isemlalen: cherry tree.

asghʷert(u) isghʷraten: prenuptial stage, feast of conclusion of the agreement for the marriage.

asegg^{w}en(u) isg^{w}an: night shelter (for livestock).

asqqif: loggia, story veranda.

astad'hara: to produce a written proof (= biyyn).

aswik(w) aswiken: walnut tree.

att'aç(w) at't'açen: receptacle used to wash the hands or to measure the time of irrigation.

aylini(w) anli: millet.

aymi(u): tuberche of the arisarum /Araceae/ (food during scarcity).

aytmaten: brothers, agnatic relatives.

ayyaw(w) ayyawn: shoots, suckers (of the olive tree).

awuttu(u) iwutta: limits.

azegg^{w}ay(u) izegg^{w}ayen: beating /of fruit trees, etc./.

azemmur(u) izemran: oleasters.

azenbu(u) izenba: grillade of barley in milk.

/458 cont./

104 az'lag: dependencies (of an estate).
azmu(u) izma: meadow for mowing, fodder.
az'z'allu(w) az'z'alluten, iz'z'ulla: area for collective prayer.
az'z'ayn(w): communal interdiction (of agricultural or pastoral order), fine (which sanctions it).
^{c}azzeb: to vocalize (on the occasion of certain ceremonies).
azzunti(w) izzunta: olive tree (name of unit: tazzuntit(ta) tizzuntiwin or tizzunta).
azwag(u) izwagen: exile, suppliant.
bab l-lkhir id-bab l-lkhir: bearer of good fortune.
baraka, barakat: benefic influx, magico-religious force.
bay^{c} us-salam: selling as fresh /Fr. vente en vert/.
berninch, lberninch: crop of rotation; plur. lebrannch, id-elberninch.
berrh': to publish.
berru: to release oneself (from a responsibility, from an appurtenance).
bu-zegg^{w}agh: the redness (disease of fruit trees and cereals).
/459/
ççadaqa, ççadaqat: donation, feast of delivery of annual offerings to a saint.
chajara, chchjert: genealogical tree.
chchaif: smoothed relief, swelling.
chchard', chchrud': dower stipulated for the wife, cens paid to a saint, salary of the Koranic master.
chchefâa: lineage exception (opposable to any mutation of the patrimony) (= chchufu^{c}a).
chchrif chchurfa, lechref: descendant of the Prophet.
chutanbir: September.
ddabaran: period of Aldebaran (time of the agricultural year).
ddiyt, ddiya: pecuniary composition.
ddment: patrimonial portion (of a landed estate).
ddu^{c}a, ddu^{c}at: invocation, vow.
ddurt: feast of end of cycle.
dujambir: December.
erz' ut't'ib: to bring about the breaking of the clods (second irrigation).

/459 cont./

104 f^{w}bray: February.
ghucht: August.
h'ddit: foreign homily.
ibril: April.
ibrin: coarse semolina, first grinding.
ifid' ifyed': formula for expulsion of evil.
ifulki kh-tyuga: good for cultivating (period of the year, parcels).
igg(yi) aggiwn: terebinth.
ighin(yi) ighniwn: head of ditch (principal intake).
ighzer(y) ighezraten: ravine.
igmi(yi) igman, ugmi(w) ugman: defense /prohibition/.
ih'h'yalen: unlucky period of the year.
ikha(i) ikhsan: agnatic subgroup.
ikri(i) akriwn: gravels, crops of the bottom of the bed.
imi: mouth, opening, clearance.
imiri(i) imaran: wall.
innayr(yennayr): January.
istidkhal: juridical substitution.
istir^{c}a: act of reservations.
istih'fâd': act of safeguard.
itqqi: clay.
izm(y) izma^{w}n: lion, in the plural: powers (of a saint).
jihâz, jjihaj, ljihaz: contribution of the bride's own goods in the community.
jirit jjraydat, ljarida ljaridat: list of parcels, patrimonial inventory.
ktuber: October.
lah'bas: pious foundation, agnatic sequestration, ar. /Arabic/ h'ubûs.
l^{c}açr: hour of prayer (4:00 P.M.)
l^{c}arbûn: earnest /deposit/.
lbit, lbyut: individual residence (in the tigemmi).
leuh': pisé.
l^{c}inçert: seasonal feast of summer.
l^{c}orf: local law.
lfaqir lfuqara: minister of a saint.
lfiyd': cultivation by scattering (= angyun).

/459 cont./

104 lghimer lghwamer: dependency of an estate.
lh'achit: reserved part in the patrimony.
lh'awza, lh'awzat: at the seizure (taking possession).
lh'izb leh'zaib: section in the psalmody of the Koran.
lh'urum lh'urumat: place of refuge.
lid'ilab: ceremony of asking in marriage.
lifda (or tefdiyyt or liftida): resiliation.
linçaf: decreed penalty, penal codification.
liqâla, lqilult: clause of resiliation.
listighfâr: act of repentance.
lkhrif: period of the year that goes from the end of the threshing to the first cold weather.
lmaqam lmaqamat, id-lmaqam: sanctuary of a saint.
lma^{c}ruf lma^{c}rayf: ritual feasting.
lmekçur: nuts in a pulp.
lmeqqeddem lmeqqaddmin: officer in charge, petty chief inferior to the amghar.
lmirath: act of distribution of inheritance, genealogy.
/460/
lmord'i lmord'iyin: accepted coswearer.
lmuslem lemwaslem: patronal fair.
lmud'a^{c} lamwad'i^{c}: agglomeration.
lmunh'is lmunh'isin: period or people of bad augury.
lmulazim lmulazimin: one attached to a sanctuary.
lqaleb: a certain period of the year.
lqubbt lqubbat: cupola.
luçit luçiyat: testament.
lud'a: plain, flat country (cf. azaghar).
lulyuz: July.
lqendil lqnadil: oil lamp.
luqft luqfat: proceeding accompanied by gift.
luzi^{c}t luzi^{c}at: collective slaughtering.
mars: March.
mayyu: May.
mendeq, menteq: farina of roasted barley.
muchu^{c}, lmucha^{c}: collective land.

/460 cont./

104 nunyuh: June.

nuwanbir: November.

qqen: to close, to be closed, to harness, to attach, to be attached.

rd'a: to acquiesce to an act or a juridical state.

rra^{c}da: storm, summer rain.

rras l-mal: estate of a saint, capital.

rrhen larhinat: sale with power of redemption.

ssaqra (syn. of querri afella): to produce acts for application to the places of the litigation.

sslukt sslaki: feast of closure of the psalmody of the Koran.

ta^{c}addu(ta): transgression.

tafaska(t) tifaskiwin: sacrifice of the ^{c}Îd al-Kabîr.

taferdit(t) tiferday: unit, fraction of a turn (of irrigation).

tagant(ta) tigina: forest.

taghamut(t) tighuma: intake of a secondary ditch.

tagellat(t) tigellatin: turnip.

tag^{w}lla(t) tig^{w}lliwin: porridge of maize or of barley.

takat(t) takatin: foyer, conjugal family.

takchchut'(t) tikchchud'in: piece of wood, stick of dry wood; hence, drawing lots.

takherrubt(t) tikherrubin: measure of grain.

tak^{w}mmart(t): cheese.

talekhcha(t) tilekhchiwin: porridge of beans or of other pulses.

taldran(ta): good season.

talkast(ta) talkasin: earthen pot used to measure oil; measure.

tamakhirt(t) timakhirin: good season, rural summering of livestock in the mountains.

tameghra(t) timeghriwin: nuptial ceremony.

tamuzunt(t) timuzunin: obole constituting earnest for the repurchase of a piece of land.

tanuri(t) tinuriwin: inundated crop.

tanut(ta) tuna: ~~small~~ well, shallow basin fashioned at the foot of a tree.

taqbilt(t) tiqbilin: political unit, group.

taqwim(te), tiquwim: estimation.

tarad'i: mutual agreement.

/460 cont./

• 104 targa(te) tiregg^{w}in: channel, ditch.

tarrbi^{c}t(ta): trunk placed to collect the offerings.

tarrut': pile of stones or rocky area with ritual significance.

tarwa l-le^{c}mm: cousins, relatives.

taryalt(ta) tiryal: basket, hamper.

tarzzift(t) tirezzifin: processional leading of the bride to the bridegroom.

tasafut(t), diminutive of asafu: firebrand.

tasarut(t) tisura: key. In the plural: benefice (of a saint).

tatemnit(t) titamniyin: measure (equal to the talkast).

tauqit(t) tiwqiyn: once /ounce/, earnest.

tawz'ut(t) tiwz'a: corner, recess, quarter.

tazet'at'(t) tizet'at'in: contractual safeguard (of a traveler).

tifawt(ti) tifawin: light, proof.

tigellatin: turnips.

tigemmi(t) tigumma: house.

tighersi(t) tighersiwin: sacrifice to a saint, victim.

tigh^{w}mert(le) tigh^{w}mrin: corner, redan, salient in dry stones.

tiktit(le) tiktatin: limit.

tillirin(t): kind of river plant.

timezgida(t) timezgadiwin: mosque.

/461/

tinubga: feast at which two groups meet.

tisemt(t) tismawin: name

tisirit(t) tisariyn, tisaratin: planche /land between furrows/ of irrigation.

tiwilt(ti): agape accompanied by palaver between groups.

tizzla(ti): portion of acquests accruing to the wife or to any other of the familial society.

trama: to usurp (= ak^{w}i).

t't'aleb(ta) t'olba: clerk /learned person/.

tefrik: successive psalmody of sections of the Koran.

ttkerbil: second dressing /in agric./. Cf. ammend'al(u).

tummit(tu) tummatin: semolina of roasted barley seasoned with butter or oil.

/461 cont./

104 tunya, thunyā: sale with power of redemption (another name for the rrehn).

uggug(w) uggugen: diversion dam, collecting water.

uluf(w) ulufen: divorce, repudiation.

urti(w) urtan: orchard.

uzun(w) uzunen: square of irrigation.

z'i, intens. ttz'i: to dispute.

zuggez: to install, to put in place.

/Page 462 is blank; pp. 463-464 contain an index of the Maghrebi groups mentioned in the text. The index is followed by Plates I-XV./

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stakè is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

•105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*63 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
* 634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
* 634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

•105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

•105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

•105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105 •
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

1: Berque, Jacques. Structures socials du Haut-Atlas [Social structures of the High Atlas]. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955.

8, 493 pp.; 10 figures; 15 plates; glossary; bibliography. [HRAF MS: 670 1.]

Yale: Nkd77 954Bb.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jane Bigwood.

[This lengthy monograph on the Shluh concentrates on the Seksawa tribe. Although a bibliography is included, bibliographic references occur throughout the text. These references are inconsistent and incomplete. Spellings of native terms differ considerably from page to page, and the glossary adds very little to understanding them.

The book is divided into four parts. Parts I and II, which constitute half of the source, deal with geography and environment. Part III is titled "Institutions and values." It deals with religion and law and the interrelationships between them. Part IV consists of interpretations and comparisons.

Berque's main interest seems to be in the origins and the true nature of Shluh institutions. He uses some archival data but his analysis consists mainly in historical reconstruction based upon contemporary Shluh institutions and similar

institutions in other North African societies. He seeks comparisons and poetic images which are not necessarily warranted by the data. Consequently his conclusions and hypotheses give the impression of being highly imaginative.

The author's discussion of institutions is lengthy and poetic--he says in 10 pages what could have been stated in one paragraph. His discussions are disjointed and difficult to follow. Although the title is "Social structure ..." very little data on social structure is given. Because of the inconsistent, imprecise and confusing way in which Berque uses the terms "tribe" and taqbilt, total chaos reigns as to the nature of these political groupings. Discussions of either the tribe or the taqbilt have been marked for both 619 and 634. The researcher is advised to consult both categories. He discusses the leff in the interpretive section and most of the discussion concerns similar institutions in other North African societies. Concerning the leff, he says "It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study." (p. 595) This statement could easily be applied to the monograph as a whole.]

Field dates: ca. 1950
Analysts: Marlene Martin, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Sociologist--5
Processed in 1975

2: Montagne, Robert. Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le sud du Maroc; essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh) [The Berbers and the Makhzen in the south of Morocco; essay on the political transformation of the sedentary Berbers (the Chleuh group)]. Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1930.

16, 426 p.; 8 maps; bibliography; indices; table of errata. [HRAF MS: 11, 554p.]

Yale: Bk15 9.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jean Winchell.

[This source deals in almost its entirety with the history and political evolution of the Shluh tribes of the Grand Atlas and Anti-Atlas Mountains, the Sous River valleys and the adjoining coastal regions. The author divides his work into three major parts which he calls "books", the first of which deals with the geography, ethnography and cultural history of the Sous region; the second with the political organization of the Berber republics, with of course, particular emphasis on the Shluh, but with additional data on the Rif MX3, Jebala MV2, Senhaja MX4, Berbers M11, Kabyle MV6, Ancient Morocco MW2 and Medieval Morocco MW3; and finally the third, which is concerned primarily with the rise to personal power of the amghars of the cantons and the "great chiefs" or caids. Scattered throughout the source but particularly in this third section is abundant data on the political relationship of the Shluh and other Berber groups to the Makhzen or Moroccan central government.]

Analyst: John Beierle
Field date: ca. 1921-1928

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1974

3: Dupas, Pierre. Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut-Atlas Occidental (tribus des Ida ou Mahmoud et des Seksaoua) [Note on the collective storehouses of the Western High Atlas (tribes of the Ida ou Mahmoud and the Seksaoua)]. Hespéris 9 (1929): 303-322. Paris, Librairie Larose, 1929.

12 photographs on 6 plates; 1 map; 12 fig. on folding plate.

Yale: DT181 + H4 9.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Helen Bluhm.

[This is a short description of the fortress-like community storehouses, agadir, still common among the Shluh during the 1920's. Each family owns a number of rooms in it and is responsible for the building up-keep of this part of the agadir. The guard or guards to watch the stored food are paid in kind by every family.]

Field date: 1927-1928
Analyst: Sigrid Khera, marker
John M. Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Soldier-5
Processed in 1973

4: Hoffman, Bernard G. The structure of traditional Moroccan society. Studies in Social Anthropology, 2. The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1967.

223 p.; 11 figures (incl. maps); folding map in pocket; list of tribes; glossary; bibliography; index.

Yale: DT312 H64. DLC. card no.: 66-15852.

[Only pp. 22-26, 44-61, 85-109 and 201-212 have been processed for the MW11 Shluh file.]

[Based on a large number of source materials, this book gives a description of the ecology of the Berber country, the economy of the people who are primarily sedentary agriculturists, and data on their political organization at the village, district and tribal levels.

The researcher should be made aware in this source (especially in Chapter 4, pp. 44-61) that generalized information on the Berbers as a whole, of which the Shluh are one representative part, has been marked from the file point of view of the Shluh file, and therefore this material should be read carefully so as to separate out Shluh from non-Shluh data. Where references are made to specific Berber groups, such as the Rif, Beraber and Zenata, generally these data have been zeroed out unless they contain comparative references to the Shluh.]

Field date: not applicable
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1973

1: Berque--4 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/vii cont./

128

B) Sigla

a.	aît /a Berber word that frequently precedes the name of a tribe; see p.584 , n. 1/	I.A.A. ...	Institut Agricole d'Algérie /Agricultural Institute of Algeria/
ar.	Arabic	I.	Idaw
arch. ..	archives	Im.	Imintanout
art. ...	article	in.	inédit /unpublished/
b.	ibn	R.	Revue /Review/
B. N. ..	Bibliothèque Nationale	t.	tome
chl. ...	Chleuh /Shluh/	tr.	translation
c. r. ..	compte rendu /report/	Ud.	Awlâd
éd.	edition	vol.	volume

/viii/

C) Abbreviations

128
113

They refer to the following collections and periodicals:

Afr. fr., "l'Afrique française" (1891...), Paris.

A. M. or Arch. mar., "Archives marocaines," Paris (1904-1936), then Rabat.

Ann. géo., "Annales de géographie" (1891...), Paris.

Ann. hist. soc., "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" (1930-1939), then "Annales d'histoire sociale" (1939-41 and 1945), "Mélanges d'histoire sociale" (1942-1944), becoming in 1946 "Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations)," this latter series sometimes being specified "Ann. E. S. C.," Paris.

Ann. soc., "L'Année sociologique" (1st series 1923-1924, 2nd series 1939-1940, "Annales sociologiques," 3rd series 1948-1949), Paris.

Bull. E. P. M., "Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc," Rabat.

CHEAM, "Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane," Paris.

Hesp., "Hesperis," Berbère /Berber/ archives and bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I: 1924...), Paris.

1: Berque--5 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

128
113

/viii cont./

R. afr., "Revue africaine" (T. I: 1856), Algiers.

R. al., "Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence" (1886...) (a continuation of "Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence," 1885), Algiers.

Rens. col., "Renseignements coloniaux," appendix to the bulletin of l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I., "Revue des Études islamiques" (T. I: 1927), Paris.

R. J. C., "Revue des jurisprudence coutumière," unpublished periodical of the management of Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in., "Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc /Collection of unpublished sources on the history of Morocco/," Paris (followed by initials and figures indicating the series and the country being considered).

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/ III. Concerning the Men

361 342 113 The House (1)

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

/92 cont./

First French Knowledge

114
113 Here we shall not insist on the political sociology of the modern epoch (1).

1. On the political sociology of the modern epoch, the principal work is that of R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Numerous unpublished or published monographs by the same author: notably, on the Seksawa or the tribes that surround them, art. already cited on the Aghbar, unpublished not. on the Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Remaining unpublished, the valuable monograph by Lieut. F. de La Chapelle, on Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mtouggui /The tribes of the Great Atlas of the Mtouggui/ (1926), both an "exploration" and an attempt at scientific systematization. The same author has published: "Un grand caïdat du S. marocain /A great caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927, pp. 372 sq.; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchical power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1928, pp. 263 sq.; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental /The high-mountain tribes of the western Atlas/," R.E.I., 1928, pp. 339 sq. Unpublished not. by Lieut. Labonne, Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mtouggui /Note on the caid Abdelmalek Mtouggui/, 1913; id., Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous /Note on the Ait Had ou Yous/, 1915; Lieut. Dupas, Les Seksawa /The Seksawa/, 1929 (end of La Chapelle's investigation).

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[701] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121]
[113] 1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113]

/footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

[184] 121 [114]

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 121

But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

[114]

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

/97/ Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/ I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1),

• 113 114

1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

/99 cont./

113 114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

1: Berque--629 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453/ Bibliography

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

128
113

I. -- Cartography

[114] The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

1: Berque--630 . Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453 cont./

113

definition and classification/," Hesp., 2nd-3rd tr. 1938, pp. 109-180, 17 pl.

J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Research on the evolution of the relief in the Central Massif of the great Atlas, in-4°, xis-708 p., 40 inset pl. Essential on the physical bases of this society.

L. Emberger, "La végétation du massif des Seksawa," Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des sciences, t. CXCVIII, 1934, pp. 968-970.

Id., Les arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaitre /The trees of Morocco and how to recognize them/, Larose, Paris, 1938, pet. in-12, 317 p.

/454/ III. -- Exploration

There is scarcely anything to be drawn, for our purpose, from the travels of Quedenfeldt (1881), Division et répartition de la Population berbère au Maroc, trans. by H. Simon, gr. in-8°, 223 p. - 1 map, Algiers, Jourdan, 1904; of Larras (1900); of L. Gentil (1904); of J. Felze and Th-J. Delaye (about 1923), Au Maroc inconnu /In unknown Morocco/, 1935, Grenoble, Arthaud, gr. in-8°, 185 p. ill., 1 pl. in color as frontispiece. The first detailed description of the Seksawa is the one by A. Brives, "Au Seksawa /on the Seksawa/," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord, 1905, pp. 48-52, and above all: id., Voyages au Maroc, Algiers, Jourdan, 1907, in-4°, x-612 p., 274 photos, maps, plates and album. Stay of 1901, goes up the valley.

Among the monographs of the penetration, all unpublished, let us mention especially:

F. de La Chapelle, "Note sommaire sur les tribus du Grand Atlas et du Dir du Mtouggui /Summary note on the tribes of the

1: Berque--631 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/454 cont./

113

Great Atlas and of the Dir of the Mtouggui/. Arch. in. Im., 1926.

Id., "Le grand Atlas du Mtouggui," fasc. I and II (IIIe Partie), Arch. in. Im., 1926. Not only practical inventory, but scientific investigation of great value.

Dupas, "Seksawa," Arch. in. Im. 1929. Useful for the upper cantons, which the preceding was not able to know directly.

IV. -- Ways of Life, Economy

R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les Haut vallées du grand Atlas," Hesp., 1927, t. VII, 1st tr., 5 p., 1 inset map, pp. 1-32.

J. Célérier, "L'Atlas et la circulation au Maroc," Hesp., 4th tr., 1927, pp. 447-498, 2 maps.

J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, Tours, Arrault and et Cie., 1941, already cited, commentaries, and agricultural maps, maps of the exchanges and displacements of the herds, at 1/200,000. Useful tentative synthesis.

J. Berque, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/," Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français, Nos. 210-211, May-June, 1950, pp. 116-119.

Id., "Terroirs et seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and lords of the western High Atlas/," Ann. E. S. C., No. 4 and Dec., 1951, pp. 474-484.

Id., "Un glossaire notarial arabo-Chleuh du XVIIIe s. /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary of the eighteenth century/," R. afr., Nos. 422-423, 1st and 2nd tr. 1950, 1 map, 1 inset pl., pp. 357-398.

Id., "Notes sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas," Ann. E. S. C., 1953, 1 map, pp. 289-314.

1: Berque--632 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/454 cont./

113 L. Robine, "La transhumance dans les tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

/455/ V. -- The Group and the Individual

a) Morphology

R. Montagne, Villages et Kasbahs berbères, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-8°, ix + 22 p., 80 pl., and 1 inset map.

J. Dresch, Map of the density of the population and commentaries in op. laud.

J. Berque, "Notes sur la démographie des tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1953.

b) Institutions

R. Montagne, "Le Régime juridique des tribus du Sud marocain," Hesp., 1924, t. IV, 3rd tr., pp. 313-331.

R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-4°, xvi + 426 p., 8 inset maps. A great book of Maghrebi sociology.

G. Surdon, Institutions et coutumes des berbères du Maghreb, Tangier, "Les éditions internationales," 1938, in-8°, xxi + 502 p., 1 folded map.

Anonymous, "Le mariage dans les tribus de coutume de l'annexe d'Imintanout /Marriage in the custom tribes of the annex of Imintanout/," Arch. in. Im., no date.

Hubschwerlin, "Le droit de répresentation, succession des petits enfants /The law of representation, succession of little children/," Arch. in. Im., 1932.

Id., "Etudes des successions en pays Seksawa /Studies of successions in Seksawa country/," Arch. in. Im., 1932.

1: Berque--633 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/455 cont./

113 Miollan, "La composition en pays de coutume berbère /Composition in country with Berber customs/," Arch. in. Im., 1928.

Dupas, "Les Igoudar Seksawa et Ida ou Mahmoud /The Seksawa Igoudar and Ida ou Mahmoud/," Arch. in. Im., 1929.

J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /Sources of the customary law in the Sous/, Agadir, Imprimerie du Sous, 1942, in-12, 95 p.

Id., "Le règlement de la dya /The settlement of the dya/," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., Nos. 416-417, 1st and 2nd tr., 1948, pp. 363-402.

Id., "Le droit du Sous /The law of the Sous/," Bulletin des études arabes, 1949, No. 41, Jan.-Feb., pp. 8-11.

Id., "Loi et coutume dans l'ancien droit familial du Sous /Law and custom in the ancient familial rights of the Sous/," Arch. in. Im., 1949.

Id., "Quelques documents sur le droit repressif ancien du Haut-Atlas /Some documents on the ancient repressive law of the High Atlas/," R. alg., Nos. 1-2, Jan.-April, 1953, pp. 1-8.

c) Comportments

Beyond the archives of the penetration and, on a general plane, Les Berbères et le Makhzen, by R. Montagne, we have used:

F. de La Chapelle, "Un grand Caïdat du Sud marocain /A great Caïdate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927 No. 10, pp. 373-386.

/456/

Id., "Les tribus de montagne du Haut-Atlas occidental," R. E. I., 1938, cahier III, pp. 339-360.

1: Berque--634 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/456 cont./

113 Id., "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchic power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/." Hesp., t. VIII, 3rd and 4th tr., 1928, 3 maps, 5 fig., pp. 263-283.

Naissance du prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, collective inquiry, under the direction of R. Montagne, Paris, Peyronnet and Cie., 1948-1950, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, t. III, 291 p. + 61 pl. in 16 inset sheets.

F. Bonjean, Au Maroc en roulotte /To Morocco by caravan/, Paris, Hachette, 1950, in-12, 318 p., Paris, Flammarion, pet. in-8°.

J. Orieux, Kasbahs en plein ciel /Casbahs in the middle of the sky/, 1951, 185 p., inset photos. Stay in Ait H'adduyws. Vivid notations, psychological and of atmosphere.

G. Chevalier Le More, "L'émigration dans les tribus d'Imantanout," Arch. in. Im., 1953.

J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Verity and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131-164, 2 inset pl.

/viii cont./

121 the play of inner forces, united now to form them, now to destroy them, was exercised. In the absence of historians' texts, it is by studying the tribes -- and more specifically the ones that have stayed away from external influences -- that one can hope to distinguish the phases of these struggles that match the primitive republics against the leaders who dominate them for a time. It is in this form that we are permitted to see this drama, which sums up a large part of the political life of the Maghreb, being performed.

Direct observation of the small Berbère /Berber/ States, a comparison of their forms and of their structure, indeed permits catching a glimpse of the laws of their evolution, which history does not make known to us. Thus Masqueray could show, in a masterly book (1),

[113]

1. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886.

that the primitive hamlets of the Aurès, the picturesque and animated villages of Kabylia, the silent towns of the Mzab represented among the sedentary peoples of Algeria the successive stages in the formation of cities, following a progression analogous to the one that primitive Greece and Rome may have known.

Is it not likewise permissible to wonder whether the establishment of the power of the leaders who rise for an instant over anarchic tribes does not also proceed in rapid stages according to constant rules unknown to men, but which nevertheless invariably direct their courses and lead them first to success, then to ruin?

For the purpose of trying to see whether this is so, there is doubtless no field of research more favorable than Morocco. Indeed, until the establishment of the French Protectorate, we can see an isolated empire living there, half-stricken with helplessness, shaken at the same time by dynastic crises and tribal revolts, now torn apart by dissension, now unified by the energetic

/25 cont./

*175 [127] I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- If one is to believe the most ancient documents on the coast of Morocco that we possess -- the periplus of Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era (1) --

[113] 1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, Vol. I, 3rd ed., pp. 295, 482, 499; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/, I to VII; Hérodote /Herodotus/, IV, 184 and 196 (cf. collection of texts, R. Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16 to 20).

three distinct population groups were living then in the vicinity of the Oued Dra /Dra Wadi/: the Lixites, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians were those men of black race, well known to Hérodote /Herodotus/, whose very numerous traces have been found in most of the Saharan oases, and who, with their archaic techniques, still exist in our day in the heart of the African continent in Borkou and Tibesti (2).

[113] 2. E.-F. Gautier, Le Sahara /The Sahara/, Paris, 1923, p. 124. Perhaps they should be regarded as the ancestors of the Haraten /Haratin/, who in our day live in the big qsour /fortified places/ of the Dra, the Dadès, and the Ferkla, although, without any doubt, the bringing in of Sudanese slaves has in the course of the centuries renewed in large part the blood of the black populations of the oases.

/25 cont./

¥ 175 The Lixite pastoralists, who in their way of life were doubtless similar to the Touaregs /Tuareg/ of our time, were, one can believe, the predecessors of the Senhaja with the litham /veil/, widespread in the plains and deserts, the very ones who were to invade the plains of northern Morocco in the first centuries of Islam. Finally, one may think that the sedentary Troglodytes, settled in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas and the Haut-Dra, utilized from that distant epoch the numerous caverns hollowed out of the cliffs, which the Berbères /Berbers/ of our day invariably attribute to the Christians, legendary first inhabitants of the country.

No one has been able up to now to find on the Atlantic coast the traces of the five ports founded by Carthage between Cape Cantin and the mouth of the Dra; the colonies that populated them were doubtless rapidly destroyed by the autochthons. The Ethiopians were also to disappear almost completely, if one is to believe the traditions collected in the time of Edrisi /Idrisi/, under the blows given them by the desert tribes (3).

• [113]

3. Edrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, Leiden, 1886, Dozy and de Goeje trans., pp. 34-35.

Only Lixites and Troglodytes existed, who, according to our hypothesis, would have belonged to the two great Berbère /Berber/ families of nomads and sedentary people, who subsequently did not cease confronting each other.

/26/ It is known that the Roman occupation of Morocco did not go beyond the plains of the north, and the southern limit of Mauretania Tingitana was marked approximately by the banks of the Bou Regreg. It is not surprising under these conditions that the Latin geographers bring us nothing on the Sous but an undecipherable list of tribes and the names of the large rivers.

We have to wait almost a millennium, up to the time of Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/ (ninth century), El Bekri /al-Bakri/

/26 cont./

*175 (eleventh century), and Edrisi /Idrisi/ (twelfth century), to obtain brief indications that permit knowing what the distribution of the populations of the Sous was in the early periods of Islam. Furthermore, in order to understand clearly the circumstances under which the great Berbère /Berber/ families mingled or collided in this remote epoch, we must make an appeal to the traditions that Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ tried tardily -- in the fourteenth century -- to collect and interpret.

One could not, without risking warping the history of Morocco by simplifying it to the extreme, try to explain the peopling of Morocco by the struggle between two ethnic groups, the Branès and the Botr, between whom Ibn Khaldoun seems to divide the ensemble of the Berbère /Berber/ populations, and whose ancient opposition in North Africa would be only the eternal combat between the sedentary people and the nomads (1).

[113]

1. E.-F. Gautier, Les Siècles obscurs du Magreb /The Obscure Centuries of the Maghreb/, Paris, 1927, p. 202 and sqq.

But if the exact meaning of the genealogical classifications established by Arab and Berbère scholars of the Middle Ages is doubtless destined to remain forever obscure to us, the large ethnic divisions that the historians and geographers distinguished in the same epoch under the family names of the Masmouda, Senhaja, and Zenata retain their value entirely; and all the ancient life of the Maghreb is explained by their struggles.

These groups, which include innumerable tribes and confederations often scattered over all of North Africa, constitute veritable nations in the early times of Islam. The elements that form them feel united by a powerful bond, which they get from the belief -- perhaps illusory -- in a common origin. These brothers of the same race are united enough to lend one another mutual assistance against their enemies, to defend their dynasties together, and at the same time to combat those of their rivals.

/27 cont./

*175 of the Oum er Rbi'a live, in fact, the Doukkala /Dukkala/, Regraga, and Haha, whom the impact of Arab tribes will break up or later drive back toward the south; north of the same river, coming as far as the vicinity of Salé and the present territory of the Tadla, the Berghwata are soon going to found their heretical kingdom with false prophets, whose /28/ prestige over the tribes comes from the Berbère /Berber/ Koran that they teach. On the banks of the Sebou live the Beni Hasan, whose territory is contiguous with that of the Ghomara.

This latter group also belongs, if one is to believe Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, to the Masmouda tribes; it occupies the mountains that border the Mediterranean, so that the greatest part of the regions inhabited by sedentary peoples in the Maghreb el Aqsa forms a people of the same race, the same traditions, and the same customs (1).

[113]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, de Slane trans., Vol. II, p. 135.

On the coast two blocks of Senhaja, one in the neighborhood of Tit and the Oum er Rbi'a, the other on the approaches to Tangier, hardly interrupt the continuity of the Masmoudian territory. But already, on the Saharan confines of the Sous, the great rival family of the Senhaja throws toward the plains successive swarms of conquering tribes, who drive the Masmouda from the Sous valley and who, farther to the East, cross the Atlas and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and make their place by hurling back, to the West of the chain of the Rif, the Ghomara of the mountains of the North.

The great struggle between the Masmouda and the Senhaja, doubtless waged for centuries at the time of the Mussulman conquest, is complicated from the eighth century and still more from the tenth on by the appearance of the Zénète Berbères /Berbers/, nomads who came from the East in the tracks of the Mussulman conquerors, by the invasion route from Taza to Fez.

/28 cont./

*175 While the kingdom of the Berghwata is being created and organized under the aegis of its prophet-kings, in the center of Morocco, Zénète principalities form all around: at Salé, in the country of the Tadla, at Aghmat; their chiefs wage a merciless war with the heretics. The first Zénètes are, moreover, only the vanguard of an army that will come later and whose last elements, in the thirteenth century, will be the tribes of the Beni Merin (2).

•[113]

2. L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIe siècle /Morocco in the First Years of the Sixteenth Century/, Algiers, 1906, pp. 140, 146.

II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- It is then that the Almoravide conquerors appear, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ of the Lemtouna tribe, coming from Senegal, who bring along with them the Lamta from the Anti-Atlas (1053). The domination of Yousef /29/ Ben Tachfin /Yusuf ibn-Tashfin/ marks the decline of the power of the sedentary Masmouda; it precipitates first of all the ruin of the Berghwata -- already shaken by the blows given them by the Beni Ifran Zénètes -- and this disappearance takes on great importance, because thus the ethnic continuity of the sedentary tribes, whose territories extended until then from the western Atlas to the Rif, is broken; the Deren itself is conquered and visited by the Almoravides in its smallest innermost recesses (1);

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 71.

finally, in the North the Ghomara are threatened by the unceasingly stronger pressure of the Senhaja from the central Atlas, who have crossed the banks of the Ouergha and are presently reaching the shores of the Mediterranean. Without doubt, at the same epoch in the far Sous other Senhaja, the Gezzoula, are already

/30 cont./

*175 today, have nevertheless kept up to the present the same territory as of old. In the West come the Hintata, vanished now, then the Gedmiwa, still in place west of the Nefis; the Genfisa, of whom the Seksawa nowadays represent the most active group; finally the Haha, in the vicinity of the Ocean, whose habitat has undergone only a slight change.

Moreover, from the twelfth century on we see foreigners from the plain of the Sous or from that of Marrakech, such as the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Ergita, as well as fractions of Zenata or Doukkala /Dukkala/, take their place beside the Almohade tribes. One might believe that they were groups driven from their habitat by the invasions from the plains or even sometimes political emigrants who had taken refuge in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

• [113]

1. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'histoire Almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., Paris, 1928, pp. 64-65.

On the lower course of the Sous wadi, Mesgina, Ksima, and Chtouka lived in places near the ones that they still occupy. In the Anti-Atlas, south of Taroudant, we already find grouped around the Arghen the tribes of the Ida Ou Nadif, Indouzal, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri. Farther to the East the Ait Waouzgit surrounded the Sirwa, while on the two versants of the central Atlas move the innumerable tribes of the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/.

When the empire founded by the Masmouda was consolidated, the large autochthonous families in their ensemble had already taken their present place in the country. Scarcely in the plains of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, the Berghwata ended up by disappearing under the blows of the Almohades themselves, while in the Anti-Atlas the mounting tide of the Gezzoula continued to threaten the peace of the sedentary peoples of the Sous valley.

*175 /31/ So we see, up to the end of the twelfth century, the peopling of Morocco taking place little by little, under aspects that the present-day distribution of the tribes still permits finding again. It is true that up to here it is Berbères /Berbers/ who are disputing the possession of the land. Only a few Arabs, who came from Orient or from Andalusia, are settling in the towns. The Occident in the time of the Almohades still remains the almost exclusive domain of the old African race, while for two centuries already the great wave of Hilalian invasions has been overturning Ifriqiya and the central Maghreb.

III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- It was in the reign of Ya^{c}qoub el Mansour /Ya^{c}qub al-Mansur/ that the Arab tribes deported by the Almohade ruler after having fomented revolts in Ifriqiya appear in Morocco for the first time in 1187 (1).

[113]

1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, Paris, 1913, p. 200 and passim.

The first Mussulman conquest, led by Oqba ben Nafi^{c} /Okba ibn-Nafi/, had brought, as is known, only minute ethnic changes in western Berbérie /Barbary/. More important because of their consequences were the successive deportations of the Hilalian tribes, transplanted into the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/ and into the territory of the Berghwata by order of the Almohade caliphates. It is then that true tribes were constituted in the search for an eventual habitat: these are the Jochem, in the northern plains, in the vicinity of the Loukkos; the Beni Jabir, in the land of the Tadla; the Atbej, neighbors of the Doukkala /Dukkala/, and, closer to the Atlas, penetrating onto Berbère soil among the Haha, the Haret and the Nader. These nomadic groups were not to cease moving in the midst of the sedentary tribes in the course of the following centuries, until they in turn decided to settle in the plains of the north.

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/38 cont./
000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

[113]

1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of several distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

361
632

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

•[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maʿqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/55 cont./

*175 114 Later, when Morocco closes its frontiers and lives apart from the western world, the rare writers who still consent to keep the chronicle of the events happening in an already ruined Empire hardly merit the name of historians; they limit their effort /56/ to vindication of the sovereigns or base their judgments on the rules of a narrow religious formalism (1).

•[113]

1. E. Lévi-Provençal, Les Historiens des Chorfa /The Historians of the Shorfa/, Paris, p. 21 and sqq.

Moreover, all the books that the Arab authors left to us show only the most official aspect of the institutions as they might appear to the learned men of the towns, faithful servants of the Makhzen /makhzan/; they almost never tell us the policy of the leaders, the reaction of the tribes, the struggle of the influences among which the power is divided up in a region often abandoned to anarchy. The European texts are more precise and sometimes contain valuable information, but they are rarely the work of travelers experienced enough to have penetrated deeply into the obscure and complicated workings of Berbère /Berber/ politics.

*175 Under these conditions it is useless to hope to succeed in knowing, in all their development, the great political movements that have disturbed the life of the Moroccan South, since we would not know how to interpret with certainty the documents that are available to us or to put them together in sufficient number to draw an exact enough picture of the past. It will suffice for us to choose here, from among the number of limited facts whose recital has reached us, those that are most fraught with meaning, to esteem them for what they are worth, and to tie them together, in order to sketch in large strokes the curve of an evolution whose more precise variations we must give up knowing. The general view at which we shall thus arrive will perhaps suffice to bring to light some of the permanent characteristics of the social life and will help us to understand the present better.

/56 cont./

*175 I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- We know almost nothing about the history and ancient geography of the Sous before Islam. The periplus of Hannon /Hanno/, as we have said, only permits us to imagine what the populations of the far Sous might have been, Ethiopians, Lixites and Troglodytes, in the fifth century before our era. It is known that the Roman occupation of Mauretania Tingitana did not extend into the north of Morocco beyond the plain of the Gharb /Rharb/, since the "limes" stopped in the vicinity of Rabat. Beyond, there was doubtless nothing but guard posts for the protection of merchants. Farther toward the South the "Promontorium /57/ Solis," where the Phoenicians had formerly set up an altar to Poseidon, can still be identified with Cape Cantin, but already in the time of Strabon /Strabo/ the trading posts founded by Hannon /Hanno/ had disappeared without leaving any traces (1).

• [113]

1. Hérodote /Herodotus/ IV, 43, 184; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/. Cf. text in Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16-17.

Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/ alone can enable us to know, with a great dearth of details, under what aspects this mysterious coast of the Moroccan South then appeared to foreign navigators. The "Getules Autololes" were living between the littoral and the Atlas; then came the river Qosenus and the Selatites, perhaps on the banks of the Sous; the Masates and their river, which we can identify with the wadi Massat; the valley of the river Darat, our Dra of today, peopled with Daratite Ethiopians. Still farther it was the Perorsis Ethiopians with whom the traders made exchanges, while other Gétules, the Dariens, stayed in the interior of the continent (2).

2. The Autolole and Darien "Getules" are

*175 /57 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ perhaps Igezzoulen of the tribe of the Aït Ouloul (?) and Igezzoulen of the Dra.

As for the Atlas, the "Deren" or "Deris," its distance and the marvels that manifested themselves there put it outside the range of exploration by men. Watered by gushing springs, in gardens where marvelous fruits grew, during the day it did not seem to contain inhabitants. But at night, on the contrary, it was covered with fires. The aegipans /fabulous inhabitants of Libya, according to Pliny/ and the satyrs gave themselves over to their dances, while the flutes, the Panpipe, the noise of drums and cymbals mysteriously filled the air with their harmonies and din (3).

[113]

3. Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/, Book V. Cf. text in Roget, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- When the companion of the Prophet Oqba ben Nafi^c, with the aid of the Zenètes, conquered the far Maghreb in 690, it was in the Sous on the already famous banks of Massat that the conqueror came to affirm the completion of his work in a manner that legend has expressed symbolically. Having, it is said, no more men to subdue and convert, he urged his horse into the Ocean in order to greet the fish, subjects of the prophet Jonas.

The Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous, like their brothers of the North, embraced /58/ the doctrines of the Kharedjites /Khawarij/, in order to fight better against their new masters. Punished by ^cObeid Allah Ibn el Habbab, they rebelled again under the direction of a military leader, Maisara, in order to be delivered from the tyranny of the Arab governors.

In spite of its conversion to Islam, the South of Morocco doubtless remained still subject to Judeo-Christian influences, and one can also believe that the old magico-religious practices of

/58 cont./

*175 ancient Libya kept a strong hold on the mind. But while in the center of the Maghreb, in the land of the Berghwata, these ancient ferments were to favor the creation of a heretical kingdom guided by priest-kings, depositaries of a Berbère /Berber/ Koran, when false prophets -- such as Ha-Mim and his family -- on the shores of the Mediterranean were going to lead the Ghomara into impious practices and earn for them the punishment of God for centuries, the success of the new religion was soon affirmed in the Sous. The ardor of the converts there became such, according to Mussulman writers, that this region did not delay in becoming the blessed land of the scholars and the favorite place for theological contentions between rival sects.

Later, when Idris the Fatimite had founded an Empire in Fez and made the dogma of the political pre-eminence of the shorfa /shurfa/ recognized from that time on, the Sous found itself constituting, in the partition of Morocco, a veritable kingdom. Thus it was that ᶜAbdallah, son of Idris II, became king of Aghmat, of the Nefis, of the country of the Masmouda and Lamta, that is to say, of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. In the eleventh century people were still attributing to this sovereign the founding of the town of Tamedelt near a silver mine between the wadi Dra and Igli of the Sous; in the same period a heretical tribe was referring to a king they had had, Abouʾl Qasem Idris, grandson of ᶜAbdallah, and soon the tribe of the Semlala, who also claims as ancestor the Idrisite sovereign of the Sous, began to assert, in the name of their origins, political claims that they have not renounced up to our day (1).

•[113]

1. El Bekri /al-Bakri/, Description de l'Afrique septentrionale /Description of Northern Africa/, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 303-308; Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, Vol. I, pp. 212-216, 237, 238; Fournel, Les Berbères /The Berbers/, Paris, 1857-1875, pp. 270-272; Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/, de Goeje tr.; de Slane trans., Journal Asiatique, 1842, p. 67.

/58 cont./

*175 In spite of this progress of sherifism, the Sous then was doubtless not entirely peaceful or orthodox, people indulged in furious /59/ combats even into the mosques; the use of fermented beverages was constant, and it was even said that in the mountains, in a region near the one inhabited at present by the Ida ou Izimmer, the tribes secretly worshiped a ram, probable vestige of a Libyc cult (1).

[619]

1. The fraction of the Ida Ou Izimmer -- in Berbère /Berber/, the sons of the ram -- in our day is part of the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the North of Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque /"Some Notes on the Libyc Ammon"/ (Mélanges R. Basset /R. Basset Miscellany/, Paris, 1923).

[113]

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the rigorists sometimes hurled anathema on the Atlas of the Masmouda and that people repeated the hadith by which the Prophet announced that on the day of the resurrection all this region would be "led into hell with all its inhabitants just as the bride is led to her husband" (2).

[113]

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. I, p. 563.

At least the Moroccan South seems to us at this epoch, before the disorders caused by the conquests of the Almoravides, to be a prosperous region, well cultivated and peopled with towns. There were, to the north of the Atlas, on both sides of the mountain of the Kik, Neffis, the town with the gardens, and Aghmat, the Idrisite capital, which had been governed previously by Berbère /Berber/ magistrates changed each year; on the South versant, Igli and Taroudant, at the intersection of the mountain routes, Tamedelt in the Anti-Atlas, Massat in the plain and on the Noun /Nun/, the oases of Noul Lemta and Ifri. The coast was actively

/61 cont./

*175 But it is no less interesting to try to understand in the light of documents recently brought to light (1)

[113]

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, Lévi-Provençal tr. (Mémoires d'El Beidaq), Paris, 1928.

by what means was ensured, in the heart of the state of the Masmouda, the solidity of a foundation on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could make rest with so much /62/ success the government of the immense territory of which he had taken possession with the support of a few thousand ignorant montagnards.

In the first period of the Almohade penetration the tribes of the Deren could actually constitute an intact reserve of intrepid fighters, but they were not at all prepared to play the grandiose role that the Mahdi dreamed of for them. Hintata, Gedmiwa, Genfisa, Ait Tinmellel, who formed the large Masmoudian tribes, were then only names by which was designated an aggregate of little isolated cantons like the ones found in our day in the highest regions of the Atlas. Most of these fractions formed minuscule republics, at the head of which was put a "mezwar," doubtless similar to the "moqaddem," magistrate named for one year, who still today exercises the same functions in the same valleys. All the important decisions were made during general assemblies, and we see, at the origin of the movement, the considerable role played by these meetings of minor notables. It is the "jmaᶜa" /jemaa, djemaa/ of the Hintata that conclude the first alliances with Ibn Toumert; the "impeccable Imam" himself frequently assembles his believers in "agrao" -- a term that designates, in all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco, the "jmaᶜa" of all the men from one tribe constituted in order to deliberate jointly --; soon there will appear in the service of the Mahdi the council of ten, made up of his most reliable companions, as well as the council of fifty, in which all the tribes of the newborn state are represented. All these features indicate very well the republican

/64 cont./

*175 ᶜAbd el Moumen, in continuing the founder's tradition, knew how to adapt that organization immediately to the new situation created by the rapid growth of the subject territory. The Heskoura, the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/ took their places following the first tribes; after a few years, when the revolts among the Hargha had obliged the Caliph to call on his brothers from Oranie to make sure of his personal guard, the Goumiya also entered the "tamyiz" of the Almohades.

From the beginning the boldest innovation had been to make all the foreign elements -- comrades who had come from Egypt or various districts of North Africa -- disappear into the mass of the Masmouda by making them enter the tribe of the Hargha. This practice was continued by subsequently attaching to one of the five original tribes the populations of the regions conquered or won over. Thus a new crystallization of the tribes was brought about in an entirely original form by grouping the least reliable elements around a faithful nucleus. In this way the Hargha received the Inda Ou Zal, Ida Ou Nadif, Ida Ou Limit, Ida Ou Finis, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri from the north versant of the Anti-Atlas (2).

2. The fact that it is the tribes from the south of Taroudant who are then attached to the Hargha is enough, in our opinion, to show that the territory of the Mahdi's tribe of origin was indeed that of the Arghen, at present still settled in the Anti-Atlas not far from the Inda ou Zal.

[113] Cf. in the opposite sense H. Basset and Terrasse, Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924, p. 19.

The itineraries of the Almohade expeditions in the Sous valley confirm, insofar as they can be identified, the opinion that

*175 /68 cont./
of the Heskoura and the Arabs, was to hold Sijilmassa, the Dra, and the Haut-Sous for a long time. So when a son of El Mansour, El Mamoun, had taken power in Marrakech, the role of the council of the Almohades seemed so pernicious to him that he had 100 of them executed and ostentatiously rejected the doctrines, traditions, and ceremonial of the Mahdi, whom the sheiks referred to ceaselessly (3).

3. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 236.

A few years afterwards, his successor, Er-Rechid, had to re-establish these institutions (1232) in order to win over the mountains in revolt, but at the same time he was falling under the tutelage of the chief of the Hintata, Abou Mohammed ben Wanudin, lord of the Dra, master of Sijilmassa and governor of the provinces of the North. Another Almohade, Sa^{c}id Ibn Zakaria el Gedmiwi, played an analogous role in the reign of Es-Sa^{c}id, son of El Mamoun, who at one time had tried to get rid of the sheiks by concluding a dangerous alliance with the /69/ Sofian, Khlot, and Ma^{c}qil Arab tribes. After the death of Es-Sa^{c}id and the rout of his army at Tlemcen, in the land of the Beni ^{c}Abd el Wad, in the reign of El Mortada, again an Almohade sheik, ^{c}Ali ben Yedder, revolted in the Sous in order to found an independent kingdom with the aid of the Ma^{c}qil Arabs, and the Sultan was powerless to put it down (1).

[113]

1. Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides /Chronicle of the Almohades and Hafsids/, Fagnan tr., pp. 23, 30, 32, 39, 43; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 231-243; El Marrakchi, ibid., pp. 205-285.

For 30 years, however, the thrust of the Zenètes, interrupted for two centuries, again took a new form. The Beni Merin were advancing in the north of the country, winning the territory of the

/69 cont./

*175 Tadla, encouraging the rebels; when the Almohade sheiks saw them give their powerful support to a relative of the sovereign, Abou Debbous, they themselves abandoned a lost cause and many of them rendered homage to Abou Yousef Ya^{c}qoub, son of ^{c}Abd el Haqq the Mérinide. El Mortada sought refuge in the Atlas in vain; he had to flee to Azemmour, where he was betrayed, then delivered over and put to death.

The reign of Abou Debbous, last Almohade caliph, was brief; having succeeded in destroying the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the Sous, the Sultan, who had asked for the Mérinides' protection, tried to betray them by seeking to obtain the support of the son of Yaghmorasen at Tlemcen. At that moment Ya^{c}qoub ben ^{c}Abd el Haqq advanced on Marrakech, took the town, killed the Sultan, and the remains of the Almohade Makhzen /makhzan/ fled into the mountains (1269).

Then for one last time the last Almohades could be seen trying to reconstitute an independent kingdom in this place that had seen the birth of the Empire of the Mahdi. In Tinmellel, around the mosque and royal tombs, the vizier Ibn Attouch had Ishaq, brother of El Mortada, proclaimed sultan against all hope. The Masmouda held firm for several years against their enemies, then, without strength, allowed the holy city to be defiled; defenders and Sultan were put to death and the sepulchers desecrated. It was the end of the epic in which the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had surprised the Occident by their valor in war, their organizational power, and their spirit of adaptation (2).

•[113]

2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 247-253, IV, 82. -- Cf. also the fine article by H. Basset, H. Terrasse on Tinmel (Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924).

This collapse, rendered inevitable by the rivalries and ambition /70/ of the Almohade sheiks, did not entail, as has sometimes

/72 cont./

*175 change as if they did not belong to families long established in the exercise of power, but rather as if the authority had been given successively to various notables of the country; in any case no indication permits us to believe that this rough outline of feudality resulted, as happened at the end of the nineteenth century, from the progressive affirmation of a personal power born in the bosom of the tribes, and which would be substituted for the faltering authority of the sultans.

On the contrary, under Mérinide domination it is families firmly implanted in the country who concentrate power in their hands and constitute veritable local dynasties. Such would be the Metzara among the Haha, the Ait Haddo ben Yousef among the independent Seksawa, the Sad Allah among the Gedmiwa, of Almohade origin; among the Hintata, the Oulad Younes, autochthons, /73/ and the Oulad Mousa Ben ᶜAli, who came from the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/; the Beni Khettab among the Heskoura.

The organization of the large commands of the Atlas moreover could not prevent the Sous from experiencing, even during the finest years of the Mérinide Empire, an almost uninterrupted succession of revolts. The existence of independent tribes like those of the Seksawa, the presence of the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the high valley of the Sous, of Almohade origin, and above all the arrival of the Maᶜqil, by means of whom the contagion of disorder reached the Haut-Dra and Sijilmassa, actually then made the Moroccan South the seat of all the revolts and the ready-made refuge of unfortunate pretenders (1).

[113]

1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 378-385.

It is necessary to indicate here by way of example the monotonous series of uprisings that justify the constant intervention of the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/, occupied, however, in other regions with crushing tasks, if one wishes to explain what the life of a faraway province might be under a glorious dynasty.

2: Montagne--106 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/82/

000

Chapter IV

The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Fifteenth Century to Our Day

I. The first maraboutic reaction. Its general characteristics. -- II. The Regraga. -- III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1669). -- VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. -- XII. The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah and the founding of Mogador. -- XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- XIV. Insufficiency of historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- XV. The Makhzen policy under Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. -- XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- XVII. Moulay ᵓlHasan and the Sous expeditions. -- XVIII. The development of anarchy; the Protectorate.

*175

I. The first maraboutic reaction; its general characteristics. -- During the interval of time that extends from the decline of the Mérinide dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century to the appearance of the Filalian sultans in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century, the political life in the south of Morocco is entirely dominated by maraboutic activity. The aspects of this great movement, which has as its stage the whole of Morocco and whose double goal is to complete the Islamization of the Berbères /Berbers/ and to struggle against the Christian conquests, are quite well known (1).

[113]

1. Cf. especially the useful book by Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/, Paris, 1904.

/83 cont./

*175 its expansion, by reason of the limitless credulity of the Berbère /Berber/ populations. The reading of the hagiographies of the period, that of Ibn ᶜAskar, for example, makes us understand in what an atmosphere of the marvelous the saints and their admirers lived; we find them mingled with a crowd of intriguers, madmen, and the simple-minded; the heretics and the sorcerers corrupt the crowds and stir them up by their discords or their marvels (1).

• [113]

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâcihr /"Daᶜwat [dawut] al-Nāshir"/, Archives Marocaines, Vol. XIX, pp. 80-85.

/84/ Another psychological force of great power is the terror in which the Berbères /Berbers/ hold the malediction of the saints. Their "daᶜwa" /incantation/ is not invoked in vain, and those who transgress their orders are promptly struck with an exemplary chastisement (1).

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., p. 54; Weir, The Shaikhs of Morocco, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 91.

While the religious personages will utilize the frame of mind of the Berbères /Berbers/ in order to gain their confidence, group their forces, and soon to found veritable small states with their co-operation, the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/, on the other hand, will try for 100 years to re-establish the political unity of the Maghreb el Aqsa for their advantage. But their action will appear only as an interlude in the slow work that the marabouts pursue in order to put the populations of the Moroccan South under their moral and political tutelage; a second religious reaction will sweep away their achievement until the time when the Filalian shorfa will succeed in re-establishing the tradition of the Empire for two centuries and a half.

The great religious movement that dominates the whole history of our province from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century is

/84 cont./

*175 specifically Berbère /Berber/. The leaders, like the subjects, belong mostly to the old tribes of the Sous. Moreover, one can observe that the fires of maraboutism, which are kindled successively on the Atlantic coast, ceaselessly move farther to the South and develop in regions where the tribes are more and more rebellious against the tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and, on the other hand, more attached to their independent government.

Each of these religious or political centers has its own characteristics and evolves separately. The Jbel Hadid, on the left bank of the mouth of the Tensift, saw the militia of the Regraga arise in the fourteenth century; the central region of the Haha country is the seat of power of the Imam el Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ in the fifteenth century; the South of the Haha and the Tazerwalt, in the Anti-Atlas, shelter Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, and their descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, the very valley of the Sous and the country of the Haha will be the cradle of power of the Saadians, whose enterprises at the beginning of the sixteenth century will come to cross the course of the maraboutic movement, without succeeding in stopping it.

/85/ The Regraga. -- We have very little precise information on the religious organization of which the Regraga made themselves the champions. Founded by Abou Saᶜid ᶜAbd er Rahman er Regragi, died at Chichawa in 1370, and by Abou Otman Saᶜid el Hartanani, whose zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ was located at the very mouth of the Tensift, that association of holy men used the name of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, like all those who were subsequently to arise (1).

[113]

1. Cour, op. cit., pp. 13-17; Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, Rabat, 1923.

/85 cont./

*175 Its missionaries spread throughout the South; one finds their tombs, more or less legendary, not only all along the coast, but in the mountains among the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the Demsira, and as far as the high valley of the Sous and the Zagmouzen. The memory of the Regraga seems bound up in the folklore, especially at the time of the "Jahiliya," when people were still ignorant of the true God, whom they contributed powerfully toward making known. Perhaps they even had to struggle against hostile tribes and were warriors at the same time as religious men, according to the true tradition of Islam. People made of them, in the South of Morocco, the 40 missionaries of the Maghreb, or again the seven pilgrims of Mekke /Mecca/, to whom the Prophet spoke in the Berbère /Berber/ tongue (2).

•[113]

2. H. Basset, Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, Algiers, 1920, p. 265.

However that may be, they doubtless had no political role, but rather asked the converted, in exchange for their preaching and good example, to grant them "ziara," lucrative offerings. As a matter of fact, one still sees their descendants, after six centuries, making fruitful tours to collect alms in the region of the Haha and Mtougga.

III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- The enterprise of the Imam El Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ is better known to us than that of the Regraga. Mohammed ben Sliman el Jazouli was originally from a tribe of the Asif n Tankert on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas. After writing in Fez the "Delaïl el Khirat" /Dalā'il al-Khairāt/, a devotional book at present widespread throughout the Maghreb, he came to follow the teaching of Chérif /Sherif/ Abou ʿAbdallah of the Banou Amghar of Tit, was afterward expelled from Safi by the governor, disturbed by his deeds, and

/85 cont./

*175 left to found his brotherhood in Afoughal among the Haha (3).

[114]

3. In the course of research carried out with Mr. P. de Cenival among the Chyadma /Chiadma/, we have been able to identify Afoughal with the Souk el Had of the Dra, 35 kilometers to the east of Mogador.

Preaching the holy war at the same /86/ time that he was propagating the mystical doctrines of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, at the time when the Christians' expeditions were multiplying, Jazouli had immense success. More than 12,000 disciples carried his doctrine into all the tribes, while powerful offshoots of his zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ were founded in the north of Morocco in Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, on the Tadla, and in the South at Bou Romman, among the Howara, at Massat, and at Aqqa. But the power of this man, whose pride was such that he had heard God declare to him "that he had placed him above the creatures of his time," was the cause of his downfall; he perished, poisoned, in 1465, and his enemies, temporal leaders or talebs hostile to his brotherhood, ruined his achievement. We know that one of his adepts, ᶜOmar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnamed Es Seyyaf -- the executioner -- assembled the loyal disciples and ravaged in his name the Masmoudian tribes of the plain of the North, while he was transporting the corpse of the master in the midst of his bands of brigands, in order to continue to live on his prestige (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir /"Daᶜwat al-Nāshir"/; Ahmed el Fasi, Momtiᶜ el Asmaᶜ; El Arbi El Fasi, Mirat el Mahasin; Archives marocaines (Graulle trans.), Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 271, 282; Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/,

/87 cont./

*175 appearance did not resemble "soldiers, but masons and laborers, because they were all animated by the benefit they expected to draw from it" (3).

[113] 3. Diego de Torres, Histoire des Chérifs /"History of the Sherifs"/ (in Afrique /Africa/, by Marmol), Vol. III, p. 24.

At the time when, thanks to the tribes' support, the family of the Saadian shorfa was on the point of rising, the political anarchy in the Moroccan South was at its height. The profound decline of the kingdoms of the North had actually ended in the carving up of the whole country. The /88/ Christians had acquired the co-operation of the plains Arabs against the Berbères /Berbers/, and their allies were making raids for them against the cities north of the Haha, which were destroyed one after another as far as the Qsob wadi. The Arabs, under the command of Yahya ben Tahfouf, even pushed to the gates of Marrakech. The capital of the South was in the hands of a sheik of the Hintata, Naser Bou Chentouf. After fighting for a long time the Oulad Mota^c Arabs, who were imposing crushing tithes on the sedentary people and had become the confederates of the Portuguese, this chief had usurped the power that the Mérinides were incapable of exercising. Moulay Idris, a relative of this king of Marrakech, whose family had been settled for a long time at the foot of the Atlas in the region of the Asif el Mal, had himself called the "king of the mountain" and collected tribute among the Masmouda and in the plain. These two chiefs were doubtless descendants of Almohade sheiks; perhaps they were even from the family of the Hafsides, those Hintata emirs who had become rulers of Ifriqiya; they claimed the rank of shorfa /shurfa/ and used the prestige that their birth gave them in order to have their authority accepted in the mountains. But by their position in the plain or on the Dir one can think that they were depending on the tribes of the Azaghar of

/88 cont./

*175 Marrakech, the Heskoura and the Tadla, rather than on the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113]

1. Marmol, Afrique /Africa/, Perrot d'Ablancourt trans., Paris, 1667, Vol. II, pp. 41-63.

The upper valley of the Dra was divided between two lords of the family of the "Mezwar" (2),

[192]
[622]

2. The term "mezwar" designates, in the towns of Morocco, the representative of the shorfa /shurfa/ settled in the city. This Berbère /Berber/ word derived from the root zwr, to precede (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229), also has the sense of president of an assemblage of notables, of "moqaddem"; at the time of the Almohades, a "mezwar" was at the head of each of the fractions of the confederation of the Gedmiwa (cf. above, p. 80).

ruling the districts of "Tenveves" and "Tensita" and separated from each other by a deep enmity. In the fury of their struggles, the Mezwar went so far as to call on the Christians settled at Santa Cruz (Agadir), and the whole Sous valley, already traversed by the Arabs, was agitated by their quarrel. Moreover, their power and liberality were famous, and Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ received a most generous welcome in their dwellings. One of them, who had thought he would do well to present magnificent gifts to the king of Fez, had them carried by an ambassador whose pronunciation and style, doubtless not very classic because of /89/ Berbère /Berber/ influences, were, in the opinion of the

/91 cont./

*175 only authority to which the tribes could turn. During the crisis of anarchy that followed El Ghaleb's death (1574), it was with one of these marabouts, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed ben Ou Saᶜdoun, that Mohammed el Motawakkel, El Ghaleb's son, came twice seeking refuge, in the highest region of the Atlas mountains, accompanied by the pious biographer Ibn ᶜAskar (1577). The holy man predicted to his host, driven from Fez and Marrakech, an imminent return of fortune; but these wishes could not protect him from the attacks of his uncle Ahmed, brother of the sultan ᶜAbd el Malek. It is known how El Motawakkel, allied with the Christians, perished with them the following year in the disaster of the Oued el Mkhazen /sic/.

/92/ VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- The sultan Ahmed el Mansour, whose glorious reign has so often been celebrated, was unable to change notably the anarchical situation of the South of Morocco. A brother of the sultan, Abou Faris, received command of the Sous, but he remained shut up in Taroudant (1).

•(113) 1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

Actually, since the assassination of Mohammed Ech Cheikh in 1557, the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ no longer, it seems, had any ambition in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ other than to hold the great routes of passage by constructing casbahs entrusted to reliable guards. Doubtless it was at this time that the fortresses of Frouga, Qehira, Imi n Tanout, Ben Takemous, and Ameskroud were constructed or restored in order to mark out the Tizi Maᶜcho trail. The sultan Ahmed el Mansour himself wrote to his son to recommend that he make every effort to have this route adopted by all. The use of another road, which the people were trying to impose on travelers across their territory, "would have," he said, "ruined the country if it had become permanent." The authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised, however, in certain regions of the Deren, doubtless between the

/92 cont./

*175 Nefis, the pass of the Glawa, and the Sirwa. A command had been entrusted to the kaïd ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz ben Saᶜid El Mezwari el Ouzgiti, born in Taroudant, vizier of Ahmed el Mansour. This leader probably belonged to the same family as the Mezwar of the Dra and referred to an Almohade origin, which assured him of great prestige with the tribes. A man of great ambition and extensive knowledge, if one judges by his library, which contained, it is said, 50,000 volumes, he preserved his personal position a very long time; and it was with him that Abou Fares, beaten by Moulay Zidan, came later to seek refuge (1).

1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

In the western part of the great chain, on the contrary, anarchy did not cease developing. After his accession, Ahmed el Mansour had had to pursue his nephew, Daoud ben ᶜAbd el Moumen, who had had himself proclaimed king among the Seksawa. An expedition had driven him from there, but this rebel settled in the Anti-Atlas, where it was again necessary to pursue him as far as the edge of the desert. A Portuguese traveler who was crossing the passes in the region of the Tizi Maᶜcho in 1596 noted there the state of rebellion of a marabout, doubtless Sidi ᶜAbdallah ben Saᶜid of the Haha (2).

•[113]

2. Anonymous Portuguese, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, first series France, Vol. II, p. 256.

/93/ VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1660). -- It is above all after the death of Ahmed el Mansour (1603) that the religious leaders are going to assert their power; but even during his reign they continue to strengthen their political organization so well adapted to Berbère /Berber/ life. Perhaps it is possible, in

/93 cont./

*175 spite of the insufficiency of our documents, to indicate under what conditions their power was able to develop.

When they appear in a tribe, the founders of zaouias at first have no influence other than that given them by their learning, their personal worth, and their authority over hundreds of disciples. But little by little their centers of operation multiply and hive off by degrees. The framework of the small states that they formed can still be found again today by counting the tombs of saints and the maraboutic groupings presently without importance, widespread in an area whose boundaries most often remain quite precise. Thus, Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim founds at the beginning of the sixteenth century the zaouia of the Aït Daoud among the Haha. His son ᶜAbdallah, already threatened by the sultans because of his independence, settles down in the mountains in the region of the summits (1).

1. The zaouia of Berada, which does not appear to us to have been identified up to now. We believe it to be distinct from that of the Aït Daoud and from that of the Aït Tamment.

His grandson Yahya Abou Zakarya comes among the Aït Tamment on the south versant of the Atlas, by approaching Taroudant (2).

•[113]

2. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir, Graulle tr., Archives Marocaines /Moroccan Archives/, XIX, p. 176.

Each new zaouia is a center from which new colonies leave, following the valleys, to the point where, in the legend, Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, whose sons have settled everywhere in the best irrigated lands of the country, could subsequently acquire the reputation of having in former times been a great discoverer of springs. The boundary of this pacific occupancy of the country by the family of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim appears to have been

/99 cont./

*175 As soon as Moulay Rechid /Mulai Arshid, Mulay Rashid/ had taken possession of Fez in 1667, he made an attack on the zaouia of Dila, the most dangerous because of its power and the ambition of its masters. After leveling it, he advanced on Marrakech unexpectedly and put out of the way the usurper Kerroum el Hajj, who had had the last of the Saadians, Moulay el ᶜAbbas, assassinated ten years earlier. Finally, penetrating into the valley of the Sous by way of the country of the Haha and subjugating the tribes frightened by his arrival, he seized the Chtouka from the country of the Ahel Sahel, defenders of the kings of the Tazerwalt, and after a stubborn resistance took the fortress of Illigh, which had been the center of the power of Sidi ᶜAli (1670-71) (1).

[113]

1. De Chénier, Recherches historiques sur les Maures /Historical Research on the Moors/, Vol. III, Paris, 1787, pp. 355-356.

At the time of the arrival of the Filalian Makhzen /makhzan/, the South of the Sous had just known a period of prosperity. Since the death of his rival, Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, the grandson of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, Sidi ᶜAli, who was also called Abou Hassoun or again Sidi Boudmeia, had extended his dominion as far as the high valley of the Dra and of the Dadès; taking sovereign power, he had even put up the parasol, which had become the emblem of royal authority in the Maghreb. The happy memory of his reign, which lasted until 1660, is faithfully preserved in tradition; the country moreover was no longer to find again later such an era of riches.

At this time, as a matter of fact, when the commercial relations of the Sous with Marrakech and Fez were interrupted because of the insecurity, the caravans were heading toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ in order to transport there manufactured

/99 cont./

*175 objects from Europe and coming back loaded with gold powder and ivory from the Sudan (2).

2. Réponses à plusiers questions sur les États du Roy de Tafilelt /Answers to several questions on the States of the King of Tafilalet/, Paris, 1670, pp. 50-71.

We know from the sailors and Christian traders what attention Sidi ᶜAli gave to maritime commerce. He had forbidden the use of Agadir, whose activity he could not control perfectly. Massat had become his port: "The traffic there is /100/ very good," a traveler tells us, "the more so as the Santon has assistance there so that, after having had his passport, the merchants can go ashore freely and carry their merchandise there, indeed display it there in tents, and this without any peril of slavery, for the said santon neither wishes nor permits one to make slaves other than the Spanish and those who also do it."

The Hollanders were then making great efforts to establish an important trade movement in this region and, to ingratiate themselves with Sidi ᶜAli, were offering him, to the great scandal of the other sailors, munitions, arms, material for naval construction: "wood, carpenters, masts, oars, ready-made chains for chaining Christians." Admiral Ruyter, himself sent on a mission by the United Provinces, was received with consideration by the sons of Sidi ᶜAli, without succeeding, however, in setting up profitable agreements with the country (1).

• [113]

1. De Castries, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, France, first series, Vol. III, p. 365; Pays-Bas /Low Countries/, Vol. V, pp. 571, 583, 614, 616, 627.

Concern for maintaining trade relations with the Moroccan ports of the insurgent provinces of the Empire was moreover, at

/100 cont./

*175 this epoch, the constant preoccupation of the Christian powers. This desire corresponded at the same time to the concern that the pretenders had for taking in fresh stores of war material. Moulay Rechid, at the outset, had welcomed in the same manner, with the greatest hopes, the mission of Roland Fréjus on the coasts of the Rif. More and more, European armaments were going to play their role in the internal affairs of the Sherifian Empire.

Under these conditions one understands that Moulay Rechid's primary concern was to put a stop to this traffic, dangerous for the security of the Empire, and to seize the Tazerwalt.

The success of Moulay Rechid in the Sous was facilitated moreover by the incapacity of the successors of Sidi ᶜAli, whose 22 sons and several brothers were making war on one another, taking by turns Taroudant, Ifran, Tagaost, Illigh, Agadir. The one of them who had won out, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed, was poisoned in Fez; after this blow struck by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the marabouts of the Tazerwalt lost all political authority for 100 years (2).

[113]

2. Ez Zaiani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Paris, 1886, Houdas trans., p. 22.

XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. /101/ -- We have shown in the preceding pages what the agitated life of the Sous had been in the time of the greatest glory of the Mérinide dynasty; it is not without interest to compare with that picture the one of the reign of the greatest of the Filalian shorfa.

Upon the death of Moulay Rechid, killed by his horse in Marrakech in 1672 when he was receiving a deputation of the Sous tribes, Moulay Ismaᶜil, his brother, proclaimed sultan, succeeded in getting himself recognized only at the price of the greatest difficulties. His nephew, Ahmed Ben Mahrez, and the "moujahid" Ghilan, backed by the Turks, had themselves

/101 cont./

*175 proclaimed sovereigns. Ahmed ben Mahrez shut himself up in Marrakech, where the Sultan beseiged him for several years. New expeditions were undertaken among the Haha to raise large contributions and against the Chebbanat of the Atlas, of whom "a large number perished in the troubles." The Sultan had even advanced into the Sous as far as Aqqa, Tisint, and Chinguit, and had received the submission of the Arab tribes of the desert, but without succeeding in seizing Ahmed ben Mahrez.

As soon as the armies of Moulay Ismaʿil had left again on the eastern frontier of the Empire, the pretender reappeared in the Sous, which he organized from then on to his liking. He divided the country into two provinces, the one administered by Taroudant, the other by Illigh; then, having made an alliance with a sheik of his kingdom, whose daughter he had married, he took the title of king, and even tried, it is said, to conquer the Sudan (1).

•[113]

1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 398; Mouette, Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy /History of the conquests of Mulai Arshid/, Paris, 1683, p. 466.

His intrigues with the Turks soon made him, for Moulay Ismaʿil, a formidable rival. Attacked by the Sultan himself at Taroudant, Ahmed ben Mahrez resisted desperately. In order to put an end to murderous battles, the two adversaries concluded a truce of several years. But, in 1684, el Harran, brother of Moulay Ismaʿil, dismissed by him from the Tafilelt, fled to seek refuge with the king of the Sous. Having decided to finish it, the Sultan came back to besiege Taroudant. Ahmed ben Mahrez was killed before the town was taken, but the inhabitants were nonetheless exterminated and replaced with Riffians (1689).

Some years passed during which the Sous seemed to know a relative tranquillity. But the Sultan had numerous sons who, having scarcely come of age, tried to form a kingdom most quickly in the inaccessible regions. They /102/ preferably chose

/102 cont./

*175 the Sous as the theater of their exploits. In 1703 Mohammed el ᶜAlem, the Sultan's son, in residence at Taroudant with 3,000 horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/, revolts and enters Marrakech by storm; his brother Zidan comes to drive him out and pursues him in the mountains for three years. Mohammed el ᶜAlem, taken prisoner, loaded with chains, is led to his father, who cuts off one of his feet and a hand. Zidan succeeds his brother in Taroudant, after having once more exterminated the inhabitants of this rebel town.

Then come new pretenders: Moulay ben Saᶜid and another son of the Sultan, governor of Safi, who stirred up the Sous plain and the province of the Haha; they attack Moulay Zidan in Taroudant without success, and Moulay el Mamoun in the Tafilelt (1).

[113]

1. Relation des trois voyages /Relation of the three journeys/, etc. of the Pères de la Mercy /Fathers of Mercy/, Paris, 1744, p. 148 and sqq.

Moulay Zidan is assassinated in 1708. Finally, in 1721 Moulay ᶜAbd el Malek, who resides in Taroudant and commands the part of the Sous near Agadir, refuses to pay to his father the tribute of the province. Besides, it seems as though the Sultan's old age is in itself the cause of a recrudescence of anarchy. Actually, although Moulay Ismaᶜil has manifested the intention of having his eldest son designated as successor, each of the heirs, sure of being assassinated when the latter takes power, tries to form a party so as to be able at least to try his luck on the day after the "siba."

When the old Sultan died, if one is to believe the historian minister Ez-Zayani, the country enjoyed the most complete security, and, according to the time-honored expression, a Jew or a woman could move about from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/ to Oudjda "without anyone's venturing to ask them where they

/106 cont./

*175 Haha, undertook in the name of the Sultan successful campaigns in the plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka; he subjugated and organized for several years the Ida ou Tanan, so rebellious against the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/, drove from Illigh the marabout Sidi /107/ Hachem, who had succeeded in giving back the Tazerwalt part of its glory again; Aghennaj even reached the Noun and crossed the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, where his memory has been preserved up to the present; along his route, the "agadirs" /storehouse-fortresses/ of the Berbères /Berbers/ were knocked down, while he built fortresses to shelter garrisons in the plain at Biougra and Tiznit (1).

•[113]

1. Justinard, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous /"Notes on the History of the Sous"/, Hespéris, 1925, p. 271; 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

But this work of twenty years was ephemeral; as soon as Aghennaj was dead, Sidi Hachem came back into his fortress and took back his mountain tribes, and it was at that time that there developed under his protection the great maraboutic fair of the Tazerwalt, the most important market in the South in the last century. In the subjugated plains, moreover, the attachment of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/ remained uncertain. This can be judged by the instructions given by Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman to his vizier, the historian Akensous, sent on a mission to Taroudant. When the unfortunate affair of the Cherradi zaouia took place, this vizier, who was on a mission in Taroudant to re-establish order, received from his master instructions that suffice to show the weakness of the central power: "Leave everything in the state," it was said to him, "bring back with you the sheiks of the Sous, to whom you will promise our confidence and our support in all that they may ask of you" (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. X, p. 91.

/109 cont./

*175 Aghennaj, all his authority over the Igezzoulen. Assassinated about 1830, in the middle of the moussem /festival/, the leader of the Tazerwalt has as successor his sons Sidi ᶜAli, then Sidi Hosein. The latter soon governs his little State with a prestige equal to that of his father (1).

1. Justinard, op. cit., Hespéris, 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

To the south of the Anti-Atlas, in the country of the Tekna Arabs, weakened remains of the Maᶜqil tribes, mixed with Berbères /Berbers/ and haraten /Haratin/, the ancient preponderance of the town of Tagaost on the Noun has been replaced by that of the qsar /fortified place/ of Goulimin /Goulimine/. A family of rich merchants, the Oulad Beirouk, have command there and monopolize the Saharan trade toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/. We see then the Chérif /Sherif/ of the Tazerwalt and the Beirouk unite to try to obtain from the Christian nations, especially England and France, the creation of a commercial agency on their coast in order thus to be able to escape the economic control that the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/ has maintained over these distant regions since the creation of the port of Mogador (2).

•[113] 2. Marty, Les Tribus de la Haute-Mauritanie /The Tribes of Upper Mauritania/, Paris, 1915, p. 72 and sqq.

The insurmountable difficulties of the bar /Fr. barre/ of the Ocean cause the project of the port of Assaka to be abandoned; later, the progress of French penetration in Senegal and the Sudan will lead to the disappearance of the caravan route from Goulimin /Goulimine/ to Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ and the commercial ruin of the markets of the Tazerwalt and the Noun.

/110/ XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- The death of Sultan Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, the embarrassments of the Tetouan war, and famine cause a "siba" of five years in the western

/111 cont./

*175 Empire. The Christian powers, who knew the weakness of sherifian authority on the Atlantic confines of the Dra, had the ambition to establish themselves on the coast of the Noun or of Mauritania by founding commercial settlements there. Spain, especially, was trying to occupy a point on the coast of the Sbouya, Ifni, which a reconnaissance mission had /112/ identified arbitrarily with Santa Cruz de Mar Pequena, where the inhabitants of the Canaries had possessed an ephemeral establishment four centuries before; it was pressing the sherifian government to carry out the clause of the treaty concluded at Tétouan in 1860, which granted it fishing grounds in that region. At the same time an English trader, Mackensie, had founded a prosperous branch at Tarfaya near Cape Juby without any authorization, while another establishment arose at Areksis among the Aït Ba'Amran, on the initiative of another Englishman, James Curtis. The latter had even made an agreement with the sheiks of the Aït Ba'Amran and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt with a view toward establishing a port.

The objections addressed by the Sultan to Great Britain having had no effect, one might fear that the Far South was on the point of definitely shaking off the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even falling into the power of the Christians. Moulay el Hasan decided to re-establish sherifian power there and at the same time to destroy the political power of the religious leaders of the Tazerwalt (1).

[113]

1. Cf. especially Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, Paris, 1885, passim; Geranton, Expédition de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous /"Moulay el Hasan's Expedition into the Sous"/ (Revue de l'Afrique française. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, September, 1924).

An army of 40,000 men was assembled in the Sous plain and at Tiznit; but the considerable difficulties of reprovisioning in a land of limited resources did not permit advancing to Goulimin.

*631 /127 cont./
*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
[721] to be very violent" (1).
•[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, high way-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

/151 cont./

621 613 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert" (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name [103] of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 632 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

114 613 621 632 113

3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 632 [346] [343] [623]

and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

621 632 423 [609]

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou [619] Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The [131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all *634 184 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap- 174 proximately (1) 178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
184
174
178
•[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

*631 /155 cont./
619 of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2).
184
[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

*631 One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif
619 of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same
184 state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

*634 In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the
184 plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

/160 cont./

619
171

/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

• [113]

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the Ait Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

619
174

But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of * [634] [616] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

• [113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/170 cont./

*634 XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- Thus the cell of the Berbère /Berber/ society of the Sous is, at least in our day, an elementary state larger than the village, smaller than the tribe, and we shall later see the importance of this minuscule unit confirmed in the course of our investigation of the circumstances in which the chiefs rise and grow.

*634 But it is not only in this province of the Sous, where it has
*631 been possible for us to multiply our investigations, that one ob-
171 serves the role played in local life by these small cantons that absorb /171/ the greatest part of the political activity of the country. It is the same in the various parts of the north of Africa peopled with sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. Without trying here to redo the study of the social morphology of these regions, we believe it necessary to indicate in broad features how, under aspects sometimes a little different, the same cellular structure that we discover in the Moroccan South can be found among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the Moroccan North, in the Rif, and in Kabylie /Kabylia/; it will most often suffice for us to tell how certain of the observations already made by our predecessors agree exactly with the ones that we have been able to make in the Sous and the Anti-Atlas so that the profound unity of social structure of all Berbérie /Barbary/ may appear.

000 The land of the Jbala presents many analogies with the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; the one as well as the other border the plains held by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, and in both countries the mountain tribes apply themselves with all their strength to preserving their independence.

M. Michaux-Bellaire, who was studying this region in 1911, at the time when it was living in a state of complete liberty, distinguished, as we have done in the Moroccan South, several superposed organisms: the village, the "khoms," and the tribe (1).

1. Michaux Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives marocaines, Vol. XVII, p. 43.

• [113]

/179 cont./

000 What could have contributed to making the idea of the preponderance of the village over the ᶜarch accepted is the rapid decline into which the ᶜarch quickly fell as a result of the submission of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ to France. This union of villages, this putting in common a territory whose defense was assured had interest only in a country often disturbed by war. Peace was to suffice to weaken the bond established among the "taddert" to constitute autonomous states. We see the same in Morocco, in the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the "khoms" of the Haha loses its importance little by little, and local life takes refuge in the narrower limits of the "moudaᶜ" (2).

• [113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Revue de l'Afrique française 1905; rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

The constitution in Kabylie /Kabylia/ of new administrative units under French domination, known under the name of douars and whose boundaries, sometimes arbitrary, broke the ancient cadre of the "ᶜarch," clearly contributed to it. Since, on the other hand, the Kabyle villages already had great activity, one easily has the explanation that the "taddert" may appear in our day after the effacement of the "ᶜarch," with its minuscule territory and its still active jemaᶜa, as the only natural social unit remaining alive in Kabyle country.

The alliance of several "ᶜarch" formed a "qebila," tribe or confederation. But the institutions of these larger groups became less and less precise, and the bonds that united their parts appeared only quite rarely, during important wars. One might repeat for these "qebila" of the Djurjura what the study of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Rif enabled us to say for the confederations. Even greater masses of populations were uniting, in urgent circumstances, but, in order to assemble them, the instinct for defense against the foreigner or the firm hand of a powerful chief

/187 cont./

*634 616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

• [113]

1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 627 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 571 [574] The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all
616 the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the
57 "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's
[574] allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the re-
[754] quest thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "far" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

*634 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to
616 correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same
726 "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

•[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/201 cont./

616 114 *634 • [113]

with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Ct Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Ait Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 616 619

We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential aspects.

Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

•[113] 2. The term "Bou ì arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[178] [174]

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 184 /222 cont./
replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

[113]

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2),

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas Ibaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

[184] *[631] [619]

> 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

[113]

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions, They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^c^izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Ait ^c^Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Ait ou Bela^c^id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the
intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the
protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of
the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded
in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his
part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar
Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 178 791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

• [113]

2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazer alt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

•[413]

1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

•[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/329 cont./

175 In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
*634 taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the
Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra
in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords,
who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain
/Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese
of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113]
[173]

1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt
trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took
back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority
that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed
of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa
"khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also
called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

/359 cont./

*631 174 171 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 565 174 171 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 174 171 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism, said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/378 cont./

648 619 177 * [634] * [631] • [113] [651]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] [113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623] [632]

/378 cont./

648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).
619
177
[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*631 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new frac-
[616] tioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, dimin-
ishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/387 cont./

178 of Aït Arba^c in and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with modération, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

•[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
*634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
669 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
178 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
[616] to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are repeated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arba^c in are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

2: Montagne--539 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

Works and Monographs Utilized

•113

A. Bernard. — *Les confins algéro-marocains*, Paris, 1911.

M. Ben Daoud. — Recueil du droit coutumier de Massat. *Hesperis*, 1924.

M. Ben Daoud. — Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du Sud-Marocain. *Hesperis*, 1927.

M. Ben Daoud. — *'Orf de l'Agadir de Tamellokt* (en préparation).

G.-S. Colin. — Confédération des Senhaja de Sreir (Tribu des Ktama), *Archives D. A. I.* (1) (avril 1926).

G.-S. Colin. — Histoire politique des Senhaja de Sreir, *Archives D. A. I.* (avril 1926).

G. S. Colin. — *Notes sur les Ghomara* (Étude en préparation).

E. Doutté. — Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905 (Renseignements Coloniaux).

J. Dumaine. — Les éléments du problème du Rif, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, supplément 2 *bis*, 1926.

A. Ghirelli. — *Monografia de la Cabila de Beni Tuzin*. Madrid, 1923.

E. Geranton. — Les expéditions de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, 1924 (Renseignements Coloniaux, n° 9).

Cdt Justinard. — Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbère. *Hesperis*, 1925.

Cdt Justinard. — Notes d'histoire du Sous au xixe siècle. *Hesperis*, 1925-1926.

Lt Ladonne. — Notice sur les Glaoua, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1913.

F. de la Chapelle. — Note sommaire de renseignements sur les tribus du grand Atlas et du Dir dépendant du Caïd Mtouggi, *Archives D. A. I.*, avril 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Le Grand Atlas du Mtouggi. Notes historiques, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les tribus des Nfifa et des Hassein, *Archives D. A. I.* juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Douiran, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Seksaoua, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Demsira, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Ida ou Mahmoud, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Si Mokhtar Seksawi. *Hesperis*, 1928.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1928.

F. de la Chapelle. — Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, Renseignements Coloniaux, octobre 1927.

Ch. de Foucauld. — *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris, 1888.

E. Levi Provençal. — Les influences religieuses au Rif et chez les Jbala, *Archives D. A. I.*, février 1926.

Cdt Maillet. — Notes sur les tribus du commandement de Si Hammo Glaoui, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1918.

(1) Direction des Affaires Indigènes.

2: Montagne--540 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

113 Cne MALVAL. — Les tribus dissidentes de l'annexe de Tiznit, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

Cne MALVAL. — Note historique sur l'annexe de Tiznit, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — Le régime juridique des tribus du Sud-Marocain. *Hesperis*, 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Une tribu berbère du Sud-Marocain, Massat, *Hesperis*, 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Notes historiques sur les Haha, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note historique sur la tribu des Gedmiwa, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note historique sur la tribu des Ouzgita, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Notice provisoire sur l'Ogdemt, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur Tisguine, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur la haute vallée de l'Asif el Mal, *Archives D. A I.*, janvier 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas. *Hesperis*, 1927.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu des Mzouda, *Archives D. A. I.*, avril 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur les Aït Waouzgit (région du Sirwa), *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La formation du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft, *Memorial H. Basset*. Paris, 1929, p. 169.

R. MONTAGNE. — Les Aït Semmeg, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Quelques aspects de la transformation politique du Rif, *Archives D. A. I.*, octobre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Le Makhzen d'Abd el Kerim et les Beni Ouriaghel, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Les tribus des Beni Itteft, Beni Bou Frah et Mestasaa, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu des Boqqoya, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu des Beni Ouriaghel, *Archives D. A. I.*, janvier 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu de Targuist, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La Confédération des Senhaja de Srair, *Archives D. A. I.*, janvier 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur les marabouts et chorfa du Rif et des Jbala, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

R. MONTAGNE et P. PENNÈS. — Carte provisoire du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE et P. PENNÈS. — Les Ida Ou Tanan, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — Organisation des tribus berbères indépendantes. Les Ida ou Tanan, *Revue des Etudes islamiques*, 1927.

R. MONTAGNE. — Notice provisoire sur les Ammeln, Ida ou Ktir, Ida ou Gnidif, Ammanouz, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1928.

E. MICHAUX-BELLAIRE. — Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt, *Archives marocaines*, t. XVII.

UBACH et RACKOW. — *Sitte und Recht in Nord Afrika* (Ida ou Zikki, Ida ou Zal, Todgha), Stuttgart, 1923.

The citations from the Kitab el Ibar of Ibn Khaldoun have been taken from the French translation by M. G. de Slane (Histoire des Berbères), Paris.

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/. Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
343 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
712 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
178 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
621 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

[P.201]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Aagesen, Aage, "Fès, en Maroccansk By", *Kulturgeografi, Tidsskrift for Befolkingsgeografi*, København, Vol. 10, No. 56 (Feb. 1958), pp. 13-20.

Abes, M., "Monographie d'une Tribu Berbère: Les Aït Ndhir (Beni Mtir)", *Les Archives Berbères. Publication du Comité d'Etudes Berbères de Rabat*, Rabat, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1917), pp. 149-194; Vol. 2, No. 3 (1917), pp. 337-416; Vol. 3, No. 4 (1918), pp. 321-345.

Adam, André, "La 'Bidonville' de Ben Msik à Casablanca. Contribution à l'étude du prolétariat musulman au Maroc", *Alger, Université, Institut d'études orientales, Annales*, Vol. 8 (Algiers, 1949-1950), pp. 61-199.

——, "La prolétarisation de l'habit dans l'ancienne Médina de Casablanca", *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc*, Rabat, Vol. 12, No. 45 (1950), pp. 247-256; Vol. 13, No. 46 (1950), pp. 44-50.

——, *La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de Anti-Atlas* (= *Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, Collection Hespéris*, No. 13) (Paris, Larose, 1951) [i.e., 1952].

——, "Les Berbères", *Ecrits de Paris: Revue des Questions Actuelles*, Paris, Numéro Special: *Le Maroc* (April, 1953), pp. 20-39.

Anderson, J. N. D., "Muslim Procedure and Evidence", *Journal of African Administration*, London, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July, 1949), pp. 123-129; No. 4 (Oct., 1949), pp. 176-183.

Applegate, Joseph, "Berber Studies, I: Shilha", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington D.C., Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 324-327.

Ashford, Douglas E., *Political Change in Morocco* (= *Princeton Oriental Studies, Social Sciences*, 3) (Princeton, University Press, 1961).

Aspinion, Robert, *Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier berbère marocain: Étude sur les coutumes des tribus zayanes*, 2nd edition (Casablanca, A. Moynier, 1946).

Ayache, Albert, *Le Maroc; bilan d'une colonisation*. Préf. de Jean Dresch (Paris, Éditions sociales, 1956).

Barbour, Nevill, *A Survey of Northwest Africa (The Maghrib)* (London, Oxford University Press, 1959).

Barennes, Yves, *La modernisation rurale au Maroc* (= *Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Rabat, Collection des centres d'études juridiques*, vol. 26) (Paris, Libraire générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1948).

Basset, André, *La Langue berbère* (= *Handbook of African Languages*, Pt. 1) (London, Published for International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1952).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

• 113 Beneitez Cantero, Valentin, *Sociologia Marroqui.* 1st ed. (= *Publicaciones del Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Arabe*, Tetuán, 1952).

Benet, Francisco, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands", in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, edited by Karl Polanyi et al. (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1957), pp. 188-217.

Berque, Jacques, *Etudes d'histoire rurale maghrebine* (Tangier-Fez, Editions internationales, 1938).

——, *Les Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas.* 1st ed (= *Bibliothèque de sociologie contemporaine.* Serie B: *Travaux du Centre d'Études Sociologiques*) (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

Boulhol, Pierre, "Une riche région forestière: le pays Haha-Chiadma", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 29, Nos. 3-4 (1945), pp. 10-16.

Bourrilly, Joseph, *Eléments de l'ethnographie marocaine* (= *Bibliothèque de Culture et de Vulgarisation Nord-Africaines*) (Paris, Librairie coloniale et orientaliste Larose, 1932).

Bousquet, G. H., "Islamic Law and Customary Law in French North Africa", *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, London, Third Series, Vol. 32, pts. 3-4 (Nov. 1950), pp. 57-65.

Bovill, E. W., *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London, Oxford University Press, 1958).

Brockelmann, Carl, *History of the Islamic Peoples. With a Review of Events, 1939-1947, by Moshe Perlmann*, Translated by Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947).

Bruno, H., "La justice indigène", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 413-430.

Bruno, H.; Bousquet, G.-H., "Les pactes d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc Central", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, Vol. 33, Nos. 3-4 (Paris, 1946), pp. 353-370.

Brunot, Louis, "La politesse et les convenances chez les marocains", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 247-274.

——, *Au Seuil de la Vie Marocaine. Ce qu'il fait savoir des coutûmes et des relations sociales chez les Marocains* (Casablanca, Libraire Farairre, 1950).

Capot-Rey, R., "Le nomadisme pastoral dans le Sahara Français", *Travaux de l'Institut de recherches Sahariennes*, Vol. 1 (Algiers, 1942), pp. 63-86.

Carte Internationale du Monde au 1:1,000,000,e (1940-1942), NH-28, 29, 30; NG-28, 29, 30.

Catroux, Georges, *Lyautey le marocain* (Paris, Libraire Hachette, 1952).

Cattenoz, G., "L'organisation de la zône française de l'empire Cherifien", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 341-369.

Cauneille, J., "Les nomades Regueibat", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Vol. 6 (Algiers, 1950), pp. 83-100.

Célérier, Jean, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Paris, 1927), pp. 53-68.

——, "La montagne au Maroc. Essai de définition et de classification",

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Hespéris, Achives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Vol. 25, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 109-180. 113

Célérier, "L'économie montagnarde dans le Moyen Atlas", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1939), pp. 57-67.

——, "La personnalité de l'Afrique du Nord", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimérics Réunies, 1942), pp. 147-160.

——, "Les conditions biogéographiques, et les genres de vie au Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 170-180.

——, "La pacification du Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 110-123.

——, "La modernisation du paysanat Marocain", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 31, No. 1 (1947), pp. 3-29.

Chaumeil, Jean, "Histoire d'une tribu maraboutique de l'Anti-Atlas: Les Ait 'Abdallah ou Sa'id", *Hespéris, Achives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 39, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1952), pp. 197-212.

Chouraqui, André, *Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord; Marche vers l'Occident*, 1st edition (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

Cid Kaoui, S., *Dictionnaire français-tachelh'it et français-tamazir't (dialectes berbères du Maroc)* (Paris, [n.p.], 1907).

Cintas, Pierre, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 56) (Paris, Arts et métiers graphiques 1954).

Clarke, Bryan, *Berber Village. The Story of the Oxford University Expedition to the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco* (London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1959).

Colin, Georges S., "Le parler berbère des Ĝmāra", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 43-58.

——, "Linguistic Survey [Morocco]", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*..., edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), Vol. 3, pp. 597-604.

——, "Origine Arabe des grands mouvements de populations berbères dans le Moyen-Atlas", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 25, Nos, 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 265-268.

Coon, Carleton Stevens, *Tribes of the Rif* (= *Harvard African Studies*, No. IX) (Cambridge, Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931).

——, *Flesh of the Wild Ox, A Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles* (New York, W. Morrow & Co., 1932).

——, *The Races of Europe* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1948).

——, *Caravan, The Story of the Middle East* (New York, Henry Holt, 1951).

Coudino, A., "Fonctionnement de la justice Berbère", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 431-446.

Crepin, R., "L'Amélioration du régime des eaux au Maroc à l'aide de petits travaux hydrauliques", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géogra-*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

• 113

phie Marocaine, Casablanca, Vol. 25, Nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1941), pp. 13-21.

Dabancens, J., "Les Ait Abdi du Moyen Atlas et leurs réactions au contact des étrangers", *Cahiers d'Outre-mer*, Bordeaux, Vol. 4, No. 14 (April-June, 1951), pp. 101-118.

Daoud, Ben, "Recueil du droit coutumier de Massat, exemplaire des Ida ou Mout", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Paris, 1924), pp. 405-439.

Darre, M., "L'économie montagnarde chez les Ait Youssi de l'Amekla", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1939), pp. 69-78.

Delawarde, J. B., "Inesane. Un example d'organization de la vie indigène au Maroc", *La Géographie*, Paris, Vol. 71, No. 4 (April, 1939), pp. 193-204.

Delaye, Theophile-Jean, "Dessins et croquis des villes impériales du Maroc", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1944), pp. 17-25.

——, "Types et demeures de l'Ouarzate et du Dades", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1944), pp. 13-23.

Delisle, Stephane, "Le prolétariat Marocain de Port-Lyautey", in *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie: L'Evolution sociale du Maroc*, edited by Jean Etienne, et al. (Paris, Peyronnet & Cie., [1950]), pp. 109-228.

Despois, Jean, *L'Afrique blanche française*. Vol. 1: *L'Afrique du Nord* (= *Colonies et empires*, 4. ser.: *Géographie de l'Union française*, 1) (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

D'Etienne, Jean, "Une famille Marocaine", in *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie: L'Evolution sociale du Maroc*, edited by Jean d'Etienne, et al. (Paris, Peyronnet & Cie [1950]), pp. 5-51.

Deverdun, M., "Les formations sociales", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 302-327.

Domenech Lafuente, Angel, *Del Territorio de Ifni. Algunos de sus Aspectos* (Madrid, Ediciones del Gobierno del Africa Occidental Española, 1946).

Donkin, R. A., *Geographical Report: Three Studies in the Geography of Morocco* (Extract from the report of the Durham University Exploration Society's Expedition to French Morocco, 1952) (Newcastle-on-Tyne, Durham University Exploration Society, 1956).

Doutté, M. Edmond, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha", *Comité de l'Afrique française, Bulletin mensuel*, Paris, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January, 1905), Supplement, pp. 1-16.

Draque, G., "Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc, confréries et zaouias", *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie*, Vol. 2 (Paris, J. Peyronnet, 1951).

Dresch, Jean, *Commentaire des cartes sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 35) (Tours, Arrault & Cie, 1941).

——, "Les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif du Toubkal", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1939), pp. 29-56.

Dupas, Pierre, "Notes sur les magasins collectifs du Haut-Atlas occidental (Tribus des Ida ou Mahmoud et des Seksaoua)", *Hespéris, Achives Berbères*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Paris, 1929), pp. 303-321. 113 •

Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer, Special Issue: *Morocco, '54* (Paris, 1954).

——, *Maroc: Les Villes* (Paris, 1956).

Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evans, *The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (London, Clarendon Press, 1940).

Falgueras y Ozaeta, Ignacio, *Estudios sobre sociologia y derecho de Marruecos* (Madrid, Impr. de la Revista de Legislacion, 1909).

Fischer, Roger, "Essai sur le paysage agraire du plateau de Meknes", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1948), pp. 121-146.

Flamand, Pierre, *Un mellah en pays berbère, Demnate* (*Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Rabat, *Collection "Notes et Documents"*, No. X) (Paris, Libraire general de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1952).

Flores Morales, Angel, *El Sahara Español: Ensayo de Geografia, Fisica, Humana y Economica* (Madrid, Ediciones de la Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, 1946).

Fogg, Walter, "The Economic Revolution in the Countryside of French Morocco", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, London, Vol. 35, No. 139 (April, 1936), pp. 123-129.

——, "The Importance of Tribal Markets in the Commercial Life of the Countryside of North-West Morocco", *Africa*, London, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Oct. 1939), pp. 445-449.

——, "Tribal Markets in Spanish Morocco", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, London, Vol. 38, No. 152 (July, 1939), pp. 322-326.

——, "Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations Concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco", *The Sociological Review*, London, Vol. 32, Nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr., 1940), pp. 85-107.

——, "Beliefs and Practices at, or in Relation to, a Moroccan Tribal Market", *Folk-Lore*, London, Vol. 51, No. 2 (June, 1940), pp. 132-138.

——, "A Moroccan Tribal Shrine and Its Relation to a Nearby Tribal Market", *Man*, London, Vol. 40, Nos. 123-139 (July, 1940), pp. 100-104.

——, "Changes in the Lay-Out, Characteristics, and Functions of a Moroccan Tribal Market, Consequent on European Control", *Man*, London, Vol. 41, Nos. 70-83 (Sept.-Oct., 1941), pp. 104-108.

Foucauld, Charles Eugène de, *Reconnaissance au Maroc, 1883-1884* (Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1888) (Nouveau tirage, 1934).

——, *Reconnaissance au Maroc; journal de route conforme à l'édition de 1888 et augmenté de fragments inédits rédigés par l'auteur pour son cousin, François de Bondy* (Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1939).

Fournel, Henri Jerome Marie, *Les Berbers. Etude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes...* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1875-1881).

Fraquier, De, "La Crise du nomadisme et de l'élevage sur les Hauts Plateaux algériens", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 9, Part 1 (1953), pp. 70-97.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

• 113 Garcia Barriuso, P. Patrocino, *Ecos del Magrib* [Echoes of the Maghreb] (Tetuán, Instituto Franco, 1939).

Gárcia Figueras, Tomás; Roda y Jimenez, Rafael de, *Economia social de Marruecos* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950-1955).

Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice, *Muslim Institutions*. Translated from the French by John P. Macgregor (London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1950).

Gautier, Émile Félix, *Les Siècles Obscurs dans l'Histoire du Maghreb* (*L'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord*) (Paris, Payot, 1927).

——, *Sahara, the Great Desert*. Translated by Dorothy Ford Mayhew (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935).

——, *L'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Payot, 1942).

Gellner, Ernest, "Independence in the Central High Atlas", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 237-252.

Gendre, F. "Tafilalet", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4 (May-Aug., 1942), pp. 43-57.

Goulven, Joseph Georges Arsène, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Salé* (Paris, Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1927).

Grandidier, G., *Atlas des Colonies Françaises. Protectorats et territoires sous mandat de la France* (Paris, Société d'Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1934).

Great Britain, Naval Staff, Naval Intelligence Division, *C. B. 908. A Handbook of Morocco and the Spanish Sahara* (*Rio de Oro*) (London, Naval Intelligence Department, [1919]).

Gsell, (Charles Emile) Stéphane, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Hachette, 1913-1928).

Guernier, Eugène Leonard, *La Berbérie, l'Islam et la France* (*Le destin de l'Afrique du Nord*) (Paris, Editions de l'Union Française, 1950).

Haas, William S., "The Zikr of the Rahmaniya Order, a Psycho-physiological Analysis", *The Moslem World*, Hartford, Conn., Vol. 33, No. 1 (Jan., 1943), pp. 16-28.

Hardy, André, "Les Tanneurs de Salé", *Société d'Études Économiques, Sociales, et Statistiques, Bulletin Économique et Social du Maroc*, Rabat, Vol. 5, No. 21 (July, 1938).

Hart, David Montgomery, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryāghil", *Tamuda Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Tetuán, 1954), pp. 51-86.

Heffening, W., "Wakf", in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 4 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1934), pp. 1096-1103.

Herber, J., "Une fête à Moulay Idris (Janvier, 1916): les Hamadcha et les Dghoughiyyin", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Paris, 1923), pp. 217-235.

Homo, J.-P.; Hugonot, R., "Ich, Oasis de montagne", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 9, Part 1 (1953), pp. 99-124.

Hooton, Earnest Albert, *The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands* (= *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. 7) (Cambridge, Mass., Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1925).

Ibn Khaldûn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

septentrionale. Traduite de l'arabe par le baron de Slane. Nouv. ed. (Paris, Geuthner, 1925-1926). 113

Ibn Khaldûn, *The Maqaddimah, an Introduction to History*. Translated by Franz Rosenthal (= *Pantheon Series*, 43) (Pantheon Books, 1958).

Institut Géographique National-Annexe du Maroc, *Maroc au 1.500.000e. Carte des Tribus, 1948* (Paris, 1948).

Istiqlal (Independence) Party of Morocco (Parti de l'Istiqlal), *Morocco under the Protectorate: Forty Years of French Administration* (New York, Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation, 1953).

Jannes, Elly, *Solnedgångens land. Resa i Marocko* (Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1953).

Johns Hopkins University, *Area Handbook on Morocco*. Edited by Paul S. Lunt (New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1956).

Joly, A., "L'Industrie à Tétuan", *Archives Marocaines, Publication de la Mission Scientifique du Maroc*, Paris, Vol. 8 (1906), pp. 196-329; Vol. 11 (1907), pp. 361-393; Vol. 15 (1909), pp. 80-151.

Joly, Fernand, "Casablanca. Eléments pour une étude de géographie urbaine", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie de Bordeaux et de l'Atlantique*, Bordeaux, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April-June, 1948), pp. 119-148.

——, "Sur la répartition du Palmier-dattier au Maroc", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 5 (1948), pp. 203-212.

——, "Les Ait Khebbache de Taouz (Maroc Sud-Oriental)", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 7 (1951), pp. 129-159.

Joly, Fernand, et al., *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris, Libraire delGrave, 1949).

Julien, Charles-André, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord: Tunisie-Algérie-Maroc. Des origines à la conquête Arabe (647 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris, Payot, 1951).

Justinard, L.V., *Tribus berbères*, I: *Les Ait Ba Amran* (= *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, Vol. 8) Published for the Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1930).

Koller, Angelus, *Essai sur l'esprit du Berbère marocain* (Fribourg, Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1946).

——, *Essai sur l'esprit du Berbère marocain*, 2nd ed. (Fribourg, Editions franciscaines, 1949).

——, *Los Berberes Marroquies (Estudio Etnografico)*. Traduccion del Frances, introduccion y anataciones, glosario Arabe-Berber y bibliografia Hispano-Marroqui del P. Esteban Ibañez (Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigacion Hispano-Arabe (Tetuán, Editora Marroqui, 1952).

La Chapelle, F. de, "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas occidental", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 8, Nos. 3-4 (Paris, 1928), pp. 263-283.

—, "Une cité de l'oued Drá sous le protectorat des nomades, Nesrat", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 29-42.

——, "Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara Occidental", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 35-95.

Lafond, J., *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous. Agadir*: En vente chez l'auteur, Chef de Greffe au Tribunal coutumier d'Imin-Tanout (1948).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

• 113 Laget, Paul de, *Au Maroc Espagnol* (Marseille, Le Manoir 1935).

Landau, Rom, *The Beauty of Morocco. An Introduction and a Guide* (London, Evans Brothers Ltd., 1951).

——, *Moroccan Journal* (London, Robert Hale Ltd., 1952).

——, *Morocco* (International Conciliation, No. 483, Sept. 1952) (New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1952).

——, *Moroccan Drama, 1900-1955* (London, Robert Hale Ltd., 1956).

Laoust, Émile, "Le dialect berbère du Rif", *Hespéris, Achives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Paris, 1927), pp. 173-208.

——, "L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central: I, La tente et le douar", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 151-253.

——, "L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central: II, La maison", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Paris, 1932), pp. 115-218.

——, "L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central: III, L'Igerm", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Paris, 1934), pp. 109-196.

Le Tourneau, Roger, "L'activité économique de Sefrou", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 25, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 269-286.

——, *Fès avant le protectorat; étude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'occident musulman* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 45) ([SMLE, Casablanca], 1949).

——, "Social change in the Muslim Cities of North Africa", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, Vol. 60, No. 6 (May 1955), pp. 527-535.

Le Tourneau, Roger; Paye, L.; Guyot, R., "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marrocaines*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1935), pp. 167-240.

Lévi della Vida, G., "Kharidjites", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*..., edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1927), Vol. 2, pp. 904-908.

Lévi-Provencal, E.; Colin, G. S., "Morocco: Population, Social and Economic Life, Religious Life", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), Vol. 3, pp. 590-597.

Levy, Reuben, *The Social Structure of Islam*. Being the Second Edition of *The Sociology of Islam* (Cambridge, University Press, 1957).

Lewis, William H., "The New Nomadism in North Africa", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 269-281.

Loubignac, V., "Le monde berbère et ses institutions", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 275-301.

Madras, Didier, *Au Sud de l'Atlas vers le pays des casbahs* (Casablanca, Editions Paul Bory, 1948).

Maneville, Roger, "L'habitat rural chez les Beni Zéroual", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1939), pp. 91-112.

Marcy, G., "Une tribu berbère de la confédération Ait Warain, les Ait Jelli-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

dasen", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 79-142. 113

Maugham, Robin, *North African Notebook* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1948).

Meakin, Budgett, *The Moorish Empire* (London, S. Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899).

——, *The Moors: A Comprehensive Description* (London, S. Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902).

Mensching, Horst, *Marokko. Die Landschaften im Maghreb* (Heidelberg, Keysersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957).

Mercanton, Jacques; Rouget, Bernard, *Maroc, terre et ciel* (Lausanne, La Guilde du Livre, 1954).

Michaux-Bellaire, Ed., "Makhzen", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by James Hastings, Vol. 3 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), pp. 166-171.

Miege, E., "Du rôle de la montagne dans la biologie végétale". *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 25, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 219-231.

Miege, Jean-Louis, "La nouvelle Medina de Casablanca. Le derb Carlotti", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie*, Bordeaux, Vol. 6, No. 23 (July, Sept. 1953), pp. 244-257.

Montagne, Robert, "Le régime juridique des tribus du Sud Marocain", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Paris, 1924), 313-331.

——, "Une tribu berbère du Sud Marocaine: Massat", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Paris, 1924), pp. 357-403.

——, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Paris, 1927), pp. 1-32.

——, "Le développement du pouvoir des caids de Tagontaft (Grand-Atlas)", in *Mémorial Henri Basset: Nouvelles études Nord-Africaines et Orientales*, Vol. 2 (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Rabat, Vol. 18) (Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928), pp. 169-184.

——, "Un Magasin Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka", *Hèspéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1929), pp. 145-266.

——, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc. Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sedentaires (groupe chleuh)* (Paris, Librairie Felix Alcan, 1930).

——, *Un Magasin Collectif de L'Anti-Atlas: L'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris, Librairie Larose, 1930).

——, "La limite du Maroc et du Sahara atlantique", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 111-118.

——, "The Power of the Chieftains in Morocco", *Journal of African Administration*, London, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July, 1949).

——, *La Naissance du Prolétariat Marocain. Enquête Collective 1948-1950* (= *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie*, Vol. 3) (Paris, Peyronnet, 1952).

Monteil, Vincent, *Notes sur Ifni et les Ait Ba- c Amrān* (= *Institut des Hautes-*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

• 113

Études Marocaines, Rabat, "*Notes & Documents*", No. 32) (Paris, Larose, 1948).

——, *Notes sur les Tekna* (= *Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Rabat, "*Notes & Documents*", No. 32) (Paris, Larose, 1948).

Mor., S. G. M., *see* Morocco, Service Géographique du Maroc.

Morestin, Henri, "Les faubourgs indigènes de Rabat", *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie de Bordeaux et de l'Atlantique*, Bordeaux, Vol. 3, No. 9 (Jan.-March, 1950), pp. 66-76.

Morocco, Service Géographique du Maroc, *Carte de reconnaissance du Maroc au 100.000e* (Rabat, 1927-1946).

Morocco, Directeur des affaires indigènes. *Rabat et se région: IV, Le Gharb (Les Djebla)* (= *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, Vol. 6). Published for Affaires indigènes et service des renseignements (Paris, Editions Ernest Leroux, 1918).

Murati, P., "Le maraboutisme ou la naissance d'une famille ethnique dans le région de Tebessa", *Société de préhistoire et d'archéologie de Tebessa, Recueil 1936-1937* (Algiers, 1938), pp. 267-279.

Murdock, George Peter, *Social Structure* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949).

——, "Political Moieties", in *The State of the Social Sciences*, edited by Leonard D. White (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 133-147.

Paniagua y Santos, Jose Maria, "Notas sobre e derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif", *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas), Vol. 2, No. 3 (Madrid, April, 1948), pp. 7-44.

Parfentieff, Boris, "Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 203-213.

——, "Moeurs et coutumes des marocains", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 217-226.

Patai, Raphael, "The Middle East as a Culture Area", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 6, No. 1 (Winter, 1952), pp. 1-21.

[Pomonti, Catherine Taliaferro (Burrows)], *Moroccan Horizons*, by Catherine Tolliver [Pseud.] (Casablanca, Les Impressions EDITA, 1952).

Querleux, "Les Zemmour (Étude ethnographique d'après le Questionnaire de la Résidence Générale de France au Maroc)", *Les Archives Berbères, Publication du Comité d'Études Berbères de Rabat*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Rabat, 1915), pp. 12-61.

Quirós Rodríguez, Carlos, *Instituciones de religión musulmana* (Ceuta, 1939).

——, *Instituciones musulman. (Escuela malequita). — Con bibliografia de autores musulmanes* (Ceuta, 1942).

——, "El pueblo bereber: Noticias y commentarios", *Archivos de l'Institut de estudios africanos*, Madrid, Vol. 5, No. 16 (Mar., 1951), pp. 75-88.

Rackow, Ernst, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

Ramos Charco-Villasenor, A., *Del Sahara Español: Rio de Oro* (Toledo, Talleres Tipograficos de la Asociacion de Huérfanos de Infantoria, 1935).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Raynal, René, "La terre et l'homme en haute Moulouya: Quelques exemples d'évolution récente des genres de vie", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 39, Nos. 3-4 (Paris, 1952), pp. 487-500. 113

Renision, A., *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif, et des Senhaja de Srair; grammaire, textes et lexique* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 22) (Paris, E. Leroux, 1932).

Ricard, Prosper, "Les métiers manuels à Fès", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Paris, 1924), pp. 205-224.

Rivière, Paul-Louis, *Traité de droit Marocain: législation, coutume, historique, jurisprudence*. (Caen, Éditions Ozanne 1948).

Robaux, A., "L'eau et la vie dans le Sud marocaine", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 25, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr., 1941), pp. 23-32.

Robichez, Jean, *Maroc Central* (Paris, B. Arthaud, 1946).

Roda y Jimenez, Rafael de, *Compendio de Sociologia Marroqui* (Ceuta, 1939).

Rosenthal, Erwin I. J., *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958).

Rossano, Jean, "La colonisation européenne dans le Haouz de Marrakech", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie*, Bordeaux, Vol. 7, No. 28 (Oct.-Dec., 1954), pp. 342-366.

Sagnes, M., *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc* (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942).

——, "Les races et le peuplement de l'Afrique du Nord", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc.*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 181-200.

——, "Les parles", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunis, 1942), pp. 328-338.

Salem, Elie Adib, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij* (= *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ser. 74, No. 2) (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1956).

Schacht, Joseph, "Shari'a," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al., Vol. 4 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1934), pp. 320-324.

——, *The Origins of Mohammedan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950).

Semach, Y., "Le Saint d'Quezzan et les saints du Maroc", *Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc*, Paris, 25th Year, No. 160 (1938), pp. 281-308.

Sjoberg, Gideon, "The Preindustrial City", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, Vol. 60, No. 5 (March, 1955), pp. 438-445.

Spain, Deposita de la Guerra, Cuerpo de E. M. del Ejercito, *Carta Provisional de la Zona Norte del Protectorado Español en Marruecos* (Escala 1:400.000 1926).

Spillmann, Georges, *Les Ait Atta du Sahara et la pacification du Haut Dra* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 29) (Rabat, Éditions Felix Moncho, 1936).

——, "Les confréries religieuses et les Zaouia ou Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 227-246.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

• 113 Surdon, G., "Le droit public dans la montagne marocaine", *Revue marocaine de législation, doctrine, jurisprudence chérifiennes*, Rabat, Vol. 2, Nos. 6-7 (1937-1938), pp. 9-16.

Terrasse, Henri, *Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis. Les grandes architectures du Sud Marocain...* (Paris, Éditions des Horizons de France, 1938).

——, "L'histoire musulmane du Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 51-73.

——, "Les origines de l'Islam et des civilisations musulmanes", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 39-50.

——, *Histoire du Maroc...* (Casablanca, Editions Atlantides, 1949-1950).

Thibert, J., "Skoura: Etude sur l'utilisation du milieu naturel dans une oasis du Sud Marocain", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 32, Nos. 1-2-3 (1948), pp. 24-72.

Thornton, Philip, *The Voice of the Atlas: In Search of Music in Morocco* (London, Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1936).

Trenga, "Les Branes. Notes pour Servir à une Monographie des tribus Berbères de la région de Fès", *Les Archives Berbères. Publication du Comité d'Études Berbères de Rabat*, Rabat, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1916), pp. 200-218; No. 4 (1916), pp. 293-330.

Usborne, Cecil Vivian, *The Conquest of Morocco* (London, Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 1936).

Vieuchange, Jean, *Smara, The Forbidden City. Being the Journal of Michel Vieuchange while Traveling among the Independent Tribes of South Morocco and Rio de Oro...* Translated from the French by Fletcher Allen (London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1933).

Villème, Louis, "L'Évolution de la Vie citadine au Maroc", in *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie: L'Évolution sociale du Maroc*, edited by Jean d'Etienne, et al. (Paris, Peyronnet & Cie, [1950]), pp. 53-107.

Weisgerber, F., "Le Maroc avant nous", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunis, 1942), pp. 74-91.

Westermarck, Edward, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

——, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

Wolfel, Dominik J., "Les noms de nombre dans le parler guanche des Illes Canaries (traduit de l'allemand par Raymond Roget)", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 41, Nos. 1-2 (1954), pp. 47-79.

Yver, G., "History [Morocco]", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam...* edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., Vol. 3 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), pp. 583-590.

[pp. 213-223 not processed]

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

/5 cont./

101 Sâadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
171 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)
175

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

114 175 /footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, 128 the developments that one is going to read be- 129 low rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/92 cont./

First French Knowledge

114
113

Here we shall not insist on the political sociology of the modern epoch (1).

1. On the political sociology of the modern epoch, the principal work is that of R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Numerous unpublished or published monographs by the same author: notably, on the Seksawa or the tribes that surround them, art. already cited on the Aghbar, unpublished not. on the Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Remaining unpublished, the valuable monograph by Lieut. F. de La Chapelle, on Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mtouggui /The tribes of the Great Atlas of the Mtouggui/ (1926), both an "exploration" and an attempt at scientific systematization. The same author has published: "Un grand caïdat du S. marocain /A great caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927, pp. 372 sq.; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchical power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1928, pp. 263 sq.; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental /The high-mountain tribes of the western Atlas/," R.E.I., 1928, pp. 339 sq. Unpublished not. by Lieut. Labonne, Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mtouggui /Note on the caid Abdelmalek Mtouggui/, 1913; id., Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous /Note on the Ait Had ou Yous/, 1915; Lieut. Dupas, Les Seksawa /The Seksawa/, 1929 (end of La Chapelle's investigation).

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it 121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered 721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream. At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in [701] conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121] [113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113] /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly [184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the 121 way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and [114] these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from 121 this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures [114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

174
12
[114]

/94 cont./
have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

/97/ Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/ I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

113 114 1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

/99 cont./

113 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

114

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyara). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the contreforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Bessebaᶜ plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

/122 cont./

241 171 (114) analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Gharb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^{w}erkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqâm, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/129 cont./

114 241 789 been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces -- these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" / constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Doutté on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

[776] /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

1: Berque--182 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/130 cont./

114 121 789 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 171 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

1: Berque--198 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/142/

III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

121
241
114

1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless [312] lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

133
312
191
[114]

2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is
312 difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

/146 cont./

312 too steep, almost vertical, it is notched with stairs and benches. Networks of arable surface will then stretch in curves of levels, superimposed on one another by little walls of dry stone or talus: imaran, plur. of imiri, in the first case, igenzwan or igenzaten, plur. of agenza, in the second. That is a common form. The fullest application of it that can be cited here is that of Agersili. It is not rare that more than a hundred steps, as, for example, at Asikis, build a staircase for giants up to mid-slope. At the same time this system resolves what our engineers call the problem of colature. But it is resolved poorly. Although the excess moisture descends from tier to tier or accumulates in the drains that the stone walls constitute, and, in addition, undergoes an intense evaporation, the washing of the land is inevitable. Thus the yield is relatively small, despite the water and the fertilizer.

So, therefore, a struggle against the swiftness of the flood, itself resulting from the slope; therefore, the arrangement of the slope into graduated level-stretches as broadly as possible. Struggle both against the meteoric fatalities and against the penury of arable soil: the two things are conjugated. /147/ And since, in the most frequent case, it is a matter of, not permanent, but sudden and violent resources, all of this work requires, in addition to a permanent water-strategy, tactics whose sagacity is astonishing.

312 114 Such is the peculiar nature of the montagnard hydraulics. It depends almost entirely on this technique of "unforeseen" waters to which J. Despois has rightly drawn attention. To what extent then is it necessary to distinguish an irrigation of diversion and an irrigation of accumulation, like J. Dresch (1)?

1. J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941, pp. 12 sq., a work whose remarkable cartography and all the more the commentaries have constituted for our own research a geographical cadre

312
[114]

/147 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ and a useful means of cross-checking. In the same order of ideas let us cite, by the same author, in collaboration with J. de Lepinay, the guide on Le massif du Toubkal, 1938, pp. 55 sq.

Certainly, accumulation of the waters represents an idea that is never absent. Even on an intermittent course the slight obstacle constituted by the uggug starts to create a small reservoir. Moreover this reservoir takes on form and function: humble "water hole," afraw, or veritable "basin," chcharij. But the difference lies less in the reception of the arriving water than in its distribution. Whether the water comes in a state of continuous flow, or intermittent, or in the form of resurgence, or of concentration of the streaming down a slope, the problem is finally and always only a problem of collection. At the exit, however, a radical difference sets the continuous debit -- obviously conceivable when the reception is so itself -- in opposition to the discontinuous debit, which periodically empties the reservoir. In the first case, the role of the latter is only to raise the plane of water, while in the second this role is duplicated by another: that of concentrating the temporary resources with a view to a massive, though rapid utilization. A question of level in the first case. In the second, a question of debit. Accumulator in one case, distributor in the other, the basin is both one and the other. The distinction between the two operations would thus be subtle, if all the emphasis did not bear on the second in the local view. Extremely expert at gathering on the surface of the ground the complement of water that the rain withholds, the native method reveals infinitely more competence and obstinacy in assuring the distribution of it. It displays on this occasion marvels of industry and tricks. One feels that it contrives to split hairs, to subtilize if necessary, in order to transform the irregular windfall of water into debits for infinitesmal allotments. It tries to make social equity with the natural hazards.

/158 cont./

312 423 171 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella Imçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 182 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

312 114

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

/158 cont./

312
114

/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121
182

In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657]

121
182
114

1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171]

/footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [162] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

(114) 1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.
[232] The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

/171 cont./

121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type; mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

121 But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest clas-
182 sical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They
171 are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1),

182 1. We choose this example not only as a case
171 "of montagnard analogy," but also because
121 the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite
114 from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

/172 cont./

182
171
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182
121
[171]

nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa).

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Ilah' sen	a. Il'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nefa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

> 1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/218 cont./

114 616 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 [129] It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

[Demsira]

121 /219 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ "Terroirs et Seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and Lords of the western High Atlas/." Ann. Hist. soc., 1951, pp. 474 sq.

among three orders of phenomena: the distribution of the group into ikhs-s, that of the ground into toponymical quarters, and that of time into turns for water. Thereupon a new collection of notes, more extensive in the field of observation, but naturally less profound and less co-ordinated, will come to be added to those that the monographic investigation of Seksawa grounds suggests.

Exterior Cross-Checkings: Demsira (2)

114
121

2. May we be permitted to excuse ourselves here, once and for all, for the abundance of anthroponymic and toponymic nomenclatures in a study that does not present linguistic character. It is that their analysis is necessary for that of the structures, of which it is the most visible clue. On the interest of studies of Berbère /Berber/ toponymy and anthroponymy, cf. E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/, which aims at our very milieu, 1942; A. Basset, "Note sur la graphie des toponymes /Note on the writing of the toponyms/," Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes, 1942, pp. 177 sq., where a simple phonetic alphabet is proposed, fairly similar to the one that has been adopted here; on the Berbère toponymy, and especially on the Chaouia toponymy of the Ait Frah, Onomastica, 1948, p. 123; and especially, "Pour une collecte

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

133
175
177
184
619
[634]

613
312
[184]

This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

1: Berque--328 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/235/

Third Part
Institutions and Values

000 /Page 236 is blank./

/237/

Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [116] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

779 671 /242 cont./
ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 175 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only with each other. They have found before them, beneath them, more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

779 671

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

[114]

2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

[171]

/245 cont./

000 671 779 171

extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qâdirî, justifying the ᶜAmal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qâdirî nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

(114)

3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marçais, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/247 cont./

771
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1).

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171] 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

/263 cont./

423 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of
627 the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that,
578 by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

[114]

2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3),

[114]

3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/291 cont./

773 776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796 114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜAmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜAmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 [114]

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/308 cont./

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/309 cont./

114 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness,
781 descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quaestor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

/318 cont./

778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
776

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Amer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/325 cont./

175 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods,
69 dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'în, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /[illegible]/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujudu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693
121

1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

[114]

/326 cont./

693
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwâh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

/326 cont./

693
692 The appeal to an eminent sapience (2).

693
692
114

2. In the thirteenth century, al-ᶜAbdarī shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., Journal asiatique, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 de fine sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIᵉ siècle /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (ibid., Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen," in CHEAM, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in CHEAM, p. 15).

693
692 the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594
171
114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

1: Berque--474 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ the literature of the "bureau arabe" /Arab office/, Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., had insisted upon the "patriarchal" side of Maghrebi life. These views are systematized by M. Morand, Etudes de droit musulman algérien /Studies on Algerian Mussulman law/, 1910, pp. 10 sq., and A. Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The Evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1906, in their very rich chapter IX on the social life, pp. 271 sq. They give an account there of the profound study by E. Doutté, "L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'âh'a /The domestic and social organization among the H'âh'a/," Rens. col., Jan., 1905, which approaches our sector, pp. 8 sq. Observations by W. Marçais in a domain more distant, but valuable for the North Africa ensemble, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arab texts from Takrouna/, 1925, pp. xi sq.; good bibliography by A. Mouliéras on the ᶜazwa of the Jebala, Le Maroc inconnu /Unknown Morocco/, 1895, t. I, p. 66; by H. Bruno on the ᶜaz'âm, "Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central /Introduction to the study of the customary law of the Berbers of Central Morocco/," Arch. berb., 1918, p. 306. In this context of observations, R. Maunier does not hesitate to approximate the Kabyle takharrubt to the Roman gens, Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works of North African sociology/, 1930, p. 64, and describes a "segmentary" society. These ideas have been very widespread. Vidal de Lablache himself, Principes de Géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 291, compares Berbère /Berber/ society to an ensemble of Hellenic

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121
594
613

Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/340 cont./

581 That is, however, a sort of exception, of reminder. In fact, in spite of a great ceremonial richness, marriage here no longer offers any trait that would reveal, at least on the plane of the law, collective conditionings. In the eyes of the local jurists, this whole part of their institutions draws its inspiration closely from the fiqh (1).

[114]

1. In this sense, cf. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of the customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 25 sq., and, in an Islamizing sense naturally indicated even more, the nikâh' chapters in the works of an-Nâçirî, ar-Rasmûkî, al-ᶜAbbâsî, etc.

Such a profession, assuredly exact if one clings to the judiciary plane, is less so for one who considers the mores, the tensions that they express, the images that they suggest. What part to give to the one and to the other of these two modes of perceiving, each reflecting a different level of reality? The inquiry by Westermarck (2),

[114]

2. E. Westermarck, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, and the numerous allusions to the Moroccan institution made in the other works by this author. On the method of W., see Lévi-Strauss, "L'oeuvre de W. /The works of Westermarck/," R. d'hist. des Religions, No. 1, 1945. E. Westermarck was struck by the Moroccan institutions to the point that his Histoire du mariage /History of marriage/, for example, tr., 2nd ed., makes broad appeals to them, and not always happy ones. Cf., for example, what he says about the famous Night of error (t. I, pp. 121 sq.). Interesting remarks

/340 cont./

581 114

/footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

581 121

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/342 cont./

586 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can ob-
562 tain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison
171 between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where
171 the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584
171
114

1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/343 cont./

584
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 104, finds in very ancient Roman law an opposition between the "betrothal," more conservative form, more imbued with magic rites and with the notion of patria potestas, and "marriage," individualized and consensual form. In Rome, however, the juridical tie of the betrothal fell into decadence early. Similarly in Mussulman law the institution's point of departure in time, in the juridical sense of the term, is the fâtih'a. Nevertheless in Chleuh /Shluh/ law the frequency of litigations that we would call "breach of promise of marriage" is significant, and at the very least covers the notion of a juridical state already established anterior to the pronouncement of the fâtih'a. This is what I call the prenuptial stage, by allusion to practices of this order fallen to the level of simple folklore in certain European milieus, for example. Cf. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français /Manual of French folklore/, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. In the Berbère /Berber/ domain itself, it would not be adventurous to compare this phase of "frequentation," where the daughter remains at the home of her parents, with such a trait of Touareg /Tuareg/ marriage: "custom requires that the newly married live near the parents of the woman for a year," M. Benhazera, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar /Six months with the Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1908, p. 18. In Morocco itself, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas knows different practices dependent on a conjugal life first paired with work at the home of the parents, according to the Biblical theme of Jacob at the house of Laban. This is the custom of the amhares. Something analogous among the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara,

/343 cont./

584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprenticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh 581 /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, 331 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab coun- 581 171 tries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the çadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/401 cont./

171 social movements too different from those that concern us, and
121 finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /~~Tuareg~~/. My thanks to all.

[114]

171 Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

/423 cont./

619 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodo-
634 logical import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/ III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616
121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1).

121
171
616
114

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ^{c}Abda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'ogg^{w}at of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq. 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616
121

resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114]

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171] In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/425 cont./

616 121 They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616 121 114

4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last ¶. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

616 121 and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

1: Berque--629 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453/ Bibliography

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa
128 facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its
113 character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

I. -- Cartography

[114] The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

/viii cont./

121 action of a sovereign. It seems that the permanent opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the central power is livelier and more constant here.

Furthermore, in one of the provinces of the South of the Empire large commands with feudal aspects exist, which by an exception /ix/ nearly unique in North Africa have taken on the appearance of stability before our eyes. There is no doubt but that we can comprehend here, from modest examples, it is true, but with a precision that history does not allow us to attain, the relations of the tribes and their chiefs.

Such were the general considerations suggested to us by the study of the history and the spectacle of the life of the tribes, when circumstances led us to conceive the project of undertaking the work that we are finishing today, after five years of investigation.

121 When in 1923 Marshal Lyautey did us the great honor of ask-
• 114 ing us to prolong a stay in Morocco that had allowed us to acquaint ourselves with the life of the indigenous populations and granted us complete freedom to pursue new studies there, we intended to limit ourselves solely to becoming better acquainted with the origin of the power of the chiefs of the Atlas, the organization of their commands, and the institutions that they had been able to found in Berbère /Berber/ country. After two years of missions in the western Atlas and the plains of the Sous /see p. 5, footnote 1/, it seemed to us at first that one could not understand how this "Berbère feudality" had become established without at the same time observing the progressive and correlative decline of the mountain republics, for which the leaders of the South had substituted themselves little by little for less than half a century; on the other hand, the transformation of the country, which had taken place since the appearance of the large commands, obviously only indicated a succession of stages in a more complete evolution; it was easy to see that the central government, the "Makhzen" /makhzan/, whose progressive penetration was so prominent, was coming in turn to gather in

/ix cont./

121 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power
•114 that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie
[128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure
[121] struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

/xi cont./

121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evo- [114] lution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws.

121 We must explain here the material conditions under which
127 the documentation on which this study of the struggle between the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
• 114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, [133] we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favor-
121 able political circumstances and the progress of French penetra-
114 tion, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of mono-
114 graphs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the
114 vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

121 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener
114 in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

/xv cont./

12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

12 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome, so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the •114 poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

/55 cont./

*175 •114 Later, when Morocco closes its frontiers and lives apart from the western world, the rare writers who still consent to keep the chronicle of the events happening in an already ruined Empire hardly merit the name of historians; they limit their effort /56/ to vindication of the sovereigns or base their judgments on the rules of a narrow religious formalism (1).

[113]

1. E. Lévi-Provençal, Les Historiens des Chorfa /The Historians of the Shorfa/, Paris, p. 21 and sqq.

Moreover, all the books that the Arab authors left to us show only the most official aspect of the institutions as they might appear to the learned men of the towns, faithful servants of the Makhzen /makhzan/; they almost never tell us the policy of the leaders, the reaction of the tribes, the struggle of the influences among which the power is divided up in a region often abandoned to anarchy. The European texts are more precise and sometimes contain valuable information, but they are rarely the work of travelers experienced enough to have penetrated deeply into the obscure and complicated workings of Berbère /Berber/ politics.

*175 Under these conditions it is useless to hope to succeed in knowing, in all their development, the great political movements that have disturbed the life of the Moroccan South, since we would not know how to interpret with certainty the documents that are available to us or to put them together in sufficient number to draw an exact enough picture of the past. It will suffice for us to choose here, from among the number of limited facts whose recital has reached us, those that are most fraught with meaning, to esteem them for what they are worth, and to tie them together, in order to sketch in large strokes the curve of an evolution whose more precise variations we must give up knowing. The general view at which we shall thus arrive will perhaps suffice to bring to light some of the permanent characteristics of the social life and will help us to understand the present better.

/85 cont./

*175 left to found his brotherhood in Afoughal among the Haha (3).

[114]

3. In the course of research carried out with Mr. P. de Cenival among the Chyadma /Chiadma/, we have been able to identify Afoughal with the Souk el Had of the Dra, 35 kilometers to the east of Mogador.

Preaching the holy war at the same /86/ time that he was propagating the mystical doctrines of chadilisme /Shādhilism/, at the time when the Christians' expeditions were multiplying, Jazouli had immense success. More than 12,000 disciples carried his doctrine into all the tribes, while powerful offshoots of his zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ were founded in the north of Morocco in Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, on the Tadla, and in the South at Bou Romman, among the Howara, at Massat, and at Aqqa. But the power of this man, whose pride was such that he had heard God declare to him "that he had placed him above the creatures of his time," was the cause of his downfall; he perished, poisoned, in 1465, and his enemies, temporal leaders or talebs hostile to his brotherhood, ruined his achievement. We know that one of his adepts, ʿOmar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnamed Es Seyyaf -- the executioner -- assembled the loyal disciples and ravaged in his name the Masmoudian tribes of the plain of the North, while he was transporting the corpse of the master in the midst of his bands of brigands, in order to continue to live on his prestige (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Ibn ʿAskar, Daouhat en Nāchir /"Daʿwat al-Nāshir"/; Ahmed el Fasi, Momtiʿ el Asmaʿ; El Arbi El Fasi, Mirat el Mahasin; Archives marocaines (Graulle trans.), Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 271, 282; Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/,

/136 cont./

*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aït arbaʿin" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the
175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At
*631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely
*634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aït Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among
[651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices
[127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the
[114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/137 cont./

•114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" ap-
*634 peared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
642 authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, dis-
619 tricts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic re-
gime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some, [184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/138 cont./

•114 *63 *634 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

*631 *634 VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the [619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions [178] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases [621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant 175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the *631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi 792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2).
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/151 cont./

621 613 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert" (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name [103] of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n A'it lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 632 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

114 613 621 632 113

3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

•114 613 621 632 [113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 632 [346] [343] [623] and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

621 632 423 [609]

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
•114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/201 cont./

616 with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

•114
*634
[113]

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Ct Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential
616 aspects.
619 Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203
R
[681]

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
443
171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343

S
[114]

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^c," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343
114

/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343
178

But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343
172

In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343
175
726

In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
[178] which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
343 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
712 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
178 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
621 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, 634 customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages [619] because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") [192] used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and [114] Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few

1: Berque Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11
000

Social Structures of the High Atlas
[Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas]

Jacques Berque

Paris: 1955
Presses Universitaires de France

Translated from the French by Jane Bigwood

Human Relations Area Files
1973

[Title page]

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

/vi cont./

128 J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam. The Institut des Hautes Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/ has given me most substantial aid. M. L. [122] Galand checked the Berbère /Berber/ writing, lessons in which, by M. A. Basset, had given me a presentiment as to its exacting niceties. I am indebted to Lucie Berque for her drawings, to M. Leloup for his cartography, to M. J. Van den Hove for his careful proofreading. To all, thanks. And thanks to all my collaborators from Imintanout, great and small, French and Moroccan, who participated in the research or in working it up. Many names crowd under my pen here, names which I cannot mention for lack of space and which I must leave in the anonymity of friendship.

123 Most of all, it is to the Seksawa that my gratitude goes. Mixing in their life for several years, I advanced slowly into their acquaintance, and perhaps into their confidence. Of course, I have not been to the end of the one or the other. In order to go further, it would have required a still longer stay and, to speak truthfully, a definitive naturalization, similar to that which, in the course of the centuries, brought so many distant sons to the little people of Lalla Aziza.

000 All was rightly so. As great as its ambitions were, analysis stops before intimacies which it could not infringe upon and which will be revealed only when they can be, when they need to be, if there is still time for it. The future in the Atlas, as elsewhere, will perhaps make the silent speak. We shall leave to it the task of completing our research, if it is worth the trouble, on the day when the Seksawa have tasted of the tree of speech.

Cairo, October 1, 1954.

/vii/

Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 104 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ᶜ), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an ʿ.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 104 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

1: Berque--4 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/vii cont./

128

B) Sigla

a.	aît /a Berber word that frequently precedes the name of a tribe; see p.584 , n. 1/	I.A.A. ...	Institut Agricole d'Algérie /Agricultural Institute of Algeria/
ar.	Arabic	I.	Idaw
arch. ..	archives	Im.	Imintanout
art. ...	article	in.	inédit /unpublished/
b.	ibn	R.	Revue /Review/
B. N. ..	Bibliothèque Nationale	t.	tome
chl. ...	Chleuh /Shluh/	tr.	translation
c. r. ..	compte rendu /report/	Ud.	Awlâd
éd.	edition	vol.	volume

/viii/

C) Abbreviations

128
113

They refer to the following collections and periodicals:

Afr. fr., "l'Afrique française" (1891...), Paris.

A. M. or Arch. mar., "Archives marocaines," Paris (1904-1936), then Rabat.

Ann. géo., "Annales de géographie" (1891...), Paris.

Ann. hist. soc., "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" (1930-1939), then "Annales d'histoire sociale" (1939-41 and 1945), "Mélanges d'histoire sociale" (1942-1944), becoming in 1946 "Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations)," this latter series sometimes being specified "Ann. E. S. C.," Paris.

Ann. soc., "L'Année sociologique" (1st series 1923-1924, 2nd series 1939-1940, "Annales sociologiques," 3rd series 1948-1949), Paris.

Bull. E. P. M., "Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc," Rabat.

CHEAM, "Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane," Paris.

Hesp., "Hesperis," Berbère /Berber/ archives and bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I: 1924...), Paris.

1: Berque--5 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

128
113 /viii cont./

R. afr., "Revue africaine" (T. I: 1856), Algiers.

R. al., "Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence" (1886...) (a continuation of "Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence," 1885), Algiers.

Rens. col., "Renseignements coloniaux," appendix to the bulletin of l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I., "Revue des Études islamiques" (T. I: 1927), Paris.

R. J. C., "Revue des jurisprudence coutumière," unpublished periodical of the management of Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in., "Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc /Collection of unpublished sources on the history of Morocco/," Paris (followed by initials and figures indicating the series and the country being considered).

1: Berque--6 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

000 /1/

First Part
First Approach to the Country and the People

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

102
131

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves
144 here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and
101 left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what
619 has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory
174 (1).
101

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./

121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

/5 cont./

101 Sâdians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire al-mohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
171 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

/5 cont./

101
171

/footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâc.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkî. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Lévi-Provençal ed., p. 462, 1. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. I, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 v, 1. 11. That would point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Iseksawan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chîchâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same watercourse, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

101
171
197

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Mérinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. chassés-croisés/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chîchâwa: Sessau, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebâla.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," op. laud., p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Ikessan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa even. One thinks also of the Wâd

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas,

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative, I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hestitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksîwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

133
[101]

A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

/6 cont./

133 a torrent, asif i-yseksawan, or Lwâd Sseksawa. This basin is circumscribed by an arête of high mountains, which encloses it on three sides (Fig. 2).[1] The Dir, then the plain called Bujmâda today form the outlet. The torrent loses its name there. Already it has become, from the little plain of Tuz'z'umt up to /7/ Bu^c^anfir, in Ud Bessebâ^c^, Lwâd n-Qihra or Wâd Lqîhra. The limits, from this side, have all the haziness of a past that informs us poorly on the limitation of the Seksawa adventure toward the North.

Here then is a country being identified, partially no doubt, but definitely, with a fluvial basin. This completely classical identification is followed, in great detail, by the division of the basin into cantons, which correspond at the same time to a secondary personality and to the unity of an affluent torrent. This valley forms the last opening of the great chain toward the W. It interrupts this mountainous façade, which its indigenous denomination of Dir qualifies admirably by evoking the breaststrap of a harnessed horse (1).

1. The deciphering of the country is greatly facilitated by the "Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz /Orographical sketch of the western Great Atlas, from the Ait Mousi wadi to the Igdet-Erdouz chain/" at 1/100,000, drawn up initially by J. Dresch (in color), and by the series of maps at 1/200,000 appended to his Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941. [126] This documentation, which we have always kept present on our journeys, and which we have filled in chiefly with regard to the toponymy and reinterpreted with the aid of aerial coverage carried out since 1950, is the basis of our own

1, [For figure 2, see pp. 15-16--Analyst]

/7 cont./

133
[126]

/footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâ^{c}, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bul^{c}wân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâ^{c}. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the
[487] Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2).

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
133
487
361

102
103
131
133
484
361

/9/

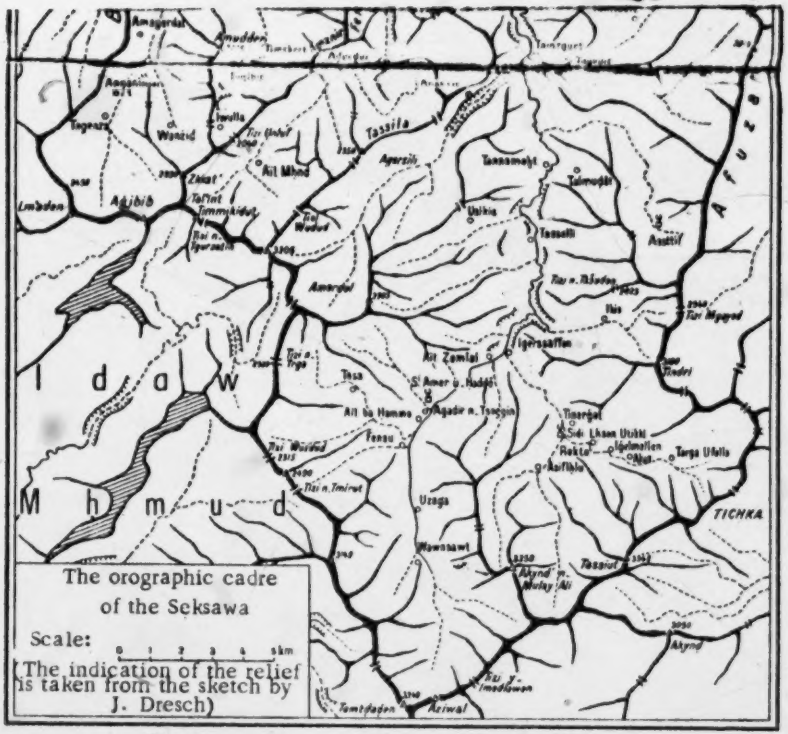


Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," Hesp., 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his Rih'la, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly 485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of 794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a 621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a madirâ. He will savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room 000 and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col
of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi
Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/11 cont./

133 diverging from the same water-tower, the massif of the Tichka (1).

1. Cf. our study on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 363. The first to have underlined the importance of this mole of history, of pastoral economy, and of tribal sociology is R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 16.

an important historic site, and which, with its enormous granite mole, forms a buffer to the Seksawa country toward the S. With the neighboring peaks rising to 3,000 and 3,400 meters high, a ressaut of approximately a thousand meters gives rise to the old massif above the Permo-Triassic depression and the subtabular zone of the W. It is the first barrier against the winds of the [132] Atlantic, hence a heavy condensation of the clouds coming generally from the S.-W. It is also, when one comes from the E., the last affirmation of high mountains. After that, one will find only the causses, the Mtugga and H'ah'a hills.

The Seksawa, the Nffis, the assif el-Mal, and two of the larger tributaries of the Issen come directly from the Tichka. The other tributaries of the Issen, several tributaries of the Sous flow from the South versant of the axial chain. All these sources mark a distance of at least 30 km. Hence there is an important hydrogeographical center there, hence a sedentary culture, hence a historical constancy. This role of the Tichka, or more exactly of the ridge that it flanks, has been perceived by Mussulman authors. Ibn Khaldûn mentioned it in a passage in which the precise correspondences preserve the metaphorism. The marabout of Tasaft is even more precise. He compares these fluvial basins, hanging on the crest, to goatskin bottles, the high cantons of which are the feet. The Tichka, he said, is "the balance of the waters,"

/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: [175] the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, [167] which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wân (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[571] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/13 cont./

Measure of This Space

804 Nothing would be more erroneous than to appraise the mass of the country according to our metric system. The real unit, which is the man's very same measure, is the duration of the effort of the agile walker or the notable perched on a mule at a lively trot. Moreover, it would be necessary that this duration be appraisable quantitatively. It is not, of course, in hours and
805 minutes. At the very most, the interval between prayers, themselves marked by the positions of the sun, could serve as a standard. But one hardly prays. To tell the truth, it is even looser measurements: morning, noon, evening, ççbah', zziwal, içfirar, which would be the most sympathetic to the heart. But we shall not repeat here the reflections of Lucien Febvre on the "temps flottant" /fluctuating time/, the "temps dormant" /dormant time/ of societies of "médiéval" type (1).

1. L. Febvre, Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle /The problem of unbelief in the sixteenth century/, 1942, pp. 426 to 434, and G. Friedmann, "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

804 Moreover, it being a question of mechanical time, I mean very
805 precisely time serving to measure or to divide up an effort very precise and of constant duration, it is indeed hours that we shall avail ourselves of in order to measure Seksawa space, just as the officers of the penetration did.

184 Let us disregard the immense confines which, beyond the
804 villages, on the Tichka side, as on that of the Ras Mulay Ali, extend much farther still. Seksawa life, the life of the valley bottom, which is the municipal life, the dense life with full potential, is measured by /14/ very slight durations. We shall see, in fact: the intercalary spaces correspond to other rhythms, entablatures separating the valleys, rounded summits, and, with

/14 cont./

184 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure
804 is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

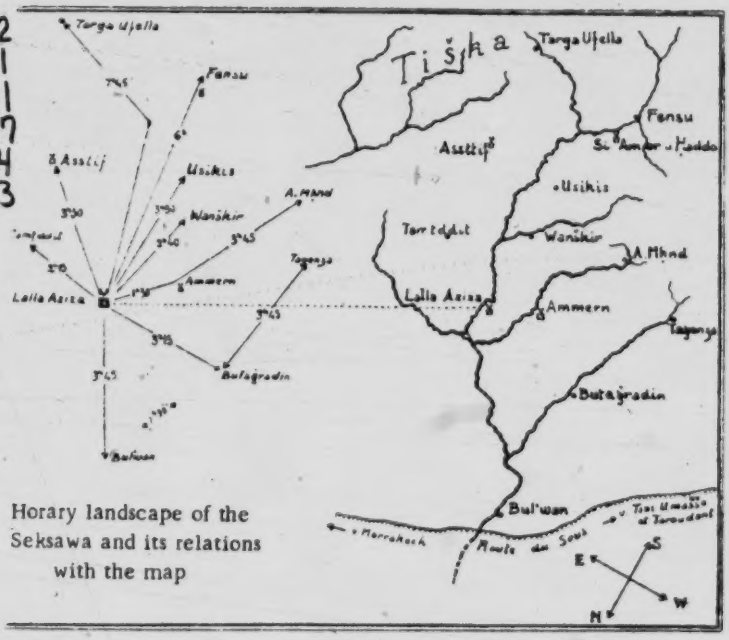
487 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1]
484 and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which
804 will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These dura-
823 tions, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

[127] 1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/16 cont./

133 the layer extends toward the E. to form elements which are not yet apparent from this belvedere, but which we shall rediscover later: the dome of the Urkus, crushing at its feet the center of Imintanout, the low valley of the Seksawa, and the entablatures of the high Dwiran, which slope gradually up to the elevated level stretch of the Azzeq, common for the flocks of Dwiran, Mez'ûd'a and Gedmiwa. Here immediately under our eyes is a glowing tablecloth. It is the Stephano-Trias, found between the primary and secondary rocks and which, thin on this side of the col, spreads out greatly on beyond toward Bigud'in. To the N. and to the E., everywhere, a black country with Cambrian and Ordovician schists. Its squat mass makes up almost all of the upper Seksawa, if one excepts the axial limestones and granites of the Tichka, which one does not see here. These schists shine in the sun, on slopes and ridges, to the point of giving from a distance the illusion of a sweating, of a cascade. From close by, one sees that they are layered, split, divided into leaves and needles. But from a distance their relief is powerful and heavy: a mass morose and without grace, where nothing betrays the bucolic valleys by which it is cut.

Let us transport ourselves to another belvedere, in the heart of Seksawa country this time, on the N. side of the brows of the Mzawt. From there the eye always follows the three hues of the landscape. The view goes down to the basin of the a. Musa, to rise again then to the tabular border of the Dwiran country: Wawmright, Waffagga, and, farther /17/ still, Kattos. At mid-height of these white or golden layers appears the red rock tafzza, which then falls on the marl of Imlilen. At 1,000 meters downward, the river, largely still among the tamarisks of the little plain (940 meters), again finds, immediately after passing the former Suq Lkhmis, toward T'abya, the same heights and somber cliffs as upstream.

The tectonic analysis explains several of the present features by the altering that the folding of the Atlas brought about on a Hercynian relief in the Tertiary. But it is not always easy to determine in the present structures the contributing part of the

/17 cont./

133 two phases, even though their respective style is very different. In fact, the intervention of fractures perpendicular to the axis of the folds can bring more confusion of reading because the general direction of the two movements appears roughly orthogonic: meridian for the socle, W.S.W.-E.N.E. for the altering.

From the Hercynian relief there stands out a parallel series of three anticlinals and especially the action of erosion cycles which have denuded the red lands of the Permo-Trias and leveled the Cretaceous foreland. The existence of the latter, more abundant than in the rest of the Dir, is in fact an important feature. This formation outlines a large cut toward the high Dwiran and Mez'ûd'a.

The Atlasic tectonics is "brutal and simple ... Austere architecture of rigid blocks which climb by successive stages to the N.; more brutally to the S., up to the high massive crests." One would recognize it today in Seksawa by "a series of blocks; more or less balanced and separated by brutal accidents [and rising] toward a high chain vigorously folded" (1).

1. Id., op. laud., p. 67.

In a general way, one is struck by the contrast between the heaviness of these high reliefs and the mordant youth of the versants and valleys. At 1,500 meters, then at 2,000, and again at 2,500, a panoramic view reveals little more than levels, very flattened domes, mature and compressed crests. In a large piece of the country, roughly all the middle Seksawa, it is almost a homogeneous surface, in spite of the interruption of valleys, which displays its perspective around 2,000 meters: Azur, Tassila, Amudder, Ibuban. Surface of ante-Cretaceous leveling, whose important role on the life forms is still legible and with which there paradoxically contrasts the upstroke of an axial crest, hanging over it more than 1,000 meters with its hard and sharp limestone.

The morphology here directly concerns the humanity. The role of these surfaces of less slope has been major, whatever

133 /18/ their origin may be: Cretaceous structural plateaus, today, however, almost entirely outside the Seksawa domain; preserved surfaces in the process of erosion; much lower, fluvial terraces; between the two, level stretches formed on a declivity by an unequal resistance of the outcropping rocks. These planes or "replats" have been an essential factor in the constitution of a system of life and of a rural landscape. Another structural element of great stir: the maturing of the valleys by successive degrees, an evolution that seems to have shown pauses and awakenings, and, combined with the unequal hardness of the layers passed, to have cut them into sections. The general orientation of the river, conforming to that of the asif el-Mâl and of the Nffis, roughly follows the direction of the Hercynian relief: it was therefore made, or maintained, in the opposite direction of the Atlasic folding. Where the rock is hard, as between Z'init' and Tamezgurt, between Tasselli and Igerssafen, between Sekrat and Iguntar, dizzy gorges are encased, with abrupt walls. Elsewhere, the existence of soft schist or an encounter with a synclinal, as in several places of the asif n-a. Lh'sen, enlarges the valley, indeed creates, as below a. Musa, a string of small basins. Another consequence of this contrary direction is that it conspires with the plane of surrection itself to fraction the country at right angles. Everything co-operates from then on for a cantonal partition, the clearer sometimes because the fluvial erosion has not yet harmonized its profile and the latter breaks off often in level stretches. Profile by fits and starts, if I may venture to say it. Relatively mature sections are sometimes widely spread out -- thus in a. H'adduyws, at Tuz'z'umt -- but are sharply separated from one another. Finally, with this spreading out taking place over certain sections of the bed, while erosion softens the heights, a striking correspondence finally becomes established: deep troughs downward, flattened summits overhanging. Hence characteristic pairs of forms: chaif, "bombement" /swelling, bulge/ of the Illikkri, above the basin of the a. Mh'and; chaif of Azur above that of the a. Musa. These ensembles are favorable for pastoral

/18 cont./

133 and agricultural life. They contrast nobly with forms more inhospitable, such as that of the steep ravine of Usikis, heroically notched with steps, or even repugnant to any utilization. The ambition of mountain societies will always be to hold at the same time the small fluvial delta and the high brows of hills with pasturage, woods, and rye. It even happens that these expansions of the bed are simple enough to reveal, as downstream from Tuz'z'umt or in the asif n-a. Lh'sen, a succession of several levels parallel lengthwise. They are, as J. Dresch says, "des banquettes naturelles" /natural benches/; and it /19/ is really remarkable that there, too, geology has, with its broad hand, traced almost a model for the labor of man.

One has perhaps pushed too far this inquiry -- still only summary, and with a borrowed technicality -- on the structure of the Seksawa country. But, for our own research, important data have been extricated. First, the clear demarcation of a country, a kind of impasse with door half open on the plain and on the N. Then its simple material, proceeding from N. to S., in a direction which is that of a geological cut. This progressive deepening will also be that of the originality of the institutions and of the preservation of an authenticity. In particular, the age of the soils, increasing in inverse proportion to the force of the last tectonic arrangements, leads to a mole of geological archaism, and also of sociological signification, the Tichka. And also this right-angle partitioning, resulting from the crossed directions of the Hercynian and Atlasic reliefs. Hence a cantonal structure that lays bare the coexistence of mature level stretches and abrupt obstructions. Finally a whole middle-mountain horizontality, presenting flats /Fr. relais/ on the heights, and almost a pre-established classification for a life which, from stage to stage, amidst the harshness which presses on it from all sides, finds slopes to cling to, and even surfaces to expand on.

/20/

II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the
133 plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- [126] and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude.

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain
[192] societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at A.l'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
[233] by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

137 /21 cont./
At one point the /22/ bushy vegetation rises up to trees: a scattered population of gum trees puts its pungent foliage with characteristic pods on calcareous outcrops which rise above the marls. It is a residual forest. The sovereign plant here is the alfa, in two types designated by the names: tanalt and auri. Only the auri climbs up to the higher level stretches: it is found at all altitudes, up to the col of the Tabgurt, where, quite stunted itself, it is accompanied by other, more paltry Graminaceae, such as izggri or targha (1).

1. At this horizon: Bupleurum, Euphorbia, Ononis atlantica, Alyssum spinosum, Stipa retorta, Isatis tinctoria, Astragalus Ibrahimianus, Erinacea Anthyllis, Descurainia sophia.

At 500 meters above the plateau of the Imlilen, overhanging the lowest part of Z'init' by an incline of about a thousand meters, the forest of Mzawt begins (2).

2. At this horizon: Tragopogon porrifolius, Roemeria hybrida, Leucanthemum maroccanum, Silene Cucubalus, Hypochaeris radicata, Scorzonera laciniata.

It prevails without interruption on the enormous dome of earth which separates the principal valley from that of Ammern: preliminary entresol to the Tabgurt. The vertical ascent above Z'init' permits noting successively the almond tree, then the wild jujube vegetation attaining arborescent form. Then Juniperus oxycedrus, particularly dense on the north face of the folds. Beginning at 1,400 meters, the holm oak, which is studded only at great intervals by the juniper. At the Mzawt, on the other side of the Seksawa, the mountainous block of the Azur, much more deforested, forms a counterpart. The two forests are very degraded up to 1,500 or 1,600 meters, then strengthen their character as one approaches the figure 2,000. But here and there

137 [241] [824] /22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anâghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

/23 cont./

137 (2,600 meters), is characterized by a vegetation sweeping the ground. Each plant becomes a miniature bush, in order to protect itself better from the cold and the wind. The plants, so to speak, put their backs up against the inclement conditions. They face outward in little clumps of arched and thorny felting.

Such are the principal phytogeographical tiers of the Seksawa country. But such a description, summary as it may be, would be inexact if, recalling our initial considerations, we did not note immediately to what extent the flora of the depths of the valley in fact escapes, both because of a different ecology and because of the contagion of man, a simplistic tiering. Not only is it shaded, complex, and sometimes paradoxical -- notably in the matter of fruit trees --, but further it reflects the conditionings of the altitude only in order also to accentuate its differences from the flora of slopes or summits. Concerning the valley of the Urika, R. Maire has enumerated the ripicolous associations crowded on the banks of the torrents, and which, joining their fixative effect for the gravels of the bed with the incidence of bank cultivations, succeed in certain cases in forming an undergrowth of tamarisks or of poplars. The underbrush shade of the prairies at mowing time: another type of az'mu differing profoundly both in origin and in utilization from the montagnard az'mu.

These influences, properly botanical, and those of the shelter, at each confluence, imi, of a ravine with the principal valley, develop coppices, each having its physiognomy: virgin forest of giant laurels at Imi w-Ussttif; virgilian vale of Imi y-Ikis, with its fig trees, its pomegranate trees, its blackberry brambles, and /24/ its gurgling waters. There one finds a small violet flower [272] with a sweet smell, greatly in demand for tea, afert'ᵂkkᵂel (1).

1. Salvia taraxacifolia. Other plants: Marrubium vulgare, Globularia Alypum, Rumex papilio, Satureja Hochreutineri, Catananche coerulea, Arrhenatherum elatius.

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to it: that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

241
137

2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subspontaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe century)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subspontaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorily (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

241 First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition
137 between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the sum-
171 mits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it,
241 his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with
31 respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulᶜwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

/27 cont./

241 distribution of the water for irrigation are possible, and only through that will the water and earth arise simultaneously for
[171] tillage. The geographer is quite familiar with this kind of cultivation, classic examples of which can be found in the Orient as well as in Europe. It always evokes an idea of rustic virtues, courage, and work. Incessant labor to combat the descent of the soil, the fall of the water, slow remountings, basket on the shoulder, attentive management with the hoe and the "small tools," art of walls in dry stone: all that on hardly more space than a flower pot or than a flower box at the window of a building! The surprise here is that so much trouble leads only to a fistful of barley or maize. To the dismay of the economist, these "large-scale crops" paradoxically clash with such a minute, such a costly cadre. Is it not economic subversion?

Let us descend farther. The street, it is the torrent. In the best cases, its walls are tiered in successive level stretches, in natural terraces. There are also plains and suspended basins, sometimes quite wide: at Sidi Âmer u H'addô, at Tuz'z'umt. Elsewhere also, more poorly. But sometimes the bottom of the corridor amounts to the actual bed of the river. And then one finds that this bed itself is not neglected. Stone walls are erected perpendicular to the current. Comes the flood: there where they do not hold, all is carried away. Thus at Sekrat. Elsewhere, trenching operations try to take advantage of a general declivity, without worrying about the storm that will take away everything. Thus at Imt'ddan.

Infinite trouble, almost gratuitous work, total want of foresight, we would say. A whole torrent-bed agriculture builds and rebuilds defenses, destroyed several times each year. The stone is so familiar: it is displaced, it is replaced with such airiness! Cyclopean propensity, waste of human work. And the kindness of the water is believed in with a blind faith. One will thus make barley and maize with stone and water. The river becomes larger, pulls out everything. But sometimes one will have a windfall of a harvest: barley breaking through on the "shingle," a veritable vegetable explosion. And the montagnard braving the

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361
342
113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

361 538 /29 cont./ A legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

342 592 613

341 184 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/30 cont./

341
184

/footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the lōh'h', made by framing and "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bul^{c}wān, for example, (634) proudly dominated by the house of an amghar /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342
184

It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a (634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former amghar Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, agrur, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments Ibyut, tinwalin; above, facultatively, the tameçrit, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the asqqif, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(171) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," Imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaïs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'ah'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis: the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant re-
vision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building else-
where. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with
their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there
are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of
the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other
economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its
realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the
human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habi-
tat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be
the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social
structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more
closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ of
hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and
obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood.
The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a
city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that,
through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the
energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks
and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront
one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of
the provinces."

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebāc, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also presides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in turn by the spouses in a single place: aârich in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains, does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the dispersion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode, is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture. /
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

1: Berque--56 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 39 in the original source./

102
634
131

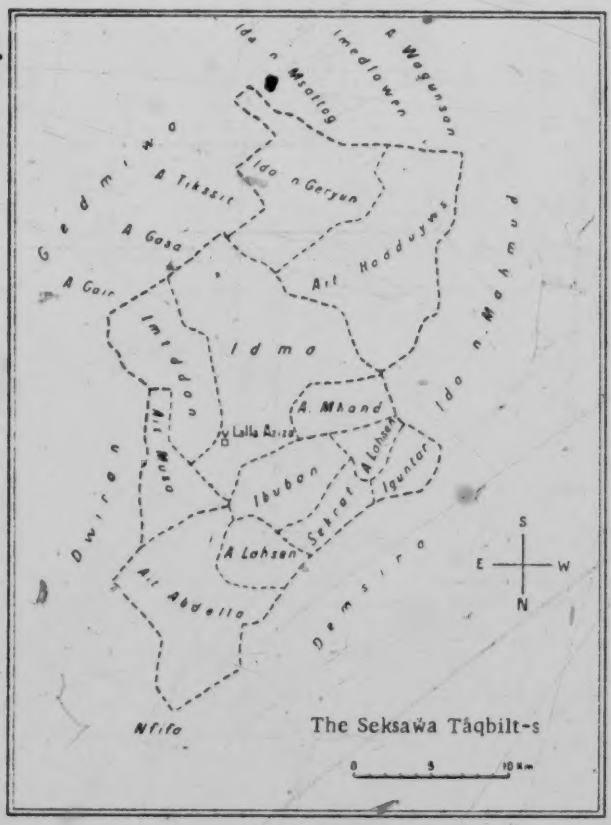


Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

/40 cont./

551 that it does not have several Bihi u Ali, several Addi u Bella. The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations,
613 all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in con-
551 trast to the Arab country, the ikhs always has its designation. This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness and its solidity contrast with the banality of the praenomen, pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that the surname, laqab, so common in Arab country, is very rare here.

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected.
[634] All that one can affirm is that the name of the ikhs avoids all ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other than the political unit, the taqbilt. Therefore, from the first step of this inquiry, the force of the ikhs manifests itself. And, simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture, comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent performance, at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organization of the patres or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impression asserts itself that, if the ikhs is a cadre essential for an understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its fundamental structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its continuity in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[173] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Betwéen torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
(217)
(127)

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [443] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig- [178] guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sa'id is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last [484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-
634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
634 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
619 secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for
634 several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
361 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
101 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
634 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
619 descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
10 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines descending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
10 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[24] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Aḥ'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enor-
mous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor al-
mond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: por-
tions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 10 634 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt, [172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida, [361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene- 133 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob- 172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of 634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the [103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic mores: from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen- [995] erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 184 101 634 361 101 634 619

The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

[776] [778]

133 101 634

The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talât n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talaint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyšan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Ăbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'ăjj Bujmâ u Ăbderrah'man, from Talăint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Ăli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the sciist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green
[241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins
[619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for
[794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634
101 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton
619 of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the
634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to
175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the
726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a
619 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bulᶜwân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Aït Abdəlla]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart.
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an amghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Every-
619 thing here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
[241] risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia.
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^c wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate-trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The char-
acteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)
175

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/." Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

114 175 128 127

/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/60 cont./

174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, impoverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness.

619 634 128 613 173 619 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
[101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 [829] Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis. But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166

/footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1903, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamès, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

829 [634] [521]

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Chaib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbaz and a. Ggthi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Wafffif (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyad'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt/	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	173 [166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmel-len.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
619 printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncer-
tainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
634 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates
634 vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
[178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
621 subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of
which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
634
621
613
173
166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bulᶜwân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâᶜ). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Fcryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamân (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a)
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619
634
621
613
173
166

/66 cont./

Tuz'ż'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619
634
[101]
[312]
[142]
[181]

/67/ Third Case

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./
634 pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).
619

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen Ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert,
[628] living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Abdella, 634 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as 632 follows: 613

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Amer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'aq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Amer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyan.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lasri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

166 173 619

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Anono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'ajj H'fid', a famous

/69 cont./

423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'adduyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkāla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

101
194
619

Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in a. Abdella, these a. Bihi u. Sâid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Ikis, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the a. H'adduyws. Above Ammem is seen a Tagadirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'âh'a). Let us also mention the a. Ish'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in a. H'adduyws; the Iqorran of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Chfib; the Ikessan, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the a. H'ogg^{w}a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ogg^{w}at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these a. Hogg^{w}a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the a. Umgan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the Indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these a. Umgan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukânî distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryun, but to places such as Tawennrrast, Igelwan, not situated in a. Gâir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the liaison of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the orig-
174 inal source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
619 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gfir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gfr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the
619 sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers: but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls
174 three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/
619 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

174 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
619 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

/74 cont./

174 487 619

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1).

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

/74 cont./

487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
175 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).
619

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
[176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint jju^c, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] [613] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] [796] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gfir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two conquering branches.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 175 619 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. Âbdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ât.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1).

[731] [428]

1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idna]

619
173
175
(428)
[731]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

[648]

173
619

His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

57 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174 175 634 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

Here now are two documents from annals.

175 [619] The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal. The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits. After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original source/:

175 539 619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 726 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs follows.

619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 175 726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 539 726 619 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gfir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./
174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

1: Berque--117 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/83 cont./

102
131
133
361

Fig. 5 – Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. — 4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. — 8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. — 11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. — 14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gäer. — 16. Tkerni.

[Ait Gasa]

175 /84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and prob-
174 ably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Ager-
619 sili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Ijgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and
[126] Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of
[361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ffjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ffjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istir^{c}ff', "ritual protestation" against
[539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gffr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[634] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[578] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâlî, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[176] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It A is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
	a. Daud.	a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave [176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Abderrah'man u Messud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that [172] ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/89 cont./
173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories,
[538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour-
[171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might
[671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any
[177] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation: the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same
181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus [428] they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Abdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzen/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, 175 except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this 631 order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of 648 Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammō. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'āh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbās in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asān made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. [661] After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Māl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammō as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./

175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Abdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
651 central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Abdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/92 cont./

First French Knowledge

114
113

Here we shall not insist on the political sociology of the modern epoch (1).

1. On the political sociology of the modern epoch, the principal work is that of R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Numerous unpublished or published monographs by the same author: notably, on the Seksawa or the tribes that surround them, art. already cited on the Aghbar, unpublished not. on the Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Remaining unpublished, the valuable monograph by Lieut. F. de La Chapelle, on Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mtouggui /The tribes of the Great Atlas of the Mtouggui/ (1926), both an "exploration" and an attempt at scientific systematization. The same author has published: "Un grand caïdat du S. marocain /A great caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927, pp. 372 sq.; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchical power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1928, pp. 263 sq.; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental /The high-mountain tribes of the western Atlas/," R.E.I., 1928, pp. 339 sq. Unpublished not. by Lieut. Labonne, Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mtouggui /Note on the caid Abdelmalek Mtouggui/, 1913; id., Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous /Note on the Ait Had ou Yous/, 1915; Lieut. Dupas, Les Seksawa /The Seksawa/, 1929 (end of La Chapelle's investigation).

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[901] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121]
[113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113] /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/." R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly [184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the 121 way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and [114] these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 121 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures [114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

174 12 [114]

/94 cont./
have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. Afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/95 cont./

174 sides of a sacred place. They are no more than a sampling. But the matter is important: for by means of them a legitimacy survived. The originality of this history from then on will be the re-establishment of this legitimacy, in spite of the growing misfortunes of the times and in an ever narrower cadre. And that this re-establishment of a name, and of a person, be done by external contributions, with the exclusion of any recourse to the original substance.

Thus the group underwent a long identity crisis. And it resolved it in a striking fashion: by modifying its content. Even if the a. Gasa are authentic Seksawa, they will be eliminated from this tradition and replaced as such by allogenes. In what therefore does this group identity consist? Such a question, which puts itself in the very heart of our research, illustrates the central discussion and the unity of a history small in bulk, but typical.

It is in the period of two and a half centuries, starting in the middle of the sixteenth century, that the essential part of the new mise en place /putting in place/ was done. The intervention of two armed groups coming in, and absolutely contrasting in style with the other elements -- warlike migration or conventional hospitality -- was the main event in it. This vivification was brought about by way of the South. Doubtlessly that is a general phenomenon for the Atlas and perhaps for all of Morocco. What is peculiar here is the signification that it assumes. These fresh forces found in place an ally in a certain constancy, ritual and juridical, bound to the name and to the country. They exerted themselves to remove the usurpation, to restore a people.

It is tempting to relate the intervention of these new factors to the great mystic movement from the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But another idea emerges. The origin of the newcomers, the fact that the mountains remain outside of the hagiology of the times, and still other features make one think that these immigrations proceeded not from the expansion from the Sous at the time, but indeed from the local resistance that it encountered. Not from the movement, but from its repercussions. Among these Iguzulen, then prey to a spiritual and political push,

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171] 1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâlî is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aylî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard décor.

/97/ Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/ I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

113 114 1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

/99 cont./

113 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditer-
114 ranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Selsawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

101
102
489
821
312
131
133

/100/

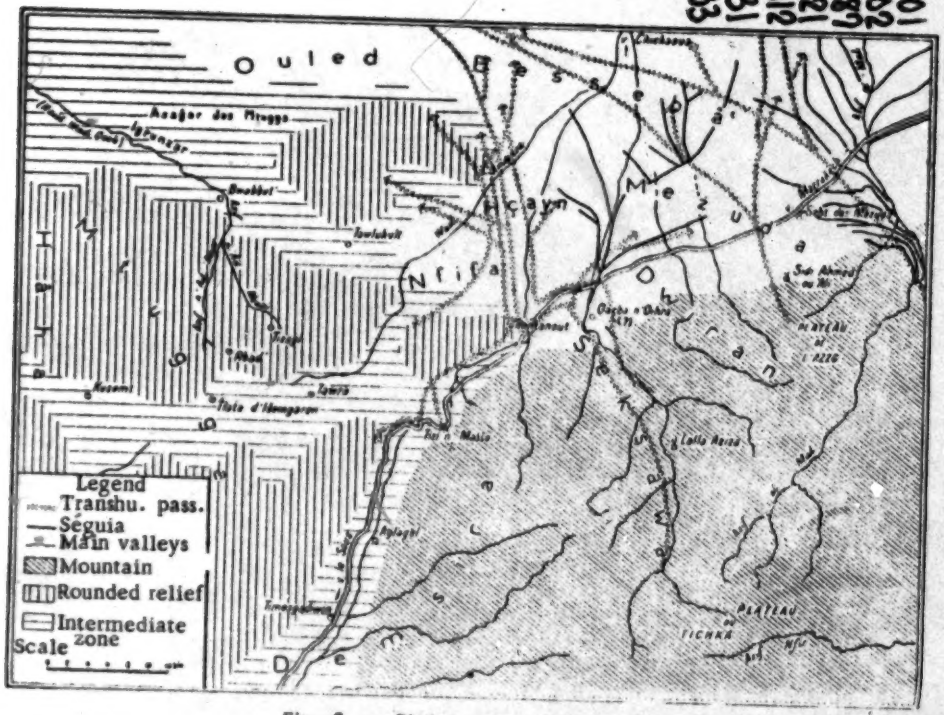


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

> 2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzlyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

> 1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
24 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
22 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/103 cont./

178
24
22
[171]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

171

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Abda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

[361]

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

[423] [427]

/104 cont./

174 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter
648 of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological
22 hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Bessebâ^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the sys-
[312] tem of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Bessebâ^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Abdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions
22 is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-
121 mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./
174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).
221
121

1. It is the sfh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldûn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qsîhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sfh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Bessebâ^c is found in a. Âbdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Bessebâ^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Bessebâ^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebâ^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Âbdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laureis and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Âbdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/107 cont./

312 séguias contrived at mid-flank of the left bank will then have their full use. And not only the Talh'archt, whose intake, however, dominates Tuz'z'umt. It is indeed still higher, at Imi n-tghli, by way of the Targa n-berdun, that the people downstream are obliged to make the water pass. At Imi n-tghli, in fact, the utilizers observe -- a phenomenon doubtlessly related to the cessation of the primary soils -- a sudden loss, which no longer permits entrusting the waters to their natural bed. Thus it is only thanks to a series of works of art that, in the case of drought, far away in the Ud Bessebâ^c plain, the fellah of the Sa^cîdat or of the Ud Sawla can benefit from the rains falling on the distant Idma or in the more distant Taddert. And it happens only by making them cross, by the precious gift, the territory of several tribes. Veritable geographic concert! An organization of the space, of a space studded with rival centers, masters the difficulties caused by the long-term management of the waters. But that insofar as a certain atmosphere exists. Now, this is not always the case, even among contributors. The Idma of Taselli
312 depend for their séguia on the a. H'adduyws, who control its in-
578 take. Hence continuous conflicts. Even between Idma, the enormous séguia of the Amerdul, which the stream takes twelve hours to travel, has no longer been the object of any attack on the part of the people of Tasa since an agreement at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But its distribution still causes numerous conflicts between the villages of Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, and Wanchkrir. On the whole, however, the system has held.

624 The administration necessitates complicated and sometimes
312 extremely delicate surveillance. It is a functionary who performs it, the amazzal, plur. imazzalen, or "runner" (cf. ar. /Arabic/ jerrây). The fulfillment of such a role requires initiative and integrity, but it especially requires that a collective order, made of unwritten laws, work. The personage who assumes it is in general subject to the unanimous designation of his fellow citizens and can stay, even though upheld by the temporal authority, only with their confidence. A very old order, with

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171] 1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
624 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
312 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
578 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute
628 between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mal. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the ʿŝr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Bessebʿ for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Bessebâ^C, Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[31] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the
233 mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Bessebâc plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ᶜachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
24 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

> 1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/111 cont./

246 prohibiting cutting or opening the $ag^{w}mi$ constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our $ag^{w}mi$, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: $ag^{w}dal$).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et pas-
[175] series" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives
675 rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
221 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
178 although coming out of this international law, refer still today to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/112 cont./

675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233 2. The difficulty of these relations and the
241 historical incidence of these very difficulties
171 is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni." Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lîzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221 This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the
233 limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the
241 valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and
[634] lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Bessebâ^c confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdel-mumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Bessebâ^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Bessebâ^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178] [427] [494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqîhra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
171

1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
(312) whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A
[634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Bessebâ^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyân from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by
[571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

124 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[191]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age */Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
571 Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
137 the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/121/ II. Matter and Outlines of Peasant Work

The Field and Its Personality

241 Old and profound idea, the one of the field. A millenary tradition colors it with feeling. Studies as rigorous as that of a Roupnel can be wrapped in lyricism without, for all that, losing contact with science. Many generations have sought in the Géorgiques /Georgics/ both the most exact rules of Mediterranean agronomy and a charm which, far from depriving the exactitude of the discourse of anything, amplifies and extends it. This rare conjugation between "poetry and truth" is explained by the synthesis that is brought about by intellectual, practical, affective values, where rest the earth, man, his tools, his history, his solemn or familiar life. And the basic element of this synthesis is the field.

But what is a field, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1)?

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 359 sq., on the different names for the "field."

241 171 Would it be the individualized domain, continued in the time and space of the Romans? Or the long parcel of the Nordic plains, tied into clusters by the obscure agreements of the open field /italicized words are in English in the original source/ (2)?

2. M. Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931, pp. 21 sq.

Or the same soles of strips /Fr. soles de lanières/ discovered in a completely different milieu, and undoubtedly amidst completely different environments, by Weulersse, in this Near East muchs^c,

/121 cont./
241 whose appellation (but not the reality) reappears among the
171 Chleuh /Shluh/ (3)?

3. C. r. of the book by Weulersse, "Le pays des Alaouites /The country of the Alaouites/," Ann. hist. soc., 1943, III, pp. 116 sq.; Laron, ibid., 1941, p. 122, and 1943, III, p. 117, n. 1.

Or the close of woodland, which paradoxically evokes by certain traits, despite its dryness, with its woods and its enclosures, the H'ith'a country? Or the Mediterranean saltus? Let us stop at this last form. It is so appropropriate for Maghrebi antiquity that one of the first lines of research that one might imagine would be to check to see if anything in the present reality of the Moroccan South corresponds to it. But one can affirm without fear that, comparison for comparison, it is /122/ not to the saltus, but to a diametrically opposite rural form, and which the magnificent aerial photographs of the Constantine limes have restored, that our observations would instead make one think of in this part of the Atlas.

Nothing will appear closer to the ensembles of parcels "in a honeycomb" (1)

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 173 sq.

discovered by the flight over the Roman fossatum than the analogous ensembles, irrigated by a whole arborescence of ditches, of our high valleys. Doubtlessly, there and here the problem is not identical. The techniques described by J. Baradez would apply even better to the subdesert plain or to the Dir than to the montagnard horticulture. But the form of the grounds is there. Same agglomeration of minuscule quadrilaterals downstream from a basin. Same art of the bank of earth cutting and directing the development of the waters. Let us stop at this superficial

/122 cont./

241 171 [114]

analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Gharb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^{w}erkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqām, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wân and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[333] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[92] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wân itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable
[192] examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wân itself. They bear an Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the
613 Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchd^{c}.

/124 cont./

241 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a
423 distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1):

[192]

> 1. Elsewhere in Seksawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchû^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary
133 in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a
241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121] 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

241 423 /126 cont./

Several experimental measurements give as an average:

Inheritance of the ikhs of the a. Watchaw (a. Musa) . . .	30 m^2
-- si Abdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 -
Sheik Wakrim u Lh'ajj H'fid' (ibid.)	70 -
Chkku Family (Imt'ddan)	26 -
Ground of Agersili (Idma)	102 -
-- of Z'init' (id.)	200 -
-- of Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 -

241 /127/ Such an exiguity, aggravated by the dispersion over areas occasionally exceeding a kilometer in length, creates a thousand technical difficulties. No less than irrigation, it imposes the meticulous work of the "hoe," agelzim. At any time of the year, they are but bent-over peasants, "interrogating the earth," to return to a magnificent classical expression, and re-bordering the smallest ledge of the relief, the smallest angle of the periphery, in order to spread there the windfall of the water. Though the quadrangular form is common, the agriculture does not neglect the minor forms. Thus, the "peduncle" of humus, ad'ar. All the same, a "redan," tighmert, sometimes remains abandoned. But generally, except for the cases of rotation of soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/, as at Agersili or the a. Mh'nd, the space cultivated in the channel is full, without fissure. That is the very characteristic that opposes it to the spaced spots of dry cultivation, visible on the hill from afar. These fields are of irregular form, while the irrigated parcels, aligned in balconies or compressed into a damp and almost juicy bottom, are fractioned only abstractly and according to a system of four orients, of an onomastic nature.

But this exiguous parcel is often a composite itself. Depending on its area, and whether or not it is level, it may be fractioned into "lobes," tisirit or tirit, themselves divided into (312) "squares" of irrigation, uz'unen. Or else the emptying ditch will open directly onto one of the latter. This divisibility may also result from the exigencies of cultivation by water, or from

/127 cont./

241 the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

> 1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../," R. afr., 1950.

-- the square, first technical unit;
-- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
-- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
/128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;
[423] (613) -- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimonies of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/129 cont./

114 241 789

been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces -- these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" /constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Doutté on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know
if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the
term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or
from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general
social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest,
in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions
by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific
ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language,
one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/130 cont./

114 121 789 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 171 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

/130 cont./

805
171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221
527
[196]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, [539] get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one [233] gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended [196] with the ſchura or amſchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of iqfleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbfi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al- [539] ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^wbrayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," ăg^wlas, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign.
24 The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr,
[539] "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggrava-
[233] tion. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch
[233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the
[539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what
[539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
241 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[82] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who ....," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

241 796 (121) It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab ilkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
241 796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chŝib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the ir-
[525] rigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried
[782] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood
[787] runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-
[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Ih'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uŝziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sŝid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general
[784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period re-
puted to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the
lqŝleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as
[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the
linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same customs as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[983] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these

241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that

796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ᶜAchûrâ): the choᶜala of the Ud Bessebâᶜ redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Mîlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Âbdella make the fires of
241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
184 when he was thrown in by Nemroḍ. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-lbûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/139 cont./

796 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in
241 themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts
184 breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen
121 -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

/140 cont./

241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

/140 cont./

241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

1: Berque--198 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/142/

III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

121
241
114

1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

/142 cont./

241 otherwise in a country of channels and slopes, a country of scarce soil, and of domesticated rock.

A radical difference from the dry agriculture. An estimate of the annual number of hours of activity required by the one regime or the other would undoubtedly furnish decisive elements. One would have there a quantitative expression of the difference of the human rhythms. But it is impracticable in the present state of our knowledge of Morocco (2).

2. And nevertheless how useful it would be at the time when the "watering" of the immense areas dominated by the new dams approaches in the Tadla or the Doukkala. If these researches still seem unbroached in Morocco, one might refer to a geographical milieu, the Spain of the regadio /irrigated land/, for which the following precise details are given. In the dry, an average of one person occupied on the hectare: in the irrigated, nine more. Naturally, the alimentary productivity /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ is related to this density of the human population: the value in calories of the production in the irrigated is about proportional. Cf. José Terrero, "El regadio en la España peninsular /Irrigated land in peninsular Spain/," Estudios geograficos, No. 39, May, 1950, p. 254. In Algeria, the number of annual days of employment is estimated in the dry from 14 to 18 (cereals); in the irrigated, from 21 to 25 (cereals), at 175 (fruit trees), at 175 (market gardening). Cf. Compte rendu de la journée technique du 10 mars 1951 de l'Association des anciens élèves de l' I. A. A. /Account of the technical day of March 10, 1951, of the Association of the former students of the I.A.A./, p. 10.

241
171

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/143 cont./

171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical historical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on
132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he rejects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the question of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the present state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintanout. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentalization sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Generally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high terrains where the albur cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered. But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example, hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the
133 valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts, even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless [312] lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

133
312
121
[114]

2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is
312 difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

/145 cont./

312 counts the most is the irrigation based on accidental water. Its role becomes vital near the end of summer, even in the time of winter, if it is the least dry, as was the case in 1952. But this flow carried by the ravines would be lost in muddy and devastating tidal waves without the action of man. Thus the job is going to consist of spreading the flood both in space, whence a gain in area, and in time, whence a decrease of the debit and better possibilities for absorption.

This work is permanent or seasonal, or even only episodic. The torrents are never perennial, except in their highest sections: thus from the Seksawa up to Z'init'. If a storm, rrâda, arrives unexpectedly. It fills the innumerable mountain ravines with water. This is the freshet. It has been long awaited. A diversion has been made at a favorable point of the bed. All the grooves, all the planes of the earth, natural or artificial, cooperate in the same task. A consummate science of the slopes and levels is shown. It cuts the ground into sheltered beds /Fr. ados/, into cells, in order to guide the water, to utilize its least drops. To this peculiarly montagnard specialty, the piedmont opposes its own, that of the "epandages" /"spreadings"/ of the freshet, lfid', and more rarely engi, plur. angyun, and that of the organization of the impluvium, imejbed, iriq. The major form is nevertheless that of the "channel," targa, plur. tir^{w}ggin, rising from a "retenue" /reservoir, river water between sluices/, uggug, laid out in the bed of a river, or, more rarely, from a "basin," chcharij or afraw, where a source trickles. Moreover, the role of the basin is complex: accumulator, it is also divider, just as the channel is divided into submultiples, down to the tiny depression made between two beds, and thus combines adduction and distribution.

The mountains are familiar with a certain number of other types. There is not, truthfully speaking, any flow ditch that crosses a slope in order to drain the waters of a downpour. The abruptness of the precipitation in the mountains, the declivity of the slopes would then cause havoc that would make the conduit unutilizable.

/145 cont./

312 Where there is no trace of a permanent bed, where the toponymy no longer mentions, were it as hyperbole, either asif or lwâd, the least sloped "ravine," ighzer, "pond," tamd'a, or "hollow," talat, of any kind serves for the arrangement from a water hole to the confluence of the lines of slope. Thus in Ibuban. Finally, the catchment of what we would call resurgences is sometimes effected in the bed itself. One digs a well, which subterranean galleries fill up, or one builds a wall, which by its foundations reaches the subterranean pool of water: this is what the a. Abdella call ah'riq, plur. ih'riqen.

/146/ The native view does not see any difference between these methods, except one of degree. For it, it is not a matter of distinguishing, as we do, between these resources according to their origin: permanent course, or subterranean, accidental flow, source, accumulation, resurgence. What counts is the question of the soils and of the planes that concentrate in a more or less abundant or precarious fashion the waters coming from one knows not where, but always, more or less directly, from the sky. This homogeneity of origin is duplicated in practice by a homogeneity of utilization. For the fellah there is only a difference in intensity, or rather in rhythm, between permanent and accidental irrigation. The question of the soils and of the planes, of prime importance upstream from the basin, becomes so again downstream. The basin of reception and the basin of spreading are symmetrical. They are distinguished from each other only in that the second one, where the work of man predominates, is infinitely more concentrated. This feature is not negligible in an economy where the initiative of the group adheres narrowly to the natural cadre. The rural technique, correlative of the social structure, is adapted down to the details to the space where the group lives. And at the same time it fashions it.

One measures from there at what point the collection of water and the creation of the soils are but one. The treatment of the mechanical problem of the slope automatically entails trying to spread the flow over the largest planes possible: natural ones, if it can be done; but also artificial ones. If the slope is

/146 cont./

312 too steep, almost vertical, it is notched with stairs and benches. Networks of arable surface will then stretch in curves of levels, superimposed on one another by little walls of dry stone or talus: imaran, plur. of imiri, in the first case, igenzwan or igenzaten, plur. of agenza, in the second. That is a common form. The fullest application of it that can be cited here is that of Agersili. It is not rare that more than a hundred steps, as, for example, at Asikis, build a staircase for giants up to mid-slope. At the same time this system resolves what our engineers call the problem of colature. But it is resolved poorly. Although the excess moisture descends from tier to tier or accumulates in the drains that the stone walls constitute, and, in addition, undergoes an intense evaporation, the washing of the land is inevitable. Thus the yield is relatively small, despite the water and the fertilizer.

So, therefore, a struggle against the swiftness of the flood, itself resulting from the slope; therefore, the arrangement of the slope into graduated level-stretches as broadly as possible. Struggle both against the meteoric fatalities and against the penury of arable soil: the two things are conjugated. /147/ And since, in the most frequent case, it is a matter of, not permanent, but sudden and violent resources, all of this work requires, in addition to a permanent water-strategy, tactics whose sagacity is astonishing.

312 114 Such is the peculiar nature of the montagnard hydraulics. It depends almost entirely on this technique of "unforeseen" waters to which J. Despois has rightly drawn attention. To what extent then is it necessary to distinguish an irrigation of diversion and an irrigation of accumulation, like J. Dresch (1)?

1. J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941, pp. 12 sq., a work whose remarkable cartography and all the more the commentaries have constituted for our own research a geographical cadre

312
[114]

/147 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ and a useful means of cross-checking. In the same order of ideas let us cite, by the same author, in collaboration with J. de Lepinay, the guide on Le massif du Toubkal, 1938, pp. 55 sq.

Certainly, accumulation of the waters represents an idea that is never absent. Even on an intermittent course the slight obstacle constituted by the uggug starts to create a small reservoir. Moreover this reservoir takes on form and function: humble "water hole," afraw, or veritable "basin," chcharij. But the difference lies less in the reception of the arriving water than in its distribution. Whether the water comes in a state of continuous flow, or intermittent, or in the form of resurgence, or of concentration of the streaming down a slope, the problem is finally and always only a problem of collection. At the exit, however, a radical difference sets the continuous debit -- obviously conceivable when the reception is so itself -- in opposition to the discontinuous debit, which periodically empties the reservoir. In the first case, the role of the latter is only to raise the plane of water, while in the second this role is duplicated by another: that of concentrating the temporary resources with a view to a massive, though rapid utilization. A question of level in the first case. In the second, a question of debit. Accumulator in one case, distributor in the other, the basin is both one and the other. The distinction between the two operations would thus be subtle, if all the emphasis did not bear on the second in the local view. Extremely expert at gathering on the surface of the ground the complement of water that the rain withholds, the native method reveals infinitely more competence and obstinacy in assuring the distribution of it. It displays on this occasion marvels of industry and tricks. One feels that it contrives to split hairs, to subtilize if necessary, in order to transform the irregular windfall of water into debits for infinitesmal allotments. It tries to make social equity with the natural hazards.

312 /148/ A hundred séguias represent, for the Seksawa, a realization of considerable volume, although they might be only very rarely walled up. The Talh'archt of the a. Abdella crosses several aqueducts, one of which is eight meters high. It is so wide that each year, at the time of cleansing, the old amghar Ah'med u Lah'sen made a bundle of thorns float in it, from the intake to the ending, without its catching anywhere. The thing has remained proverbial. Sometimes, along a schistose wall, the conduit is conveyed overhanging, passes through tunnels under rock. Even the saints are used there. But neither the intake, a simple weir of dry stone, nor the line, which winds capriciously, for the current is left to do as it pleases, neither the crossing of the hollows, often reduced to a simple "gutter" of wood, lqend'ert, nor the basin of distribution, chcharij, which is frequently reduced to an uncemented hole, afraw -- none of all that is durable. An infiltration aided by the axial impact of the water on concave walls, the absorption by plants insufficiently cut down, finally numerous losses in a system in which the sluices are made and unmade by pickax, with a little mud: so many incessant deficiencies, the adding up of which soon makes the water dry up. Also
312 the abandoned séguias are numerous, notably in Moyen /Middle/
172 Seksawa, in the cursed sector which the a. Gasa formerly inhabited. One can follow at long intervals, as though fossilized on the slope, their network forever fruitless. The decadence of the fields, the petrification, if one may venture to say it, of all the countryside sanction neglect. There is nothing more melancholy. The native avoids reviving places that, according to him, are demoniac. He does not persist in repair. He gives up the place.

312 Thus the fragility of this whole agricultural infrastructure is great. It holds together only at the price of constant care. It is necessary to repair every instant what has not been built to endure and what it is nevertheless necessary to make endure. Veritable sieve of the Danaïdes, where the work of generations has been lost! Nothing is more proper to confer on this humanity at the same time as the idea of effort, that of its precariousness. An act of constant will is necessary to any survival. But this will is often wasted wrongfully, in the futility of perpetual repair.

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqaryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

"cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
823 not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construc-
312 tion of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

/149 cont./

312 in the Todgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as per-
[648] haps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the dis-
[171] tribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical utilization and above all of collective organization what they gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis, being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize successes and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily reach.

/150/ Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert, each being connected to it by its particular "intake," açder or ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary intakes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distribution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open, directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur. ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irrigable by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according
[804] to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a certain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211]

/From p. 150 of the original source./

312
102
423
613

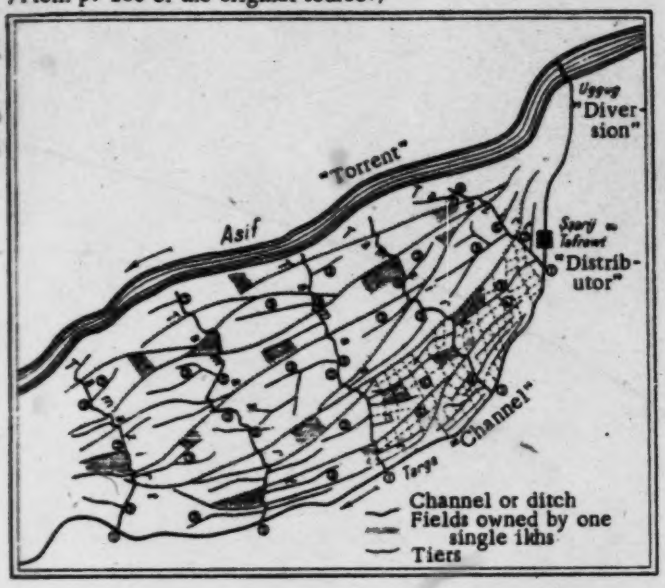


Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

The "channel," targa, leaves from the ççarij, or chcharij, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," asaru, 2, plur. isura, which leave from "principal intakes," açder, plur. içdar or içdran, or further ighin, plur. ighaniwin, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, taghamut, 5, plur. tighuma, opening on the "discharging ditches," isura, 3. Irrigation planches, tisirit, tisaratin, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," uzun, plur. uzunen, 4.

1: Berque--211 Z 5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or subfraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'açt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Ih'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/151 cont./

312 241 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water. The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and sometimes to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in excess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient, imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also contributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature, which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnificent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treatments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

312
241

2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

241 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain,
178 an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the compost of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have dis-
178 appeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard
613 closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the
423 losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/154 cont./

312 613 423 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ᶜaçr to ᶜaçr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Abdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] [634] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekchchut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merrymaking that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/154 cont./

312
613
423

In fact: except for the a. Naçr, who have their lands grouped in the immediate surroundings of the village of Tagenza, the 4 other ikhs-s are all represented in each of the quarters, but it seems without any definite part where the "parcels" under their jurisdictions are grouped. The entanglement seems to be greater and greater from upstream to downstream. In all the "quarters," except for what concerns the a. Naçr, only two do not group the integrality of the ikhs-s: Tamayust and Talfint u-wdi. All the others contain a whole sampling of ikhs-s.

3rd. At Fensu there are 10 séguias. Some come from the high valley of the asif Uziwal, others from the direction of Tasa. This abundance of water makes the portion a day and a night. Eleven turns, including that of the mosque. These turns fall to the ikhs-s, which divide /155/ the water among the foyers in proportion to the surfaces. At the top echelon, which is that of the distribution of turns among ikhs-s, the topography does not count for anything, each ikhs irrigating in turn its lands scattered over several quarters.

4th. At Tasa, three séguias and two orders of distribution. The one bears on the Imengad' and Anngar séguias, the other on the Ti-n-wammam. Here are each of these two orders:

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'fib, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus a turn called ass i-ymengad', privilege, moreover transferred, of the one that regulates the source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sfid, a. Lh'sen, a. Chfib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (individual privilege).

The irrigation rotates by ikhs-s, but within them it is adjusted according to surfaces and gives way when necessary to a drawing by lot, according to the general procedure.

A second method is called taghamut s-tghamut, "sluice by sluice." Without concern for appurtenance to the ikhs, it irrigates by large pieces that are continuous and contiguous to such and such a sluice. The order observed among them is from upstream to downstream. It is a form of decadence, of rupture. It may be due to either a particular abundance of water, rendering useless

/155 cont./

312 the rotation by ikhs-s (explanation given at Lalla Aziza, where
423 this method has functioned for several years), or to an excess of
[613] litigations and privative claims, or even to the gigantism of the system.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ The second motive operated in 1949 in the village
[627] of Ad'erd'ur, which, in order to cut short a threatening dispute, distributed the water of the Tzemzgart. For the whole ensemble of the network of the Amerdul, a claim of this sort: it has not yet won. The order of the ancestors still holds good here.

The third motive results from the case of the a. Lh'sen.

These conquerors of one of the affluents of the middle valley have preserved a vitality which, by a nice correspondence, is also connected to the relative conservation of their soil, to the consistency of the timbering on the sides, and to the abundance of water. They have 14 séguias, beyond the one that Wanz'id', the highest of their villages, draws from a source peculiar to it. Despite the lengthwise stretch of this whole system, the basis for the
[613] distribution is not topographical. Being a matter of an important grouping, the ikhs-s here are grouped into two subgroups, ait Mençur and ait Ddaud, each of the two having each year, alternating with the other one, the privilege of starting. Within the two subgroups, it is the "sluice by sluice" system that functions. The lands of each of the two are entangled the whole length of the valley, from Buteghradin up to Tabratjut, to the confines of the a. Abdella. But this gentilitial system works only on the first four days of the week (starting from Sunday, a day reputed to be favorable in /156/ this taqbilt). The rest of the week, definite portions of the valley receive water: three of them are distinguished. Finally, the distant Tabratjut possesses, with other villages upstream, a special séguia, departing from the place called Ukhriben.

In sum, here there is a combination of the gentilitial system and of the system based on the continuity of several great soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture: expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/. The irrigation calendar, which one has tried to represent below, will give an idea of the complexity and at the same time the harmony of the system.

/156 cont./

312
423

Beneficiary of the turn for irrigation	Day of the week						
	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1) ait Ddaud.	For the morning	Up to the <u>âçr</u>					
2) ait Mençur.		From the <u>âçr</u>	All day				
N.B. There is an annual rotation between these two subgroups.							
3) Section of the valley between Bukhemsin and Zzit u Bachtut.				From the <u>âçr</u>	All day	Up to the morning	
4) Section of the valley between Amelwan and Urti n-Sâïd below.						All day	
5) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.							All day
6) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.					x	x	x
Tabratjut.	x	x					
Awinas, Agadir.			x	x			

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Ábdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

Indeed, the organization observed in a. Ábdella is undoubt-
[178] edly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Ábdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/157 cont./

312 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is
423 of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage
178 of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to
[425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear
312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For
423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that
171

1: Berque--221 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/158 cont./

312
423
171

is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312
182

On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

312
114

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

/158 cont./

312
114

/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121
182

In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657]

121
182
114

1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wān, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [162] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

241
407
492
184

and Iferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduywa	I. Goryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the Iferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*Iferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is.....	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt.....	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amagerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
492 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
184 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)." R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the gflb, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

/161 cont./

241 mt'ra-s are brought about, whose explanation is absolutely not perceived by the peasant.

The requirements of the circulation of water, this whole art of planes, declivities, furrows, develop the agricultural modes for the irrigated. For the dry, on the contrary, they are limited, as everywhere in the rest of Morocco, to a scratching for burying in the ground, well adapted moreover to the nature of many of these fields. Nevertheless, one practices the loosening of the [171] compost by dressing, ttkerbil or ttneqqich, around the olive trees, but without using a special tool, as is done in Tunisia and even in the Aurés.

242 The imperfection of the system is manifested in particular by the rusticity /162/ of the rotation of crops (1).

242 171 1. Let us compare it, for example, with Roussillon, M. Sorre, Pyrénées méditerranéennes, 1913, p. 304; with Andorra, Brutails, Étude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 5 sq.; the Valencian huerta /irrigated region/ and the instructive rose of cultivations figured by Brunhes, op. laud., pp. 56, 65, 66; J. Caro Baroja, Pueblos de España /Pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (interesting bibliography on irrigation).

242 Even the name of what might correspond to it among the advanced agriculturalists of the Gharb or of the Doukkala, the bernicha, is known by only a small minority. It is to be noted, however, that a piedmont amghar cites in this regard, but in Arabic, a disabused axiom: lberninch ih'iyyed t'innich, t'innich ma idir lberninch, "rotation would eliminate poverty: but poverty is incapable of putting it to work." The lack of available

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can

[171] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul'wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal

241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational
441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms
237

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating [illegible] esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245
824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura...., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

[114] 1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.
[232] The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[171] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin,"
[312] tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are
[433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc-
[426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots
[242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some
[251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

245 /167 cont./
[178] industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, Ih'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.

423 While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual --
245 to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch
[171] is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/168 cont./

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
[624] guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 476 829 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

[624] "The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

[613] "The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 476 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the analytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual [613] distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

1: Berque--237 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/170/ Crop Variety

241 Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1);

[178] 1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Sekiawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

[412]

that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

/170 cont./

244 The ensemble appears nonetheless as a decline of a former state, which must have known a completely different variety. That is true not only of the fruit trees, but further and especially of what we call "vegetables." The valley of the a. Lh'sen, whose conservation and vitality are striking, keeps a whole gamut of these crops: eggplants, gourds, pepper, tomatoes. The present success [177] that the potato, recently introduced, finds there, as in Idma, is perhaps a sign that this variety is an authentic trait, merely better preserved there than elsewhere. A new phase of progress could bring it back. In any case there is a relationship between the crop variety and the vigor of the group. We perceive there, very much alive, a new trait of these correlations between space, techniques, and the social structure, the delicate firmness of which the populations of the Atlas make us understand.

244 Let us carry on the observation. Market gardening is not at
242 all amenable here to the perspective of gardens. It is a large-scale cultivation whose value in rotation, in the formula turnip on barley, would be efficient if it were not borne on too-restricted areas. The distinction, for each of these crops, between an early kind and a late kind also contributes an element of interest. The eggplant and the tomato give rise to cautious sowings in general near habitations. Flat flagstones or interlacings of pink laurel protect the delicateness of the young sprouts from the beak of the hens and the danger of frosts. Some crops, like that of the gourd, present, according to cantons, instructive diversities. /171/ In the high cantons, it creeps among the stalks of maize. In Idma, it adorns the banks separating the benches. Lower, it grows in special squares. Mint, alone of all the plants of the valley, including fruit trees, knows grafting. It is crossed with the
244 "origanum," flayo. One would not know how to carry away an optimistic conclusion from only such details; they are in fact only details, or curiosities. The important fact is that this agriculture has become poorer in gamut without perfecting itself. The use of wild or subspontaneous species is no more than residual. The reduction in the number of cultivated species does not express, as in Europe, a selection of types, but a decline. Monotony reaches

/171 cont./

244 a summit, economically ruinous. As proof, the unfortunate cultivations of turnips and carrots. These roots tend toward gigantism and are as demanding of water as they are miserly in calories.

Everything happens as if the historic coil of a system formerly open to the outside had brought these populations to an agronomy without variety or invention (1).

1. On this notation of decline, J. Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa, 1935, pp. 270 sq.

That, if one wishes, is only a hypothesis. We venture it only for what it is worth. But many traits suggest it, and the attempt at critical judgment that one will bring to bear on the system will feel the effects of it.

Adaptation or Not?

121 The adaptation of a society to its natural milieu is "an old geographical dogma" (2).

2. A. Cholley, Géographia, October, 1951, p. 4.

Healthy, since it is progress over the too-ready disdain as well as over the suspect enthusiasms that, depending on the case, economies different from ours arouse. But also, a simplistic and distorting dogma (3).

3. All the effort of the French geographic school has been to show that the influence of the milieu should not be interpreted in terms of dry determinism and that the initiative of the social and its reaction on the physical milieu itself, as imperious as the conditions of the latter formerly appeared (cf. Vidal de La Blache, Principes de

/172 cont./

182 171 121 114

/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182 121 (171) nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

/172 cont./

182
121

/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233
433

economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds
[182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

/173 cont./

233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

/174 cont./

233 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering,
241 irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a
182 hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known
171 that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open
[233] field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

121 /175 cont./
171

/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
[242] posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182 Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is
171 great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

182
171

/footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the Ier Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

/176 cont./

000 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Once there was a child who went out each day. And the first object that he looked at, he became this object; the sprouts of the fields, in April and May, became a part of him, the sprouts of winter grain and those of the bright yellow maize ..." (1).

1. Walt Whitman.

But, beyond the field, there is the mountain. The grandeur of the cadre discourages all mediocrity. The narrowness of the canton forces man to adventure. But let us not go on imagining these contrasted feelings. Later, perhaps, people from here will write a literature of escape, the very one that the barbarian scholar and the emigrant worker now live in their fashion...

/177/ IV. Some Analyses of Grounds

A) Montagnard classicism: the ait Mh'nd

312 [634] /All of Chapter IV is in small type in the original source./ The a. Mh'nd, with Iguntar, Wanz'id', and Iwulla, are one of the cantons backed up to the abrupt barrier which, to the S., separates the Seksawa world from the Sous. From the escarpment gush perennial waters, though subject to estival diminution. Those of the a. Mh'nd, the most abundant, form a torrent that never dries up, which descends, under the walnut trees, toward Ad'erd'ur, the zaouia of Ammern, and ends up by rejoining the main valley at Tabratjut. Its opening is sometimes difficult, thus below the former village of the a. Irz'z'i, whose name, close to the root rz', "to be broken," has given rise to an etymological pun inspired by the ruiniform aspect of the rock at this place; the a. Irz'z'i, in a struggle with the Idma, are said to have had their village shattered by a miraculous collapse. Farther upstream, almost immediately below the sources, a basin spreads out: this is

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, 133 (361) [613] faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen 613 (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only 312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. (173) Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'ogg^{w}a expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

(613) Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The 634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes 613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure 173 669

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^C Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^C), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^C Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/179 cont./

166 159 From the time he was 40, he has shuttled between the two villages; it is doubtlessly his example that made several of his neighbors decide to settle, like him, in the plain. In a. Mh'nd he has kept some lands, which his son exploits. He trades at Agadir Inflas, despite his already old blindness. He is married to a woman from the Dwiran and counts on ending his days in the plain.

Lh'sen u Abdallah n-a. Barka (40 years old) came to Takennurt (lower Seksawa) in 1945 (famine). He lost his lands in ait Mh'nd, but has not given up getting them back. For the time being, he cultivates his wife's field at Takennurt. His wife, originally from the ait Abdella, has given him three children. He regards himself as established in residence; nevertheless he still has a nephew in a. Mh'nd.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Ali n-a Barka (30 years old) emigrated in 1945 (famine) to Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), lives there without land, as an agricultural day-laborer. He has kept some fields and a house in a. Mh'nd, to which he hopes to return one day. Married to a woman from the a. Lh'sen and father of 4 children.

Lh'oseyn b. Lkhd'ir n-a. Abdennur (50 years old) has no lands at Ilutjan (Bas /Lower/ Seksawa), but he possesses some in a. Mh'nd, where his son has stayed to cultivate them. At Ilutjan, he lives as an agricultural associate /Fr. associé, associate, partner, member/, has married a foreign woman (Idma), from whom he has five children. He does not count on remaining at Ilutjan forever, but on going back to end his days in the country.

Moh'ammed u Bella n-a. Umzil (35 years old) has been at Bul^{c}wân for only a year. He does not have lands here, but keeps some in a. Mh'nd, from where poverty drove him. Married to a woman from his home, he counts on returning for the harvest and coming back only for the next tillage, still as an agricultural associate.

Nearly analogous case of Abdallah u Moh'ammed (40 years old), working at Agadir Inflas as khammès /settler to whom one fifth of the produce is allowed/, of Lh'oseyn u Lh'sen n-a. Barka (40 years old), hireling at Taqennurt, of Lh'sen u Abdallah (20 years old), khammès at Tizi Wargyun, and of several other young men.

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâu'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, igʷmi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tighʷmrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrarʷ-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/182/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd
/Left side of chart/

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters			
Twuttyan (cf. awuttu, "limit").	Talghachit (derived from an ikhs name).	Agerd'ʷ Wazar, "col of the fig tree."	F-usderm-an, "on this escarpment."	Iwchchah'en.
	Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ifdisn-an, "the walls of dry stone."	Taglagalt-an, "the place where the waters stagnate."	Uzrar, "thirst" (very dry place where there is gravel, "imezrar").
Tacddut, "the declivity."	Wa-lemri, "the reflecting."	Asdremʷ Wanz'-et't'a, "the escarpment of the a." (cf. below).	Ihlawen (derived from a name).	Ush'aq (derived from a name).
Tighermin, "the fields in tiers."	Amlal Wuggugʷen, "the fine sand of the catchments."	Taghʷzit n-ait Said, "the field of the a. S."	Ughzif n-tghermin, "the fields lengthwise."	Agd'ay n-tghermin, "the pool of the fields."
Amegdul w-uzddar, "the park below."	Bu-ih'chach, "the huts."	Talh'chut, "the pebbles."	Dar wad'il, "at the vines."	Mm - wamimrad (plant name).
Amegdul ufella, "the park above."	Amegdul Ichahan, "the park of I."			
Tawddwa.	Targa n'ayt Zbayr, "the seguia of the a. Z."	Makanʷ uchboro, "beyond the retrenchment."	Tamalut I-Leftrug, "ubac of L."	
Anammran, "the adret."	Adukkʷali.			
Ddu-wanz'et't'a (*ans'ett'a*, "pellicle of moss on a stone or on the water").	Taghʷzit m-Mazuz, "the field of M."	Findus.	Tighedwin-an, "the poles" (long and parallel parcels).	Mm-ti-leh'la, "at the apple trees."
Tafarnut, "bread oven."	Tafarnut n-ayt Umghar.	Tafarnut n-a. Bakhkha.		

/adret, flank of valley oriented toward the south;
ubac, flank of valley oriented toward the north./

[Ait Mh'nd]

/183/
/Right side of chart/

103
423

Mm-uqel-mun, "in hood form."	Im-tmid'i (ti-mid'i: "the 100 walnuts").	Agerd' wad'-il, "the col of the vine."	Agh^{w}zafan, "length-wise."	Bu-tfaliyn, "at the fallen rocks."	Tar agharas, "without road."
Imi l-lutrat, "the opening of the harness collar."	Ag^{w}mmad' i-yghzer, "the bank of the ravine."	Bu-lh'chu, "at the gravel."			
Tamggay-nant, "the damp hollow."	Ddu-taswikt, "under the walnut tree."	Mm-telggut, "at the aloggo (genista)."			
Ag^{w}mmad'n - tafrawt, "the bank of the basin."	Ikniwun, "the twins."				
Ag^{w}dal-an, "the park."	Aghdaw wagmar, "the pole of the horse."				

[Ait Mh'nd]

/184/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
103

Names of quarters	Name of subdivisions of quarters		
Afud-an, "the knee."	Amlal^{w} wafud'-an, "the fine sand of Afud'an."		
Talat n-tenghort, "the hollow of the excavation."	Lluz n-ait Naçer, "the almond trees of the a. N."	Tinummar l-lmechh'i, "the adrets of the dry fruits."	Tagh^{w}zit u-wamalw-an, "the field of the ubac."
Tagenza ufella, "the talus above."	Ddu-Tgenza, "under the talus."	F-ugenza, "on the talus."	Amlal n-fu-wasif, "the fine sand above the torrent."
Ddu^{w}-wsderm, "under the escarpment."			
Wankutuf.			
Ddu-tg^{w}mma, "under the houses."	Içd'ar-an, "the sluices."	Talat n-wkhrib, "the hollow of the ruins."	
Ddu-wz'ru, "under the rock."	Amlal i-ymzilen, "the fine sand of the blacksmiths."	Ait Lamin.	Ait Bakhkha.
Ughad', "of the goat."	Ibh'irn n-ait Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lah'sen u Sâid, "fields of the a. L."	
Igherman-an, "the parcels."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	Tigh^{w}ziwinn ait Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Amlal n-ait Umghar, "the fine sand of the a. U."
Dar - Talmechmacht, "at the apricot tree."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	
Tifratin, "the small basins."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait H'sayn, "the field of the a. H."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. H'ammu u-Bella, "the field of the a. H'."

423
103

/185/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters		
Iger zegg^{w}aghen, "the red field."	Tigh^{w}ziwin i-ymzilen, "the fields of the blacksmiths."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Lamin, "the fields of the a. L."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ayt Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L."
Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ibh'irn n-ayt Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L." (cf. above).	Ibh'irn n-ayt Buirddamen, "the fields of the a. B."
Amettul m-Merzug, "the land of M."	Ibh'irn n-a. [illegible]kha, "the fields of the a. B."	Ibh'irn n-ait Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	
Talat n-tsettuft, "the hollow of T."	Ibh'irn n-T't'aleb ɛAli, "the fields of the T'."	Ibh'irn n-ayt H'fld u yidar, "the fields of the a. H."	Ibh'irn n Abdella, "the fields of A."

Irrigated Crops

103 What is striking first of all is the extreme toponymic density.
423 If our appellation of ground can be turned to account for the ensemble, keeping in mind the fact that it is a continuous whole, a
[312] first differentiation by quarters appears at once. I mean here by "quarter" an agrarian unit having its irrigation autonomy. The ground of the a. Mh'nd includes some 25 quarters thus comprised. Here are the names of them: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul, Tawddwa, Annammeran, Ddu-wanz't't'a, Tighe dwinan, Ag^{w}dalan, Tafernut, Afud'an, Talat n-Tnghort, Tagenza, Ddu-wsderm, Wakuntuf, Ddutgomma, Ughad, Ddu w-wz'ru, Ighermanan, Dar-talmechmacht, Tifratin, Iger zegg^{w}aghen, n-dar-uzerg, 'Amtul m-Merzug, Talat n-tsttuft.

But many other names, corresponding to smaller spaces, could be cited, within the still rather exiguous cadre (about 1/2 ha. each) that the quarter constitutes. A veritable toponymic pullulation comes out between the meshes. In relation to the

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu
423 waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner
[823] of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

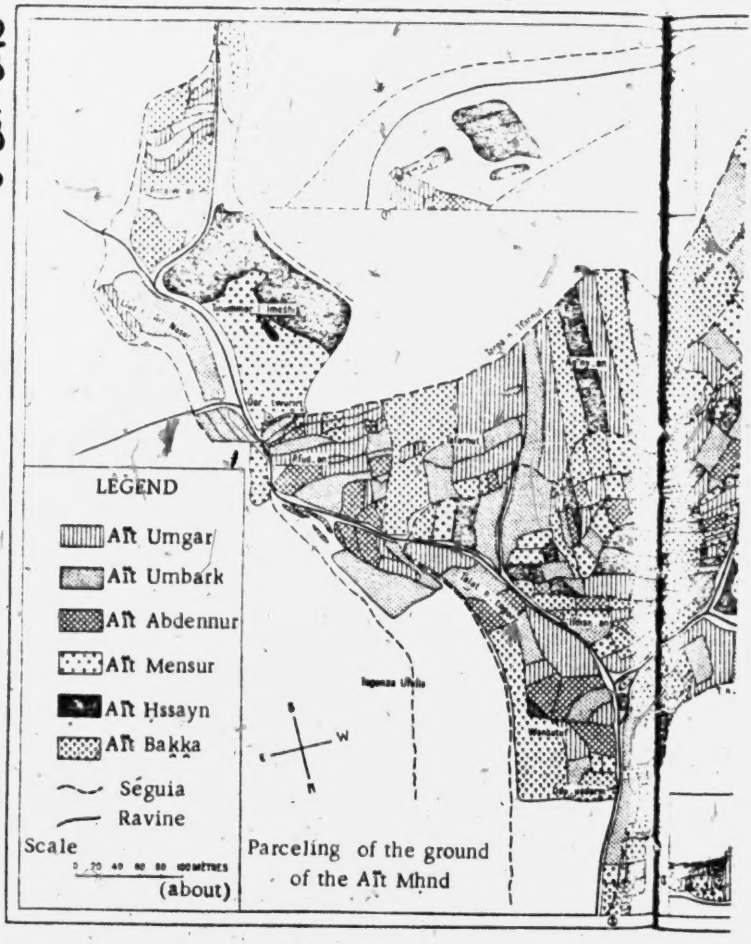
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

1: Berque--261 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613

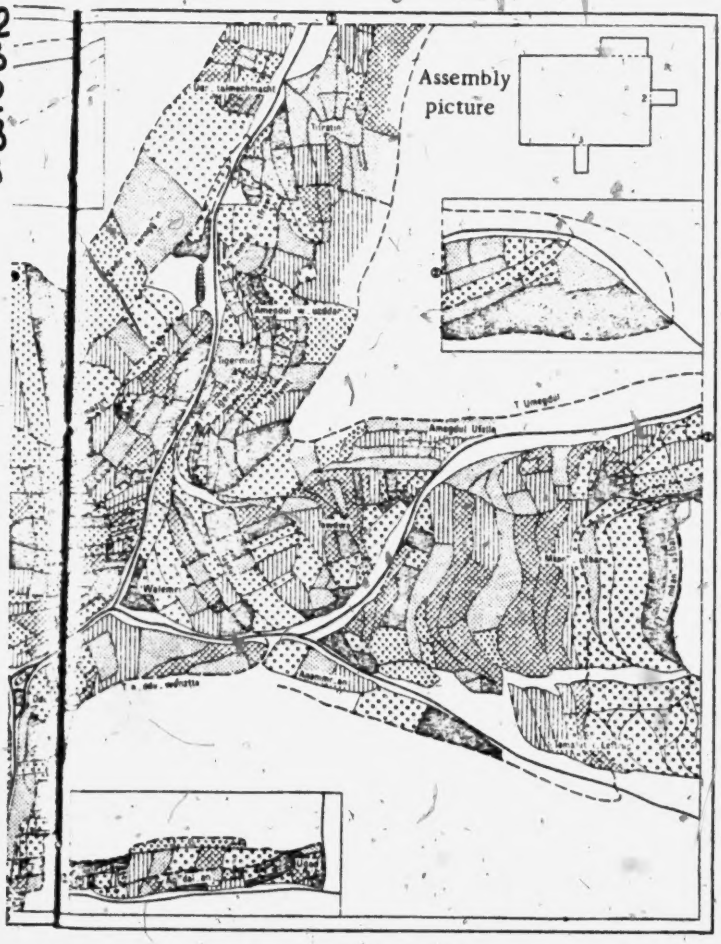


1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613



/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It on-
423 ly functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those
[241] having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

1. [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The
423 informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations
[312] on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammeri torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than
[175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did
[172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, [illegible] and Twurirt. What is striking [illegible] the alternation of colors, which the [illegible] brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, aqder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, Jdu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Id[illegible]. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Ised[illegible]

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs [162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. See p. 1694./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by an sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

The Distribution of Landed Property

423 The indications recorded here about property come especially from the awareness that the group has of its land bases, that is, from a beginning of interpretation that has taken into account, in certain cases, the owner rather than the occupant. In other cases, on the contrary, it is the possessory situation, based on a rrahn or
423 from an old usurpation, which has influenced the notation. Nota-
613 bly being the matter in the case of the family of the present amghar, the Iseqqalen. Such as it is, however, and despite all the avatars resulting from alienations and female inheritances, /192/ /left side of table appears here/ /193/ /right side of table appears here/ /194/ /chart appears here/ /195/ /chart appears here/ /196/ this document establishes, with a coefficient of cross-checking of about 75%, that each ikhs is represented in each quarter. This cross-checking, bearing on more than 25 quarters, on six ikhs-s and 3,500 parcels, has weight. But inequalities appear, as much in terms of the respective patrimony of the ikhs-s as in the proliferation of these into minor ikhs-s, then into "families." That is, for the Iseqqalen: 7 families, a. Ilarzg 11, a. H'sayn 2, a. Mh'nd u Abdallah 5, a. Ulila 3, a. Uh'qqi only 1.

The law of sampling verified above would be such much less exactly (at 52%, however) if we took into account, not the ikhs-s, but their subdivisions. It no longer applies to the family echelon. Nothing surprising in that. It is a rule of public law, we might say, and not of distributive justice. It stops at a certain echelon, which is that of the ikhs. But the proliferation of certain ikhs-s into certain sectors, where the others are reduced to a representation by principle, doubtlessly reveals complex symmetries. Perhaps there has been division of villages among groups. All are represented in each one, but in variable proportions, and that [illegible]

1: Berque--269 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
312
423
613

Names of the ikhs-s	1. Talat-en.	2. Tamluft.	3. Tamsayt-en.	4. Is'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Irz'.	6. Ftaharin.	7. Talat n-ifrawt.	8. Talburt.	9. Amalouyalch.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Tergu wammas.
Iseqqalen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	16
a. Ilarzg	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'uyn		3		29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Abdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	18
a Ulila.....			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi			15	8	12					14	18	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]												
[illegible] (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49.....	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50.....	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51.....	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m

1: Berque--270 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
613

13. Ins'ugian.	14. Firazien.	15. Uggug i-yml y-iz'ma.	16. F-ighuni.	17. Amalu y-iml n-tanut.	18. Telaggut-an.	19. Dugord'an.	20. Awrz i-yml y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-iml y-iz'ma.	22. Telat Ungher.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-irz.	25. Awrif-an.	26. Telat n-Tfrawt.	27. Ait Yus.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,095
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546

[Agersili]

/From p. 194 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

a) Left bank

103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tghauni.	"the séguia of the cascades."	AytYuš.	(proper name).
		Ighzer-an.	"this ravine."
Imi n-talat i-Ylarzg.	"the entrance of the hollow of Ilarzg."	Ddu-wderg-an.	"under this rock."
Tanluft.	"color of blight of erosion."	Asarun-temd'a.	"the ditch of the pond."
Talh'yant.	"with goat-ee."	Asaru n-ait-Yirz'.	"the ditch of the a. I."
Talat-an.	"the hollow."	Ighzer n-ait-H'sayn.	"the ravine of the a. H."
Adaghas n-talt-an.	"the shelter of the hollow."	Asaru awragh.	"the yellow ditch."
Ddu-f-igherm-an.	"under the top of the bench."	F-tabarin.	"succession of vertical tiers (tamart or tabart)," "beard."
Tiz'ma y-Ij'anaten.	"the grasslands of I."		
Uggug n-trga n-tsila.	"the head of the séguia of the Tasila."	Az'ru^{u}wawuk.	"the stone of the owl."
Talat n-ggud'it.	"the hollow of the pile."	Amalu n-talat n-tfrawt.	"the ubac of the hollow of the basin."
Amettul n-^{c}isa.	"the field of Aïssa."	Tinummar umençur.	"the adrets of A."

[Agersili]

/Continuation of p. 194 of the original source./

103

Tigh^{w}za-y-an.	"the parcels."
Ag^{w}erregg^{w}in.	"between the séguias."
Alkawsu.	"the billhook."
Iz'ma-an.	"the meadows."
Ighzer ulberj.	"the ravine of the château."
Imi n-tghersi.	"the mouth of the sacrifice."
Asaru y-imezran.	"the ditch of I."
Targa y-Irz'.	"the séguia of I."
Tirwil.	"narrow band of parcels enclosed between several séguias."
Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the barrier to the entrance of the grasslands."
F-yighil-an.	"on this crest."
Ddu-wdaghas.	"under the shelter."
Bu-yilf.	"the place with the wild boar."
Targa wammas.	"the séguia of the willows."
Uggug n-trga wammas.	"the head of the séguia ..."
Imezughan.	"red earth."
Talat n-tfrawt.	"the hollow of the basin."
Bu-lkhukh.	"that with the peach trees."
F-takuj'j'ut.	(improper word).
Timezgida n-f-irazaten.	"the mosque of Firazaten" (araza: cleared land).
Badis.	(proper name).
Timutar-an.	"kind of genista."
Taghuni.	"the cascade."
Ighzer n-ait-Ali.	"the ravine of the a. A."

[Agersili]

/From p. 195 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

b) Right bank

103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tussa-irh'h'alen.	"the séguia of the esplanade of the nomads."	Talat Umghar.	"the hollow of the chief."
Targa n-tal-burt.	"the séguia of the field in the dry."	Targa w-umalu n-talat u-wmghar.	"the séguia of the ubac of the hollow of the chief."
Amalu.	"the ubac."	Imi n-tegsart-an.	"the outlet of the steep."
Targa w-umalu.	"the s. of the ubac."	Targa-wan-ammr-an.	"the s. of the adret."
Awerz n-wmalu.	"the fine sand of the shade."	Talat i-Yburk.	"the hollow of I."
Berqiqch.	"the plums."	Ddu-ws^{w}g-glegh.	"under the flagstones with salt."
Talat g-ys^{w}g-gligh.	"the hollow of the flagstones where one puts salt for the flocks" (asswgglagh).	Idughas u-wgerd'-an.	"the shelters of the butte."
Amalu n-ddu-wgadir.	"the ubac of the under side of the fortress."		
Asaru l-lbaz.	"the ditch of the falcon."		

[Agersili]

103 /Continuation of p. 195 of the original source./

Ddu-turirt.	"under the hill."		
Tanikt.	"stone having the appearance of the remains of smelting."		
Targa n-tanut.	"of the entrance of the small well."		
Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	"the ubac of the entrance of the small well."		
Talggut-an.	"kind of genista."		
Targa n-ddu-wgerd'an.	"the s. of the under side of the buttes."		
Isdram.	"the escarpments."		
Targa w-umalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	"the s. of the ubac of the entrance of the meadows."		
Awerz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the fine sand of the entrance of the meadows."		
Imi n-talat u-wmghar.	"the entrance of the hollow of the chief."		

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to
613 the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part
423 of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely
[103] neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/ Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 The second striking trait, and which has already been indi-
241 cated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the
[184] area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the
233 milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 311 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uaziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and [794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

/198 cont./

423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
[452] and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Ali,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
592 more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen.	10 --	105 --
a. Ali	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Ali each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Ali have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Ali	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen.	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Rea-
423 son invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimo-
178 nies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the
613 a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave
178 no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property
[613] mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has
[794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location; too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
628 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châib.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaši.
11. Iqiri y-igarramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-wgwadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634 613 [173] [423] /201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102 133 361 423 613 634

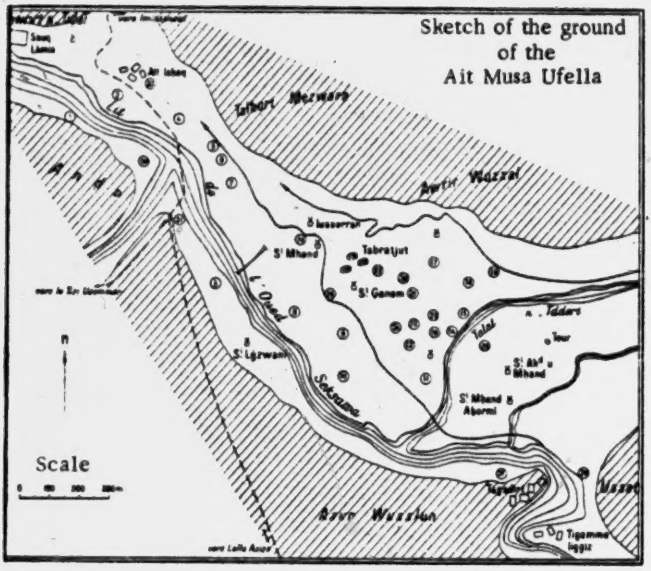


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./
634 property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s,
613 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but
423 among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51%
613 confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and
[128] 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

423
613

/Table from p. 202 of the original source/

Indication of the ikhs-s	Indication of the number of parcels that each ikhs possesses in each quarter (the letters and the numbering refer to the lists above)																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
a	16	15	13	47	64	4	53	45	40	17	25	38	15	7	5	31	4	8	11	15	9	4	39	85	19	47	14	49	37		2	5	783
b				1	3		1	7		1	3	1			1		1	1	1							1	1	8	1				32
c	1	2	3	8	8		12	10	4		4	4	2		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	10	4	16	8	2			121
d	1	2	3	7	8		2	9				4	1		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	8	1	20	6				95
e	7	16	8	9	10		3	17	1	17	3	6	10	5	2	4	7	15	3	1	2	3	3		3	16	9	13	15				208
f	2			3		3	4	5		3	2	4	2	1	2		2	2	2					7	1	5	3	1	7				61
g					1		2	1	1			1											2	3	1				2				14
h	2	1	2	1		1	2	2			1	1		2	3	2			1	3	1	3	2		1	4	1						36
i		4	2	6	4	3	3	6	2				4	1	1	1	1	3		2		6		4	2	18						5	78
j	4	11	5	23	25	1	10	11	11			9	17		1	12	3	5	2	9		16	13	7	11	50	1		1				258
k	1	3	9	7	6	4	8	10				3		2	2	3		3	4	9	3	4	5	6	4	22							118
l	1	2	2	1	4		1	3	2	3	1	3			3	3	2	1		2		1		3	2	4							44
m		1	2		2											3	1				3			2		12						1	27
n	3	1		1	7	1	1	2	2	2					1	3	3	3	1	3		2	1		1	9							47
o																														10			10
p	18	30																															48
q	6	5																															11
r	8	16																															24
Totals by quarters.	70	109	49	114	142	17	92	128	63	43	39	74	51	18	29	74	32	45	25	44	26	39	69	117	47	206	34	107	77	12	2	11	
																																General total	2,015

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares,
311 each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare.
But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up
[103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them.
Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the
details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two
[243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower
band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper
[592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10
parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords'
country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has 245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserv- [241] ing a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstak- ing clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and [262] when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach [443] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible [412] number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety [586] is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and [173] antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the ~~a-ba~~ Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Imt'ddan]

/210 cont./

613
621

Original ikhs-s	Present "minor ikhs-s"	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'. a. Uchikar. a. Warrh'u. a. Batirat. a. Mulid. a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit. Tagunit. Tamt'ddit. Tagunit. Tamt'ddit. Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku. a. H'imi. a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tagunit. Tagunit. Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray. a. Uâzzi. a. Jamid. a. Uturit.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt. Tamt'ddit. Tinwalin. Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli. a. Sâid. a. Ufarnu. a. Uqurru.	Tamzgurt. Tamzgurt. Tagunit. Tagunit.
a. Lchger.	a. Ubaqqa. a. Ubumarth.	Tagunit. Tagunit.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 621 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation between Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 691 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of proceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to ~~the~~ E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 361 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the car-
172 rot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saïd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Abdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond
311 trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order):
[103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 tgomma ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâïd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called imçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Abdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5
[624] ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to
178 groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of
[624] the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bello u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

[Taqennurt]

/215 cont./

613 This table calls for various comments.

423 1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family
241 of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 1/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchari (18), the a. sidi Ghânem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^{c}wân the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wān, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Âbdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Âbdella and the neighboring
(657) Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

619
[423] /217 cont./
[65]

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, cabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebac	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals..	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nûfa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

[illegible] des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/, which aims at our very milieu, 1942; A. Basset, "Note sur la graphie des toponymes /Note on the writing of the toponyms/," Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes, 1942, pp. 177 sq., where a simple phonetic alphabet is proposed, fairly similar to the one that has been adopted here; on the Berbère toponymy, and especially on the Chaouia toponymy of the Ait Frah, Onomastica, 1948, p. 123; and especially, "Pour une collecte

[illegible] more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaîb and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613
312
[184]

This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[illegible] going from the simple to the [illegible] observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613
423

3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

[illegible] "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lengo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 423 [634] 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the distribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-Ibûr. Seven a^cz'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. [578] The conflict between the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-Ibûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was
[634] the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-Ibûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-Ibûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of
423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ- [172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by
173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

[443] 4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor
[312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail
423 this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation
178 of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork
613 mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ tribes, the Ud ᶜAbdi and the Ud Daud, now called Tuaba. Each of their villages is surrounded by a perimeter of careful horticulture. One might thus believe that the distribution of land corresponds to this compartmentalization. Not at all.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the operations of the Sénatus Consulte, seeing to breaking up the old tribal entities into "commune-douars," which offered sufficient guarantees of human and economic homogeneity, established vast confusions of habitat and of property in the Aurès. The description that the commissioners setting the boundaries give of it leaves no doubt in this respect. In the Wâd Labyod', the 5 traditional subdivisions of the Ud Daud interlace their dependencies all along 74 kilometers of valley. Certain villages belong at the same time to two, three, indeed even simultaneously to the totality of these "sheikates." With the exception of Menâa, the 14 subgroups of the Ud ᶜAbdi are similarly interlaced. The plain of Nerdi has dispersed on it a veritable sampling of ownership. More to the S., behind the great barrier /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the Zalato, the Beni bu Slimân present "entangled fractions," the officer tells us, "like crops, courses, and even villages." That over 12,000 hectares. This confusion is all the more remarkable because the use of "granary-fortresses," aqliᶜt, plur. iqliᶜin, corresponds here to the personality of each agnatic group rather than to that of the village or of the tribe.

Thus it seems that this discontinuity of ground, this group interlacing are the rule in the Aurès and

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.
671 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

[829] What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
614 North, the muchaC of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[423] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423 312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

121 423 [103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/230 cont./
423 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
613 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenom-
184 ena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ^c. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

[613] Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
[571] an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
[619] among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
171 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/231 cont./

121 between North African societies. This explanation of collective psychology is worth what it is worth: precisely quite little undoubtedly, as explanation. But it is not negligible for the interpretation of the /232/ facts by their sentimental context. It is certainly indispensable today as commentary of traits from observation, such as the acuity of the landed-property litigation and the depth of the working of the mechanisms of patrimonial equilibrium. Finally, it might react on a theory of value, peculiar to the milieu, if ever our knowledge of North Africa included such research on it ...

"The Earth and Human Evolution"

Here let us stop the analysis of these economic structures. Besides one could not further develop the significance or draw conclusions from it without presuming too much from the rest of the inquiry. Whatever rules, whatever comportments correspond to this rural order, this is what the study of the religious and juridical institutions that it supports will extricate.

182 But here and now one thing is to be emphasized, because it relates to the peculiarity of the milieu or at least is expressed there with a force still intact: this is the precision of the relations between the group and the landscape. A historic constancy unequaled in the rest of the rural Maghreb, the richness of the toponymy and its agrarian correspondences augment the methodological import of such evidence. It is in fact not only the exchanges between this man and his ground that these relations govern, but a good part of the very ethics of this society. Their force of instigation, of inspiration, and, at the same time, of restraint is such that they not only tolerate individual or collective initiative, but demand it. In fact this is what maintains, over a space thus organized, the circulation of beings, rights, and things. Gradually, the economic life, because it obeys these correlations, appears as a factor of topographical animation. The more so because it was under this aspect -- displacement of the herds, lines of irrigation, rhythms of concentration and expansion, divisibility of the country -- that it first struck us.

/232 cont./

121 A taqbilt is dislodged by war. Its legitimacy remains attached to the soil, and the conquerors must buy it from it dearly, if they can. The poor cousin flees. Eliminated not so much by the vice as by the indefensible perfection of the milieu, he leaves the shell that he was filling. It will not remain empty to wait until he returns: another soon slips into it, expansive kinsman, buyer, usurper -- three ideas which often interfere. A temporary right that the emigrant will try to abolish upon his return, but not without difficulty and combat, will prevail during the time of his absence.

/233/ Certainly human activity is not completely reduced to the exercise of these laws. If the immense part of itself that it devotes to the treatment of the milieu reveals, in this region of the Atlas, the rural order, the observation of which the Seksawa have allowed us, this part is not the only one. Spiritual progress, military adventure, individual avarice assume a function of compensation, liberation, or of game. But, even in that, life cannot lose touch with its cadre. It creates plenums and voids, thus differences of tension which will end up by being expressed in relations, in movements, and by inscribing itself anew in the space.

Here such a character is constant. It proves to be linked to the structure and to the history of these groups by correspondences more precise than have been presented to be observed up until now in North Africa. Of course, that does not authorize any simplistic determinism. But it confers upon these societies a value of authenticity, and at the same time a significance of type amply exceeding their narrowness. Perhaps the preceding analyses will have established at what point the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and especially the Seksawa, offer an exemplary basis for the study of the bonds between "la terre et l'évolution humaine" /the earth and human evolution/ (1)

1. This is the title of the book by L. Febvre, 1922.

for the whole of the Maghreb. /Page 234 is blank./

/235/

Third Part
Institutions and Values

000 /Page 236 is blank./

/237/

Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

/237 cont./

778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

/239 cont./

776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
823 (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[84] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête
[133] is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not be-
[695] long to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

779 /242 cont./
671 ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern
175 norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only
779 with each other. They have found before them, beneath them,
671 more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and
[171] competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

/243 cont./

671 171 the whole ensemble of local law of an inspiration outside of or prior to Islam, the French magistrates of Algeria consider as a body of customs the ensemble of local laws, of Islamic origin or not, in contrast to the Civil Code. Did not one of our sociologists some twenty years ago entitle a work, and not one of the least ones: Loi française et coutume indigène en Algérie /French law and native custom in Algeria/ (1).

1. R. Maunier, 1932, a book moreover picturesque and intuitive.

A second qualification is to be made concerning the term of "Berbère" /Berber/. The ubiquity of this local law, more or less even, makes very difficult its qualification as Arab or Berbère. The fact is that its most coherent expression appears especially in Berbérophone sectors, forming by that also a figure of reserves or of archeological evidence. Sectors which have constituted, for the Arabs as well as for us, both the most expressive sign and the extreme case of an autochthonous genius. A quite superficial view.

779 171 For Mussulman orthodoxy, the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/, and, with all the more reason, of a Berbère law, is an intolerable scandal. W. Marçais has acted justly to observe the very particular malevolence with which the geographer al-Yâqût stigmatizes, in the note that his dictionary devotes to them, "the singularity and the excess" of this race, h'ida wa t'aych (2).

2. Yâqût, Mu^{c}jam (1224), Wustenfeld ed., 1870, in the art. barbar., t. I, pp. 540 sq. He is struck by some aberrant aspects: ah'wâl ^{c}ajîba wa içt'ilâh'ât gharîba. W. Marçais observed that the entire note is of an unusual violence.

The last word, still living in dialectal Arabic, recovers the an-
171 cient notion hybris, "immoderation." Now many Eastern Bedouins

/243 cont./

171 are governed by a customary law, which, among the sedentary Yemenites, for example, is stated even in codifications bearing the singular name of t'aghût (3).

3. Ettore Rossi, "Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen /The consuetudinary law of the Arab tribe of the Yemen/," Rivista degli Studi orientali, fasc. I-IV, 1938, describes a whole patriarchal and chivalrous society where interdictions protect the guest, the suppliant, the client, the refugee, the traveling companion, and up to the namesake. There are even some dissertations on the man^{c}, an idea related to the taboo. Some problems, such as that of the disinheriting of the woman, are posed simultaneously for this society and for those of North Africa, in relation to which it offers, moreover, a more archaic shading. The homogeneity of the problems and of the solution that is applied to them is nonetheless suggestive. After the description, already old, of P. Jaussen, E. Rossi's article constitutes a new and considerable contribution to the knowledge of an Arab customary law.

671 That way, even the juridical originality of the Moroccan moun-
779 tains, to take an extreme case, could only, in the eyes of the
171 orthodoxy, be absorbed in this theme of survivals or rural deviations, of this "eternal Bedouin," both nightmare and reason for being of the proselytism of the towns.

/244/ Certain traits of the Mussulman juridical technique must have contributed enormously to this unitary confusion (1).

1. On all this, see J. Berque, tr. of al-Wazzâni, Les Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a

/244 cont./

779
671
171

/footnote 1 continued/ du Mi^{c}yâr /The Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a of the Mi^{c}yâr/, 1940, pp 27 sq., and Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine /Essay on the Maghrebi juridical method/, 1944, pp. 33 sq.

First the concept of d'arûra, "necessity," and "law-making necessity," which allows absorbing, without derogation of principle, all resistant and aberrant facts, because one cannot master them, and without there being any question of penetrating their shell. Then, in the same sense, this Malekite opportunism imposing in the name of the "social good," maçlah'a, the acceptance of the illicit: but momentary, precarious and almost haughty. Finally the immoderate role of the presumptions in the penal and civil law has introduced, under the appellations of ^{c}orf and of ^{c}âda, "usage," a mass of local institutions, but, it goes without saying, without recognition of their character of internal obligation.

Consequently, the negation both instinctive and rational of the Berbère /Berber/ law by Islam is accompanied, in the juridical technique, by multiple means of absorbing it without admitting it. And not only without concession of legitimacy, but without an attempt at analysis. Consequently the Maghrebi reality has maintained the fiqh as an immense stock of facts without justification or depth.

For the strict orthodoxy, there is no problem of customary law.

000 Quite the contrary, the European exegesis, after long gropings in Algeria, and especially under the influence of institutional spontaneity, which it discovered in Kabylie /Kabylia/, then in Morocco, has let itself be dominated by a realism as unattackable, as long as it rests content with observation of the facts, as it is hazardous when it finds other inspirations. The joy of discovery has perhaps sometimes brought about a belief in a primitivism all the more malleable and assimilable as certain Mediterranean affinities "defended" it against the Orient: from there to the simplistic idea of division, there is only one step, which the system's detractors have not failed to make it cross.

/244 cont./

671 779 Let us proceed to the attitude of the user. Last, for this user is shy. He perseveres, certainly, but apologizes for it, or he does not even know himself. The two poles of this attitude are that he makes use of a superior system, which is Islam, fiqh included, and that concurrently he clings to a cantonal particularism, a sort of Proudhonian liberty which implies the preservation of his law.

It is only exceptionally that he rises to the discussion of /245/ principle. An account by the sheik an-Nâçirî (1)

> 1. An-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 42, l. 19 sq. The jurist is led to subtle distinctions on a community's degree of resistance to the law. "Question: a rural tribe resists legal norms, and replaces them with customary norms and penal tariffications enacted through deliberation. It bases its justice on that. Does it incur the qualification of infidel? Answer: No, but simply of rebel. Objection: but then what is meant by the word of God: 'He who does not act according to the Revelation is an infidel'? Answer: 'That applies only to a tribe considered in its individuals.'" (He means doubtlessly a tribe that has manifested a deliberate initiative in this direction. The anecdote of the ait Asawn in fact follows: those may be qualified as infidels.) One sees that the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists have sometimes been forced to approach the problem.

shows us a tribe of the Sous, the ait Asawn, symbolic in the name perhaps ("those of the escarpment"), who "bury" the Mussulman Law according to the classical mode of spell, and proclaiming the henceforth obligatory recourse to the "tables" of the ikchchud'en custom, that is, to local codifications. But that is only an extreme case.

/245 cont./

000 671 779 171

extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qâdirî, justifying the ᶜAmal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qâdirî nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

(114)

3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marcy, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/245 cont./

671 779 171

In any case, this is what forms the originality of the Sous and the Mzab (4).

4. On this aspect of Mzabite law, L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâas du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâas of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 223.

But everywhere one finds this double character of Islamic option and cantonal conservatism. Whether it is transactional or, more rarely, insurrectional, the local law has always and everywhere reckoned with the fiqh, has set itself in comparison with the fiqh, indeed sometimes has pretended to be absorbed in it, or believed it.

/246/ Islam and Individual Belief

779

From the innermost subjectivity of the Chleuh /Shluh/, whose Islamic option is profound and ever bursting forth, to the most well-considered social affirmation -- this society wills itself Mussulman. In its great epochs it sought to be the Mussulman society. We find the Prophet everywhere. It is for this reason that it is so difficult to determine his part: it would not be if it were not total, or, more exactly, if it did not will itself, if it did not feel total. Such in fact must be the lot of a universalist faith. As a permanent appeal to the profession of the Unique, to the imitation of His noble witness, the Messenger of God, as a cultural and ethical system, it inspires and governs the soul of the person and that of the people: it has become an essential trait of the country. It would be a fine subtlety to distinguish in as specific a synthesis the part that, of an order properly institutional and of oriental color, has been, not rejected, but eluded by the societies of the Atlas, or adapted and assimilated by them. Nevertheless, in the realm of the law, one can circumscribe the indigenous legacy and the oriental contribution. Concerning the belief, the

/246 cont./

779 discrimination will be much more delicate and in many respects impossible.

It seems, however, that the progress of Islam is the very one of individual behavior. It asserts itself fully in this extreme case that is sanctity. The communitarian and naturistic character of the basic rites is naturally further removed from it. Hence the criticism of it that the scholars make. They were not mistaken in denouncing what they called paganism or idolatry: awkward expression of a certain specificity which we would prefer to attribute simply to the vitality of a rural system. Hence, on the other hand, the tendency of the ethnologists to overaccentuate what they believe to be agrarian "magic and religion," whose articulation to a hierarchized ensemble, which is indeed that of a Mussulman society, they do not recognize. Does this mean that, on even the echelon of the jemâa, the Islamic qualification loses in importance what the communitarian play gains? Such an assertion could be upheld only suitably nuanced. First of all, Islam is there in local law, whether it be the inspirer of it or, on the contrary, if I may venture to say it, the driving bolt /Fr. repoussoir/. This will be studied in detail farther on. But Islam reigns equally in the communal house, in this timezgida where the recitation of the Koran punctuates the time of the village and contributes, by periodic feasts, to the most intimate of the collective rites. Finally, it opens up possibilities of escape, felt by each one, and where each vaguely perceives a recourse against the terrible order of /247/ the city: it is true that here one falls back on individual cases.

779 171 However that may be, in fact it is certain that in the societies of the Atlas the stage of Islam is that of the person rather than of the group. A fundamental difference from what it was traditionally in the Arab Maghreb, where, conforming to its origins, it corresponds above all to the madîna life, to the professional and scholarly municipal life, of which Fès /Fez/ constitutes in Morocco the privileged example. Here the city is peasant, and proceeds from structures perhaps autochthonous, in any case far removed from the mercantile urbanism which the oriental

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/247 cont./

771
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
776 source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old
823 black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them
[778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he
[675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/249/cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggâhi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1); [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa. [173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison 796 with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[178] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'inît', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

> 1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

> 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

/252 cont./

541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women.
[536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

121 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of
541 knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

121
171
541

1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 796 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[386] [263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flower-pots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath. [221]

794 796 533 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb [574]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 [634] The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000 778 794 212 by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776] In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

/255 cont./

778 "mare au diable" /"pond for the devil," pond miles away/) is nothing other than a pile of branches and pebbles opposite the village of Tagenza. In this case, as in that of the rival sanctuary of "Monsieur le Saint," Sidi Lwali, at Wanz'id', no personification, and not even by name. The efficiency is by no means linked to the very fiction of a saint, were it as indefinite. This is proved by the example of the mosque of Ifesfas, whose powers and even the legendary physiognomy /256/ offer an instructive contrast with the habitual imprecision of all this hagiology. It is so redoubtable for false oaths that the prudence of the canton forbids there the practice of religious ordeals. In fact, it is told that one time, for a matter of 12 dinars, it caused to perish not only the 12 coswearers, but also their 12 partners, for the outburst of its power "so harsh," icheqqâ, does not stop of course at subjective responsibility. Similar traits, although of less anecdotal glow, apropos the mosque of Awines and that of Tagenza.

Figurative Sacred and Nonfigurative Sacred

778 One is thus led to distinguish a figurative sacred from a non-
776 figurative or anonymous sacred. The latter is largely predominant. At the two extremes, the individualized saint and the anonymous ritual place. But the name does not constitute a true criterion. In fact, its presence no more suffices to promote the rite than its absence eliminates all legendary personalities. As one has seen, this is the case for the terrible mosque of Ifesfas.

776 Another distinction is to be made between saints with descent, such as this sidi Musa of Wanz'id', master of hurricanes, and whose distant sons always retain a certain qualification, and those to whom no lineage refers. On the one hand, personages with genealogical identity; on the other, anonymous agents of the sacred. And it is not without interest that the first type, which is the very one of the hero, would, in this agnatic society, be both so rare and, where it is found, so delineated.

/256 cont./

778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly [128] predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'- and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques,
778 one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
796	All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 982 796 T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
	Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional. [162] [613]

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/260 cont./

779 346 671 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, lfçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of swom law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

627 171

1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/261 cont./

627 171

/footnote 1 continued/ can exist for a very long time, or even rise again under the influence of archaizing conditions (cf. the role of the oath in the constitution and defense of the medieval manse). In the Roman procedure, the sacramentum in rem would also be, according to the original interpretation by H. Lévy-Bruhl, "Sur la laïcisation du droit à Rome /On the laicization of the law in Rome/," Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité, 1951, pp. 83 sq., "a test to which one can presume that by reason of the redoubtable forces that it unleashes a party would lend himself only if he considers himself quite sure of his right..." But is this not again a rationalist interpretation?

627 773

And, on the other hand, the religious accent that the myth confers upon the oath indeed risks being only an explanatory addition, quite like the formality of the oath itself. What could count in the archaic stage that appears under there is undoubtedly the gesture of touching the chain which "hangs from the sky": it properly establishes communication with the sacred.

627

Another remarkable thing, it is not to a matter in litigation that the myth's preferences go. It is to a sort of settlement brought about by the parties themselves, and the essential of which resides in the efficacy of an attitude. Technique of sudden releasing, "golden" technique, technique of "the golden age": that is what the instinctive option, the nostalgia, still discernible under the Seksawa's procedural extremism and the passion for the judiciary joust, come to. Nevertheless this archaizing is also accompanied by a critical reflection. Such ambiguity is not surprising.

Be that as it may, to the course familiar to this study, and which consists in approaching the institution only by its most concrete holds, corresponds something in the very opinion of the subject: this primacy given to the techniques of direct settlement and a fortiori to the purest among them, that of settlement without debate.

/262/ The Rite of the Stone On the Boundary

423 578 Boundary disputes between riverains are all the more frequent here because the modicity of the parcels makes one utilize as separation of the lands only the "lane" of grass saved sparingly between two tillages, or even stones put likewise on the fallow land and whose dotted line symbolically marks the passage from one right to another. The agricultural ground of the villages is thus constituted by tiny patches, sometimes reduced to one or two squares of irrigation: by them, as has been seen, each family is represented in each of the toponymic quarters whose ensemble forms the ground. Any one of these parcels is therefore defined less by the topography than by its fitting in between four others. From one to another, no interruption. Only just a difference of vegetation due to inequality of manure. It is necessary to hold the stalks apart in order to see a small, raised stone, awuttu, base of an ideal line sectioning the quarter perpendicularly to its axis. Here then is a peasant society without actual limitation of the lands. One conjectures that such a stage defies judiciary law. The problems that it poses in fact are those of a criticism of legitimacy, based on the contestation of civil status rather than concrete problems of emplacement. The former are never even with the plane of litigation. This is because they are amenable, not to a procedural course, but, if I may venture to say it, to an immediate law.

423 627 578

A sacramental operation resolves them. An "oath," as one says, or rather a gesture explained by a formula. To whom is it administered? Here, naturally, there is no qualification as plaintiff or defendant (1),

1. Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, op. laud., p. 95: "There is neither plaintiff, nor defendant."

in spite of the influences released by the judiciary mores, and indirectly by a procedural automatism inspired by the cadis. Someone is summoned to justify the limit reached by his plowshare or his hoe. Unless it should be the claimant himself who offers to

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[754] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/263 cont./

423 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of
627 the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that,
578 by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

[114]

2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3).

[114]

3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
[171] absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" included, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

/264 cont./

42-627 In the very widespread formula of the resolutory sales, improperly called rrahn, or, in the acts, thunyâ, and which correspond to a very ancient landed-property mode of this milieu, the debtor, who is also the owner of the land, has available a means [692] of interrupting automatically the right of the lessee. This is /265/ to deposit an "obole" /obolus/, tauqit, tamuzunt (1),

> 1. And moreover istiman and l^c arbûn. Evidently the idea of deposit itself has a very complex past and meaning. Still without any idea of systematic comparison, and, if one wishes, only for "curiosity," let us say that certain aspects of this tamuzunt of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are not free from suggesting the formality of the aes "whose restitution brings about liberation of the land" (H. Lévy-Bruhl, Quelques problèmes de très ancien droit romain /Some problems of very ancient Roman law/, p. 144).

in the hands of some sort of auctoritas: today a common magistrate, formerly such-and-such a fqih, notable or "marabout." In the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa the process is even more direct. When it is a question of orchards, the obole will be deposited on the pile of olives in the very course of the gathering: this puts an end to the usufruct of the lessee. Rationalist reinterpretations have naturally assimilated this procedure to a settlement by "deposit," l^c arbûn. But this latter notion is itself complex. What one notices most concretely in the operation described here is that the gesture causes a break in the parties' respective situation concerning the field. As for the partimonial bond, the owner's legitimacy has never ceased. But it cut itself off from "legitimate occupation" (verb âmmer). The latter now reintegrates the initial right, an expression that we find again word for word in a writing from the eighteenth century. Henceforth, the lessee is usurping. More

/265 cont./

42 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper:
627 itrama, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the tamuzunt can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2):

[171]

2. Similarly in old Kabyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," R. al., 1930, p. 247.

if it is after uktuber (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individuals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the rrahn or from assault are certainly numerous in the
[578] Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the istir^{c}â' or "act of reserves" (3).

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 369.

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
578 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

578 /266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istirᶜâ'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

776 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or
792 peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting
728 case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi' ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur.
[681] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the
[628] originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast
776 groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/269 cont./

773 776 /footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

(628) But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ᶜâ, of the saint of Z'init'.

776 794 The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumuᶜa of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Abdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/270 cont./

776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the
776 Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the
794 enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he es-
782 caped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/271 cont./

794
437

in series, whose complexity doubtlessly offers an interesting clue, but about which we are still unable to say whether it is authentic or results from a deformation of the system.

/The next two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ During the agricultural periods suitable for collection the jemâa takes in the quota of each one and stores it in a traditional location: the mosque at Awines, an ad hoc chamber at Wanz'id', for example. Upon the arrival /272/ of the titulary (let us take in this case at hand the representative of Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment), the products are sold. Most often they are sold at auctions, according to the mode giving rise to free contests and charitable works, which is commonly observed in this kind of thing. But sometimes, too, at Tagenza among others, this grain is bought at the market price by destitute citizens who lack the beasts of burden to provision themselves in the plain.

Lastly, it happens that the gift may be "portable": this is the case for the large collective dues for sidi Ah'med u Ali. Once gathered together in the mosque of Awines, they are sold at auction, and it is the cash that will be paid to the saint by a delegation from the taqbilt. In the course of recent years, this sale has produced a sum of 25 to 30,000 fr. for the cereals alone, which, if one applied the rule of 1/80, would lead to an evaluation of a harvest of some 2,500,000 fr. for the Bas /Lower/ a. Lh'sen: an interesting economic indication, because it is a matter of about a hundred foyers.

Fiscal exactitude, distributive sharpness, rigorous calculation in the assessment of the charge and the collection of the product, but also reveling at the time of payment, joyous release of the auctions, ostentatious generosity in its place: all these aspects join to make of this system of dues, punctuating the agricultural year, a rich source of religious feelings and juridical ideas.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being
able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
(181) vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they
have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside.
Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so
marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid
u Abdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the
North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who
has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right
bank of the Sous.

776 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or,
more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding
tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-
Tichka ensemble.

/The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
794 source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own
484 taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might
say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais,
the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga,
of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the
Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer,
of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him
on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of
the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn
Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sâid. In
January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage
to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March
he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is
in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of
527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia.
The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'âjj Hfîd' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This re-
794 484 serve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

776 794 The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim (1);

1. Dawh'at an-nâchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜîd, who repelled the advances of the Sâadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûîî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

792
184

/274 cont./
ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tamgrût (2),

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is that of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

[171]

3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Abdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

/The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic gens of the
794 184 Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Abdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two ikhs-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân,
[613] the other of Agawz, furnish the mârûf of Sidi Abderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September.

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, taryalt, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a kharruba of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. It has
[613] been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the ikhs.

In a. Abdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Abdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. Bûl^{c}wân does not pay chchard' to the outside.

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is necessary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their (634) totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts,
Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract. [241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [634] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1). [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. Zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints, tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

[231]

[675]

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./

175 794 675 [876] [126] the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, [782] tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from [776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

أتفقت جماعة آل العمران وهم من أيت الحسن
بمرغة من سكساوة منهم الحسن بن محمد الشيخ بن
وابراهيم بن محمد بن يدعى وأخوه سعيد وأخو
هما مبارك بن محمد وعلى الحرج بلغ منهم الرصاليس
ومع سعيد بن سعيد وهم أعيانهم من أيت يخلف
والفقير سعيد بن مولود من بني مولود على وعبد
الله بن محمد بن يدعى من أيت بري والفقير سعيد
ابن مبارك النسب وغيرهم من الجماعة المذكورة
قبلا أو صغارا أتفقوا فيما بينهم على رضاء وسرور
الشيخ سيدي أحمد بن علي أبو النحل نفعنا الله ببركته
وبركة أولاده وأنشئ طوامع ذريته سيدي محمد
جعفر بن محمد أبو النحل أن يعطوا له ولمن تأخر
ويأتي من بعده عشرة أبيض صالح فوق لكل كنونة
من الكتان ولم أشمل الجوز في بلادهم وكذلك
خروبيتيس لكل كنونة من اللوز الحلو أو ولم
وقبلوا ذلك فبولد تلامذ ورضاء نازعا على أداء
ذلك لأولاد سيدي أحمد بن علي المذكور ما دام
الله نبا بلا نية وما دامت سلالة الشيخ
[776] → المذكور فمن سعى في تبديله أو تغييره فالله يحاسبه
يوم القيمة فنسأل الله تعالى أن يجعل البركة
والنفعة في غلة الشجر ويبلغ
[126] → ويبلغ وأخرج جلاء النبي والصلوات
فنصلي عليه بالغيه منهم وعلى كل قبيلة مكان
كما له وبنا الغيه أو أخرى فتعم الخير على وطنا
نية وخميس ومدينيس والعبد ربه تعالى سبحانه
وبعد ربه ابراهيم ابن محمد
في الشرع الأكبر وداوناس

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
776 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patri-
[613] monial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed
[613] stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us
[769] note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the indi-
[776] vidual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[45]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825]
[171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

776 /footnote 3 continued/ arabes de
778 Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/,
[825 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliog-
[171] raphy.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds
778 only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttiñ then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to
[773] the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people
[823] see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

175 More significant are the archeological elements revealable
726 toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the
727 Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa,
[776] and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one
against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the vil-
[776] lage of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about
[794] forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects
000 every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

175
726
727
[776
[776]
[794]
[651
000

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Âzzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Âmer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Âmer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Âzzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Âzzt. If it should be identified with the names of Âzzô or Âzzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 778 [796] [197]

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

776 778 195 193 [773]

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr.. t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
276 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1).

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

·778 /287 cont./
776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
794 Buʿanfir in Ud Bessebâʿ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in
[685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide
[554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom
[771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

634
619
776
794

/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Muss.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'at	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	2
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Abdella.							1
Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one. 794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand, 578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate [691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, [692] constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de- 794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments [794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even [796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any [128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/290 cont./

773 from a rich display of clamors and colors. The rite is about to be carried out. Here is the account which the foreigner can hear and which Brives puts at the beginning of the century.

/The rest of this section, up the last paragraph, is in small
773 type in the original source./ "Lalla Aziza was born right here,
776 and from an early age she went to watch the goats in the mountains. Instead of staying with the other shepherds and having her flock graze along the river, where the grass is rich and plentiful, Lalla Aziza went to the heights of the mountain, where there are only rocks. Her goats were nevertheless as fat as those of the other shepherds. By that, God was already showing that he had noticed this child. Nevertheless, jealousy helping, the father of Lalla Aziza paid no attention to the flourishing state of her flock. He demanded that his child traverse the lower parts of the valley and, as she continued to lead her goats among the dry rocks, he repeatedly beat her unmercifully.

"One day while Lalla Aziza was watching her flock at the very summit of the mountain, where no grass ever grew, the father, accompanied by some people from the village, went to join her and reproached her for not following his instructions. Father, replied the child, see for yourself what your flock is eating. And then the father confirmed that his goats had their mouths full of wheat.

"From this moment, the child was regarded as a messenger /291/ from God and everyone admired her. When she became a young woman, she was noted for her piety. She loved solitude, appeared to be always at prayer, and yet her work was always done.

"Since she was among the most beautiful young women of the village, she was sought out for marriage, but refused all suitors.

"One day when she was alone beside the path overlooking the river, she was pursued by a young man whom she had refused. She could not flee because the path had no outlet, and she was about to be seized, when suddenly she disappeared into the mountain, before the astonished eyes of the young man. The young woman's reputation for holiness increased and spread far.

/291 cont./

773
176 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796
114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

/291 cont./

The Rite

796
782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet: this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae,
[634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[191] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mlād.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fāth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god . . . ; others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
[785]
[783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asnj, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

[171]

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182

and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Âli u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Mîlâd of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

> 4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical
175 cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/295 cont./

776 561 171 Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2).

2. Istiqçâ. A.-M. tr., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ᶜAzzûna: Istiqçâ', A. M., XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ᶜAzzûna" (ibid., p. 476). Bû ᶜAzzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ᶜAzzûna and a funduq of the same name.

notably /296/ the "famous Taᶜazzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ᶜAzzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the 776 171 hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ᶜAbd Allah, expert in uçûl (1).

1. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u-Musa.

776 538 171 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

/296 cont./

776 538 [171]

sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb, W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the
776 theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Maçmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4),

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

/296 cont./

776

/footnote 4 continued/ du Maroc /Customs and legends of the Berber part of Morocco/. Hesp., 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, Conférences, A. M., 1927, p. 16; De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A. M., 1933, pp. 202 sq. For our region, let us cite the important unpublished study by Oqbani on "Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana /The sanctuaries of the annex of Argana/" (Arch. I., see especially p. 11, translation of a genealogical document). The Regraga of the high a. Abdella, in Seksawa, also display a genealogical document dated 1687, and a dahîr of tawqîr of the sultan al-Mançûr (1643), where the area of the zaouia is also called sâh'a, as in the text of Ibn Khaldûn.

one of whom was formerly pointed out among the a. Gasa. Or also these men of God, makers of rain and marvels, such as this sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli who resisted the great purges of Ibn Toumert. On that, unfortunately, the imprecision of the sources makes us confuse the epochs.

175 776 /297/ We would be reduced to these hypotheses, if the windfall of a text did not permit a much more radical conclusion. It is a passage by the cadi Ibn Qunfûdh the Constantine (1).

1. Abû'l-^cAbbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1340-1408) left Constantina in 1358. In 1362 he visited the house of Ibn Toumert: it is from this time that one can date his passage into the Dir, although he stayed in Morocco a certain number of

/297 cont./

175
176

/footnote 1 continued/ years. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, "La Fârisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide /The Fârisiyya or the beginnings of the Hafsid dynasty/," Hesp., VIII, pp. 37 sq.

who stayed in Morocco toward the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the student of the famous Andalusian vizier Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khat'îb, himself a poet inspired by the Maçmûdian mountains. He visited the region toward 763 Heg., that is, 1362, and as sightseer called at the house of Ibn Toumert. In his book Uns al-faqîr wa ᶜizz al-h'aqîr (2),

2. Rabat manuscript, fol. 41a, l. 2 sq. The spelling of the name of the Seksawa has been touched up and is thus given: skswia.

he collected valuable notes on the chain of the Deren, which struck his imagination, and the religious atmosphere of the place and of the time. He extricated from it the impression of a spiritual life nourished by contrasts and drawing a lively fervor out of the fierceness of these populations. Now, our Constantine savant met Lalla Aziza.

/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "I have seen in Morocco, on the border of the Seksawa in the Deren, at a place called al-Qâhira, 'la dame princesse' /the lady princess/ (3),

3. I translate thus on the testimony of G.-S. Colin, Sources in. Port., III, p. 157, n. 1, apropos another sayyidatu'l-h'urra. But it is to be noted that this term is constant in the documents of the Moroccan S.

the saint ᶜAzîza the Saksiwîya.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind; and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 [114]

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

175
776
792

/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^Cza (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^CArif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

175
776

What historical precision! ^CAmir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^CAbd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/298 cont./

175 776 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] [778] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 [778] [634] Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola 776 794 [778] of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. [776] But he notes also, and this is more important, that here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

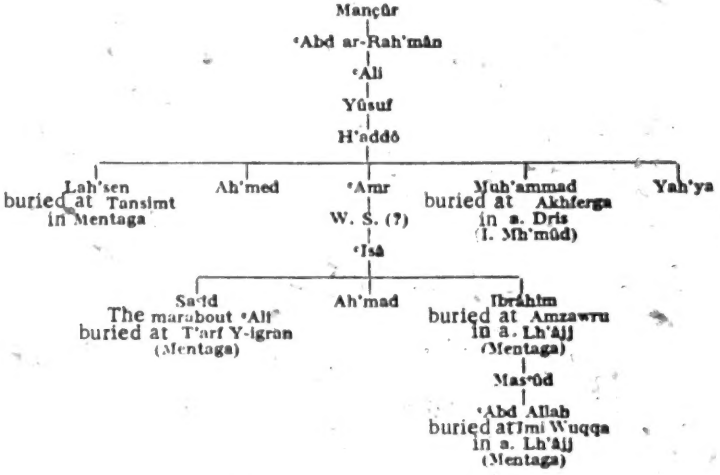
775 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in 776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga 794 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," 428 that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga,
428 whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left
602 as heir his cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, whom this mention undoubtedly
776 identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mûd, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been
127 made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The
602 first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in
428 spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of
776 ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜîd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh', 602 Mbârek, ᶜAbd-as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No 428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line, 776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants. [613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person- [175] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. [602] From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addû. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre-
[127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum-
[693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. ᶜasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious human limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient 174 solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day: It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 175 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field in Inzzūyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzūyma, or Qaçba n-Qihra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghānem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqīh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ᶜArība, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who,
825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
794 inal source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4
[634] villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/307 cont./

776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla
[184] Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu^{c}â. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/308 cont./

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/309 cont./

114 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness,
781 descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quaestor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront
771 each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/311 cont./

771 History has prevailed over myth here. But it has been able to do it only by reason of the vocation, so characteristic of these groups, to /312/ affirm their temporal administration. We see this capacity being exercised on the very echelon of the canton feasts. What is dominant here is not the communional aspect, it is the contractual aspect. Auctions, sales on credit, notarial registration: the profane goes beyond the ancient sacrificial rite on all sides. An individualist debate, a communal administration, purely juridical operations already appear, and are displayed with a growing profusion as the cadre of activity becomes larger. Henceforth, law and religion are going to take separate roads.

776 And here is a holiness of great individuals and of great spaces.
771 Its tentacular action could be represented on the map, from the Haouz to the Sous and to the Drâ. Its protection is solicited from far away. Its avidity is exercised even farther. It is served in free order, with particular devotions of groups, villages, families. This mysticism with geographic expression tends itself toward another, more secret form. That of personal affiliation with a master. This phenomenon, in North Africa, has known, under the name of confrerism, an extension to which, for at least half a century, has corresponded an excessive infatuation of our investigators. In the confrerism, most often and essentially esoteric, the local community does not act, or acts less. An atmosphere of organization and of hierarchy reigns. Concurrently, the hagiological individuation assumes an extraordinary relief. Like sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, these "beacons"...

771 In short, in the course of this ascension, we shall have seen several layers of religious reality succeeding one another. On the two ends, rival forms, being exercised fully. Below, the anonymous naturist sacred of the Tamjlocht, for example, a place of deep collective vibration; on the other, the great figure of the mystic of the Tazerwalt, and his idealism with broad oriental and Mediterranean correspondences. Almost absolute social integration on the one side. Individualism colored with mystery and legend on the other. Rural order below. Initiatory wisdom above.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the
182 saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individ-
792 ual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ^c, for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 121

792 171

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

/313 cont./
792 example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant
[534] greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/
[794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary.
[691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com-
[778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives
[778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear 781 here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^c lâm registers him (1).

1. ^c Abbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^c lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u
[181] Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor,
[693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^c Abbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the
794 t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/316 cont./

212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 [688] In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqîh, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

787 [539] /317 cont./

-- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [171] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hîba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ^{c}a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât' of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

/317 cont./

787
538

/footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t'ṭ'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../." Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then
778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee
776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/318 cont./

778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:

776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Amer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh
/sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of
Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[176] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
792 that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
789 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah was endowed with the gift of
787 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Âli, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Âbdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

159 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and in-
787 struction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make, this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2).

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/
[776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/,
[776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

/322 cont./

792 Sibâ^c^ī is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
[776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source. / An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears
692 most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the
634 a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property
69 case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
[681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710,
175 and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly em-
69 power a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./

175 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods,
69 dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'în, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693
121

1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

[114]

/326 cont./

693
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwâh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

/326 cont./

693 692 The appeal to an eminent sapience (2),

693 692 114

2. In the thirteenth century, al-ᶜAbdarī shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., Journal asiatique, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 de fine sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIᵉ siècle /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (ibid., Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen," in CHEAM, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in CHEAM, p. 15).

693 692 the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

695 /327 cont./
The expression s-tarad'i (1),

[192]

1. Maghrebi ethnology will have made real progress when it is able to follow, over the whole gamut of North African societies, the progress of such-and-such a notion, reduced to its precise meaning, in the most varied linguistic dress; and corollarially to study the semantic variations of such an institutional term. I am thinking, for example, of the word chert' or chchard', or of the word ta^{c}amamt, well known in the Kabyle matrimonial law, and which I find again in the Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), indeed even in an old text from the Sous ...

"by mutual agreement," certainly concerns the designation of the judge rather than the character of the verdict. It is true that even a judgment properly speaking, that of the present tribunals, for example, must little or much, in order to be executory, rally the yielding party. Ur rd'igh, "I do not agree": such an utterance occasionally indicates the nonrallying and hence also that the malcontent will appeal to other paths of recourse: obstruction, dilatory maneuvers, indeed violent resistance. Is it necessary to conclude that an arbitral aspect, profoundly ancient and authentic, has survived even in the modern organization of jurisdictions and that a fortiori the ancient s-tarad'i decision was merely arbitration pure and simple?... All that one can conjecture is that the development of the Chleuh /Shluh/ proceedings still implies today, and, with stronger reason, formerly implied, old mores rendering obligatory, under penalty of nullity or of loss, a "commitment" by both parties. This commitment has significantly taken a contractual form. In return, the distance at which the jemâa takes care to remain with respect to the settlement of the case screens the latter from the opinion of the group. And the reaction of the city procedures has cloaked the person of the magistrate and his

695 121

/327 cont./
695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
175 salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
465 Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
794 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

695 /328 cont./
212 pedantic and rustic, and the rudeness of the characters. To this proliferation of the writing corresponds the major judiciary role
171 that it is made to play. A comparison with the neighboring fiqh
695 /Islamic law/ will help one understand better how exorbitant this
212 role is.

In the fiqh, the act is only the materialization of the testimony (2).

2. E. Tyan, Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman /The notariate and the regime of proof by writing in the practice of Mussulman law/, 1945, p. 5.

Its link with the human word is always present in that this word both offers solemnity (cf. the chahâda, in the sense of "profession," of "attestation") and must express sincerity. The Mussulman criticism of testimony will also oscillate between the two poles of psychological verification and control of form. Law of the human word, the fiqh will have no particular respect for autographic proof any more than it will for objective inquiry. It rejects, almost like two equal idolatries, the cult of the writing and that of the facts. Between the two, it will follow an elegant road, that of formulas well regulated and not at all inclined to formalism so much as to a certain precision of tone, fixed once and for all, and subjected to the double control of the grammarian and the moralist. The motives for infirmation will consequently be the impurity of the agent and the defects of the language rather than the inadequation to the real. The content of the "allegation," al-qawl, and the authority of the "alleger," al-qâ'il, remain the principal objectives of the criticism. Therefore the system of proofs is hand and glove with the enchainment of tradition and the application of the essential norm, which is the "dominant opinion," machhûr. A remarkable unity of methods is manifest in all this. The same criticism of /329/ oral testimony presides over the imitation of the Prophet, the construction of the law, and

695
212
[171] /329 cont./
theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istir^{c}â'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t'ṭ'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/329 cont./

212 Such-and-such a jrîda, "list of parcels," victoriously brandished
695 in support of a case, rests only upon the absolutely unilateral al-
legations of an ancestor: what belief would it merit in strict
212 proceedings? From that, too, the frequency of falsehood. In the
695 judiciary jousting, every expedient counts. What is falsehood
577 after all, if not a meritorious trait of craftiness, of concern to
give better proof, and, finally, of intelligence in the dispute?
More profoundly, if the force of a title consists on the one hand
of its very material, on the other hand, of the emotional inten-
sity that it reveals on the part of the usager or avowant — force
of the thing on one side, force of the person on the other, /330/
the distinction between false and authentic act will be only
subtlety. This is indeed what, even today, the litigants as well
as the judges confusedly feel.

695 The notion of oral testimony, on which the written act rests
212 in fiqh, could not therefore find total application here. On the
one side it is replaced, in case of conflict, by chirographic
proof (1).

1. Thus decided, in 1953, apropos a case of this kind, the Tribunal coutumier /Customary Court/ of the Seksawa.

695 On the other side, it is surpassed by sworn law: plural oath among others. The "witness" is effaced before the coswearer. Here the ordeal, there the human word.

... The Oath

One knows how much the cojuratio, by its still indicated magical character, mixed with rough computations, has retained the attention of our sociologists (2).

2. Summary bibliography and discussion in J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, under §15.

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laffif, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 778 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 571 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. [602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

/332 cont./

695 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our
571 intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
[175] inal source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait dif-
695 ferently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described,
613 but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the
[674] agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 /333/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it
695 jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the timez-
613 gida, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of s.m.h', gh.f.r., ch.h.d., proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental initium thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between ikhs-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primi-
695 tivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a fqih, Abdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a cojuratio. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," radda nafsahu fî jihat, and "is returning," tâb, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/333 cont./

175 greatly anterior to the first: by several centuries! It is probable
695 that these Seksawa societies permitted simultaneously institutions, minds of both forms, indeed impulses of one or the other genre within the same minds. Any genetic explanation consequently appears singularly suspect. On the contrary, what is likely is that this genre of contrast has existed all the time, and that this society, if one may say it, has looked upon it favorably.

695 /334/ A Document on the Historical Relations Between the Plural Oath and the "lafîf" Testimony

The Moroccan judiciary practice ended up by admitting a subsidiary form of "testimony," initially reserved for only the "just," ᶜadl. In opposition to this canonical concept, the lafîf restored the statistical concept of any witnesses whatsoever, that is to say, close or complaisant (1).

1. Al-ᶜIraqî, "La preuve par témoins, lafîf /Proof by witnesses, lafîf/," Revue du Maghreb, 1939, No. 9, pp. 1 sq. ("Doctrine"). Question frequently approached in the Moroccan juridical literature. It is the subject of an entire treatise by al-ᶜArabî al-Fâsi in the seventeenth century. Cf. also al-Wazzânî, Commentaire de l'ᶜAmal /Commentary of the ᶜAmal/, pp. 93 in fine sq.

Let us take heed, that was only the pure expression of a support of the group. Between the ordeal, which is the basis of the plural oath, and the moral criticism to which the religious law subjects the testimony, the lafîf constitutes a sort of third position, influenced by the notarial practice. The latter being specified, one no longer discriminated between witnesses as "just," ᶜadl, and
[171] nonjust, but as professionals and private persons. At Fès /Fez/
695 this mode took some time to assert itself. Polemics on this sub-
175 ject prevailed throughout the sixteenth century. The lafîf was

/334 cont./
695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long
175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the complementary oath imposed by the cadi on the cowitnesses of the lafîf was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous
[195] /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ᶜAbd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: ᶜalâmuᶜâyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ᶜalâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-duᶜâ'i bi'lbarakat. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (sic): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the baraka, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of bayyînat in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/
[212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in lafîf. "Astawqafa (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (sic) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses astachhada in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/335 cont./

695 175 initial act, here called sijla, recopied "for fear of destruction by wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole with three rudimentary responsa justifying the operation. This evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the former oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging into the solidarity of the jemâa, and doubtlessly illustrated by the rite evoked by the word du^{c}â', has been pronounced. The son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses, the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not sufficiently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover falsify the interpretation of the first text (1).

1. As-Suktâni, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud ^{c}Abdalmawlâ, who was interested in several of these technical notions as a result of the numerous epistolary relations that he maintained as consultant with the justiciables of tribes still plunged in custom, bâb achchahâdât, pp. 135 sq., seems to use murd'iy in the sense of "accepted witness." But this whole affair is extremely confused. Although allusion is frequently made to wathâ'iq formularies, practice often stops at the single witness and at the interferences between the oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural history of six centuries, from the Wathâ'iq of al-Mattûr'î to the recent commentary of the Fir^{c}ûnîya. At what time did this art

/335 cont./

695 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq
175 from Daud at-Tamulît or at-Timît, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evo-
794 lution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to com-
693 pare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594
171
114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

1: Berque--474 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ the literature of the "bureau arabe" /Arab office/, Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., had insisted upon the "patriarchal" side of Maghrebi life. These views are systematized by M. Morand, Etudes de droit musulman algérien /Studies on Algerian Mussulman law/, 1910, pp. 10 sq., and A. Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The Evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1906, in their very rich chapter IX on the social life, pp. 271 sq. They give an account there of the profound study by E. Doutté, "L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'âh'a /The domestic and social organization among the H'âh'a/," Rens. col., Jan., 1905, which approaches our sector, pp. 8 sq. Observations by W. Marçais in a domain more distant, but valuable for the North Africa ensemble, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arab texts from Takrouna/, 1925, pp. xi sq.; good bibliography by A. Mouliéras on the ᶜazwa of the Jebala, Le Maroc inconnu /Unknown Morocco/, 1895, t. I, p. 66; by H. Bruno on the ᶜaz'âm, "Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central /Introduction to the study of the customary law of the Berbers of Central Morocco/," Arch. berb., 1918, p. 306. In this context of observations, R. Maunier does not hesitate to approximate the Kabyle takharrubt to the Roman gens, Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works of North African sociology/, 1930, p. 64, and describes a "segmentary" society. These ideas have been very widespread. Vidal de Lablache himself, Principes de Géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 291, compares Berbère /Berber/ society to an ensemble of Hellenic

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121
594
613

Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/338 cont./

121 613 594 /footnote 1 continued/ different term that we employ seems to us to correspond better to the reality described. Its definition is no less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G. Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now, for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussulman ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking, it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594 613 183

The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to inspire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family," ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights. The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

594 613

613

/338 cont./

613 the occasion of plural oaths, it is the most closely drawn circle of agnates that is invited to confer on the litigant its balance /Fr.
613 appoint/. Conservative mechanisms, such as the chchfâa or the
423 habous /wakf/, are applied to maintain or re-establish a patrimonial immutability, less familial in the narrow sense than gentilitial, against any land alienation or leasing. The /339/ ancient act to which one party, the açl, will allege an exception, and which has the more worth as it becomes older, many times consists of a simple unilateral affirmation of the land rights of the ancestor. The genealogical tree, chchajara, and the successoral distribution, lmirath, archival documents manifesting the agnatic continuity, play a decisive role in the proceedings. An instinct for reconstitution stands in opposition to the dispersive force of inheritances and personal enterprise. Between rich cousin and poor cousins, it animates and obscurely justifies these takings and retakings that tradition and opinion liken less to usurpation than to escheat or a sort of permanent revenge between rightful co-claimants. This alone justifies and authorizes the existence of a gentilitial agrarian order.

613 All the effort of the jurisprudence, were it that of the great
671 cadis of the Sous, has been dedicated to serving rather than amending this situation. It is that the ikhs thrust itself, with all its attachments of public law, upon the private law. Conjugal foyers on the one side, city on the other are pendant, one might say, on the two sides of the ikhs. In it is their point of junction, on each side of which profoundly different social rhythms reign. On the one side kinship and alliance, justiciable to the memory of the living, and finding their practical application in each successoral dispute. This is the reign of the writing. On the other side, larger and larger classifications are drawn up in echelon from the ikhs to the smallest political unit, the taqbilt, and from there perhaps to the great legendary divisions of North Africa: Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. There the reign of unwritten law begins.

At the antipode of this gentilitial life, here is the individual person. Not only is it the single subject in the eyes of the law,

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mlâd, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/340 cont./

581 That is, however, a sort of exception, of reminder. In fact, in spite of a great ceremonial richness, marriage here no longer offers any trait that would reveal, at least on the plane of the law, collective conditionings. In the eyes of the local jurists, this whole part of their institutions draws its inspiration closely from the fiqh (1).

[114]

1. In this sense, cf. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of the customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 25 sq., and, in an Islamizing sense naturally indicated even more, the nikâh' chapters in the works of an-Nâçirî, ar-Rasmûkî, al-ᶜAbbâsî, etc.

Such a profession, assuredly exact if one clings to the judiciary plane, is less so for one who considers the mores, the tensions that they express, the images that they suggest. What part to give to the one and to the other of these two modes of perceiving, each reflecting a different level of reality? The inquiry by Westermarck (2),

[114]

2. E. Westermarck, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, and the numerous allusions to the Moroccan institution made in the other works by this author. On the method of W., see Lévi-Strauss, "L'oeuvre de W. /The works of Westermarck/," R. d'hist. des Religions, No. 1, 1945. E. Westermarck was struck by the Moroccan institutions to the point that his Histoire du mariage /History of marriage/, for example, tr., 2nd ed., makes broad appeals to them, and not always happy ones. Cf., for example, what he says about the famous Night of error (t. I, pp. 121 sq.). Interesting remarks

/340 cont./

581 114 /footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

581 121

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/341 cont./

584 3) the feast called asghurt: it gives to the ensemble its name, which etymologically evokes a "ritual cry."

Beyond the presents handed over on this occasion, arising from an economy of the gift and of the feasting, the young man owes to the girl during this period clothing and ornaments, according to the customary modalities. He contributes to her support at the domicile of her parents. In exchange, she owes him a certain intimacy in general not total, and joins him in various practices bringing into play age classes and rites of passage: young people's feasts and evenings, applications of henna. The unilateral rupture of this state by the young woman entails on her part the obligation to give back the gifts and expenses incurred.

585 b) The "nuptials," tameghra, include a ritual part, a statutory part, and a conventional part.

Ritual part:

1) The tarzift: the delivery of propitiatory gifts by the young man to his parents-in-law, giving rise to a "procession," and sometimes to simulated pillage;
2) the processional conveyance of the young woman to the marital house, this is the ŝid n-tslit;
3) the exposition of the dotal contribution of the bride, the ŝid uruku;
4) the utterance of the fâtih'a, Koranic formula accompanied by wishes of good augury;

/342/ 5) The consummation: this is the ŝid ukechchum, sanctioned, if it is a matter of a virgin, by the yo-ho /Fr. youyou/ of the matron on duty, taghorit, and a new gift, lh'aqq n-ççbâh'.

Statutory part:

585 675 586 1) Conclusion of the amerwas: promise by the bridegroom to the bride to have to pay her, in case of dissolution of the marriage, a sum uniformly fixed by the custom of each tribe, and varying from one to the other: in Seksawa, 6.50 for a virgin, 3.25 for a nonvirgin;

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fātih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/342 cont./

586 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can ob-
562 tain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison
171 between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where
171 the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584
171
114

1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/343 cont./

584
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 104, finds in very ancient Roman law an opposition between the "betrothal," more conservative form, more imbued with magic rites and with the notion of patria potestas, and "marriage," individualized and consensual form. In Rome, however, the juridical tie of the betrothal fell into decadence early. Similarly in Mussulman law the institution's point of departure in time, in the juridical sense of the term, is the fâtih'a. Nevertheless in Chleuh /Shluh/ law the frequency of litigations that we would call "breach of promise of marriage" is significant, and at the very least covers the notion of a juridical state already established anterior to the pronouncement of the fâtih'a. This is what I call the prenuptial stage, by allusion to practices of this order fallen to the level of simple folklore in certain European milieus, for example. Cf. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français /Manual of French folklore/, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. In the Berbère /Berber/ domain itself, it would not be adventurous to compare this phase of "frequentation," where the daughter remains at the home of her parents, with such a trait of Touareg /Tuareg/ marriage: "custom requires that the newly married live near the parents of the woman for a year," M. Benhazera, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar /Six months with the Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1908, p. 18. In Morocco itself, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas knows different practices dependent on a conjugal life first paired with work at the home of the parents, according to the Biblical theme of Jacob at the house of Laban. This is the custom of the amhares. Something analogous among the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara,

/343 cont./

584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprenticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh 581 /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, 581 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab coun- 581 tries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a 171 bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the çadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[192] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

[586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/344 cont./

585
675
171
[586]

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675
585
586
121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
initiator from the Moroccan South.

675 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/346 cont./

585 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is
675 even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose,
175 wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 However that may be then, not only in the division of the ac-
[562] quests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contrac-
585 tual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out
171 better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

585
171

/347 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, pp. 48 sq. What is striking in the stage described by H.-L. is the nullity of the woman's rights, not only concerning what would correspond to acquests, but even concerning the "nuptial price," taâmamt or tutchit, which I translate thus provisionally, for lack of anything better, and even concerning the conventional supplements, or chrut'. What is called cedak' in Kabylia (H.-L., ibid., p. 162) is in sum only a facultative marriage settlement handed over by the parents and deemed equal to renunciation of inheritance. The powers of the husband are exorbitant, since they sometimes include beyond the grave a sort of right of retention, taâllak'ith (ibid., p. 156), and, in case of repudiation, a negotiable power of interdiction, capable of rendering the woman thamaouok't (p. 178), etc.

which one would imagine to be quite close to it by reason of so many analogies in the habitat and the public law. Now what is striking in the Kabyle system is its brutal masculinity, its negation of any bilateral equity in the status of the conjoints. In the eyes of the French reformer this is a permanent scandal, but a very resistant scandal, against which up to now one has been able to do very little. That speaks of its profound adherence to the milieu.

Let us content ourselves with this brief reference to another Maghrebi law, in order to make the balanced character and the moral value of the Seksawa type stand out. And the comparison will have another advantage: that of dissuading the investigator from calling on a hypothetical common basis of Berbère /Berber/

/347 cont./

585 191 institutions in order to account for their originality (2).

2. The comparison with the neighboring Ud Bessebâ^{c} is characteristic. The "masculinity" of their mores is so marked that the woman often gives up the rights that the fiqh gives her, such as, for example, the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ food allowance for the children. To tell the truth, the Moroccan ^{c}Amal has naturally registered as a "Bedouin" practice the calculation of an indemnity corresponding to the si^{c}âya of the woman, that is, to her comings and goings outside the house. This is what is called the kidd and what the cadis willingly apply to Berbère /Berber/ tribes subject to the chra^{c} /Sharira/, such as the Mtugga and the Mez'ud'a.

/348/ The Family In Time

613 Under such a rubric will be grouped aspects that a classification excessively steeped in our manuals would study successively by the titles of filiation, the state of persons, guardianship, successoral status, adoption, and foundation (1).

1. This is what is done by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

This family in time, which is also, as one has seen, a family in space, is the ikhs. Now its traits appear only in the form of twists or of subterfuges, of flights from the fiqh. This is, moreover, a classic method, but here one whose coherence, obstinacy as

/348 cont./

613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

613 The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only
779 with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No
178 part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say,
671 in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil, istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaqa, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the ççadaqa.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./

178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
212 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
671 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
178 of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the perma-
178 nence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

613 178

594 67 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

594 67 [191] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an
671 old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by
[428] the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the
671 child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator.
[881] Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from
421 the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
421 inal source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw
175 Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/351 cont./

593 evaluations, drawing of lots, convention, measuring." Moreover,
421 the distribution is performed "in front of the jemâa, with the
175 reed, according to the boundaries and by the drawing of lots, and followed by the taking of possession in the presence and under the auspices, bi-wajh, of the father." The latter reserves for himself, the same as the mother, a margin, h'âchiya. All this under the presidency of the grandfather, the chaykh /sheik/ Sa^{c}îd b. ^{c}Abdallah. Patriarchal ambiance, but careful about preconstituted proofs, communitarian, but accountable. This double aspect of the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution stands out nearly everywhere.

593 Such a practice, in which both the patrimonial permanence
421 and the autonomy of the person are combined, passes only distorted into the acts to which it gives rise. A discordance breaks out at this place between the juridical base and the form that it has assumed: the latter depends on the free disposition, indeed even the liberality, of the father; but it is not very probable that this tie expresses the authentic climate. The latter is indeed one of a veritable right exercised by the son over the father, still alive, in the name of a certain solidarity among them all concerning the ancestral patrimony, and with a view toward freeing the initiative of each rightful claimant in the realization of the "augments," zawâid (1).

1. It happened this very year that in Demsira, taqbilt of the Irohalen, some children came to claim against their father, still alive, the right to divide /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ the land. One finds, in another Moroccan domain, this attempt having passed to the stage of jurisprudence, R. J. cout., No. 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu of Ahermoumou).

To amass, to round out the plot by /352/ progressively nibbling at the slope or the forest, to accumulate from generation to

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaï. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423 The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position
[128] will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/355 cont./

423 /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the oc-
691 casion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgis. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{w}a. The jemâa proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{w}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{w}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

175 A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.:
691 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the
423 ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack
425 the Idma recovered it. But certain ikhs-s were false, being on the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
[192] The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/356 cont./

428
[192]

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ᶜorf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175
423
425

/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (ᶜimâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

/357 cont./

423 denying any value to possession, have been /358/ found in Imt'd-
671 dan and in Idma. I have given elsewhere (1)

1. "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 386 sq.

the text and the translation of the second of these documents, which it seems useful to reproduce, as much for its basic interest as for an illustration of the singular disposition of these groups to legislate.

175 /The following six paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
423 inal source./ Copy (1348) of an act of rabîᶜnabawî 1266 Heg.:
671 1870. Be it known by these presents that in the custom of the Idma country there can be no rights drawn from possession. The latter, even prolonged, does not constitute valid title.

It is only if the titulary of the possession establishes its origin: how the right to the property passed to him, and the proof of his entering into possession by sale, redemption, donation, inheritance, that his possession will be valid. The party arguing faulty sales, or redemption, will again claim his title, and the original right will return to its origin.

Consequently, possession legally requires from the one who argues for it a legitimation. But if the origin that it invokes was reduced to nothing, the possessor would be no more than a usurper in our country. If not, not.

That is what we hold in all certitude from our past ancestors, and what they have written in our acts anciently and successively.

Still today, whosoever does not produce his origin, his possession depends on the pillaging of the goods of orphans, and on the iniquity due to the fact that in an unruly country the weak one does not obtain his rights (2).

2. Fine trait of what a modern school would call a feeling "of alterity"!

/358 cont./

175 423 671

It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

425 /359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^cAbdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

425

/359 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Surdon, Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Sketches of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, pp. 196 sq.; Marcy, R. al., 1932, "L'engagement immobilier (rrehen). Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier zemmour /The landed-property engagement (rrehen). Contribution to the study of the Zemmour customary law/," pp. 78 sq.; R. Aspinion, Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier berbère marocain (Zayân) /Contribution to the study of the Moroccan Berber customary law (Zayân)/, 1937, pp. 185 sq.; Blanc, "Effets du contrat de rehen dans les tribus berbères du Haut Gedmiwa /Effects of the rehen contract in the Berber tribes of the Upper Gedmiwa/," R. J. C., 1952, No. 7, pp. 7 sq., which describes the forms closest to those of our sector.

The equivalent in Arabic that is given in the texts for this term is the one of "sale with power of redemption," thunyâ, known from the fiqh. The jurists of the Sous, such as al-ᶜAbbâsî, have devoted long developments to it. In fact, it is a customary type so frequent, under diverse names, that the claimant is allowed, long after the fact, to put in a plea to demand the resolution /annulment/ of a sale: he then explains the length of his silence by a "presumption of thunyâ."

This sale is general in the Sous: ghâlib fî buldati-nâ. It bears several names there: iqâla or rahn. At-Tamanârtî writes: "No difference between this assumed rahn so widespread in the country and the thunyâ sale." And at-Tamulît: "My rule in matters of purchases of land made in our country under the name of rahn is to leave the fruits to the purchaser, for what the parties have sought is clearly a thunyâ sale."

This resolutory faculty (properly called iqâla) is in principle a clause vitiating the sale. Nevertheless the tendency of the jurists is

/359 cont./

425 to tolerate the latter as a fait accompli. They even use the argument of this vicious clause to rescind the sale in exchange for reimbursement. And that even after lapses possibly exceeding a century, and during which the possession effected no prescription. Rescission and application a posteriori in this case come back to practically the same thing. They are of interest to us only through the judicial preoccupation that they express to offer a local form absolutely irreducible to orthodoxy.

But here are further significant aspects. With the assimilation with the classic thunyâ are already distinguished some elements of of a singular archaism. Thus in the modes of "resiliation." It takes effect reckoning from the payment of a portion of the sum, tamuzunt, /360/ tauqit, that is, of an "obole." In a. Abdella, the deposit is made on the pile of fruit. Everything happens as if the lessor thus re-establishes communication that was interrupted by the collecting of the price. Such seems to be the substrate of what was later interpreted as security, sale with power of redemption or with resolutory condition. Even at present a devaluation of a hundredfold to one has not taken from the Seksawa any of the gravity with which they effect the liberation of the field, its ransom, tefdiyya, ifda, iftida, in exchange for sums of a ridiculously small amount. For there is in all that indeed something other than the quantitative.

425 175 Truly an ancient form: al-Bakrî points out the existence of it in this part of the Atlas in the eleventh century. He undoubtedly connects it with some montagnard heresy: râfidî-s or worshipers of the ram. During periods of religious zeal the reaction of the learned became vehement. Thus, in 970 Heg.: 1563, the official interdiction of this contract was proclaimed at Taroudant. This was a period of fervor and strong political power. At about this period the mystic Ah'med u. Musa died. The Sâadian Mawlây ᶜAbd Allah al-Ghâlib bi'llah begged for his approbation and had conferred on himself the quality of ᶜadl by the doctors of the South. This was also the time when the Arab notarial practice became generalized in the Atlas. However that may be, the interdiction did not hold against the customary unanimity that it

/360 cont./

425 tried to break, and whose riposte, significantly, assumed a pious
175 and juridical coloring. The jamâ^ca cadi of Taroudant, Sa^cîd ibn ^cAlî al-Hawzâlî, consulted the saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanârtî, who, by classic reasoning of Malékite /Maliki/ pragmatism, concluded in favor of tolerance: "And that is why this practice is thus perpetuated throughout the country of the Sous up to our day."

425 If the saints come to the rescue of the lender at interest, it is because it is a matter of a particularly powerful social fatality. In fact this mode of credit on a landed-property pledge is not only an economic and juridical category. It is also a sentimental motive power: the lessee's effort to consolidate his possession is opposed by the continuous attack of the lessor. Any means will do: feint, fraudulent denegation, falsehood, etc. All is fair in war. The two parties, as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, confront each other like cat and dog: one seeks to disguise the rrahn as a definitive sale, the other to do away with it without any outlay by title of pure and simple monopoly. More than gain, it is probably an advantageous position, fame in the bosom of the group, that one seeks. That against preoccupations of subjective sincerity, indeed old rules of obligation that the rrahn still expresses, /361/ this is undeniable. But what counts here is triumph in the joust. Something superior even to patrimonial legitimacy is affirmed in this tension that divides the group in conflicts of sometimes several generations. These mores give the skillful litigant and even the falsifier his chance. Must one accordingly attribute them to the decadence of the institutions? No, undoubtedly, but rather to a procedural primacy. And beneath this last is divined an old agonistic structure.

432

The Ruse-Sale

This is undoubtedly what explains the fact that, in spite of all the objections against landed-property alienation, it nevertheless exists. It is rare in Seksawa, and certain neighboring populations have purely and simply abolished it. Out of four "sales" one is affirmed as definitive: such is the ratio

/361 cont./

432 that one can very roughly imagine from the lists of ancient acts that sometimes fall into our hands. Naturally during periods of famine usury practices its ravages. People remember in a. Ab-
[175] della the years 1295-96 Heg. when a piece of land was sold for one rîâl! But the grandfather of the present amghar confiscated all these acts one day, put them in a pile the height of a donkey in Inzzûyma, and set them on fire: and everyone regained his rights.

This was a violent procedure. There are others. In fact the ratio of sales is much smaller than that of one out of four. Now, whatever might be the nature of the terms that there has been care to have consigned to it, the local law will change the resiliable act, make it slip in some way into the inferior category, if the wording in the least presents a weakness or irregularity of technical order: a single notary instead of two, and two who are qualified; the seller's suddenly producing an iqâla, "resiliation," the fact that there has been no tradition; that the lessee does not have peaceable possession, etc. Obviously all sorts of obstacles are raised against the consolidation of the sale.

It is thus that a dissertation, undated, but attributed to the son of sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, who would have to go back to the second third of the seventeenth century, assembles in a potpourri all the nullities that can infirm a sale: indetermination, chance, injury, conditional stipulation. Fine manifestation of pedantry conspiring with the inalienability that local instinct wants and which such codification will express by decreeing that whoever is convicted of wanting to alienate land to a foreigner must sacrifice a cow as an offering to the jemâa.

/362/ Indeed, even better, the seller can unilaterally go back on his act, either because he declares himself wronged or constrained: this is then a declaration of istirᶜâ', or because he "repents": this is then an istighfâr al-bayᶜ. Lacking written jurisprudence, one poorly knows what the judiciary effect of these declarations might be. Undoubtedly to contribute to creating a climate propitious for revendication, rather than to orient the procedure, henceforth bilateral, decisively. A trace undoubtedly,

432 /362 cont./
as has been seen, of a very ancient imprecatory law that disappeared under the adaptations to the fiqh. An amusing expression of these repentances is offered by an act from Imsker. The witness goes gack on his declaration, proclaiming that the sale did not take place, he was misled by Satan the accursed and the enticement of a few pounds of honey! (1141 Heg.: 1729.) It is not rare that the troubled conscience of the t't'olba becomes clear toward the end by the inscription of these curious acts "of repentance," istighfâr, infirming such-and-such of their testimonies. The act remains hidden at the bottom of a leather bottle. Its accidental discovery will produce a striking procedural event and will cause everything to begin again at zero: the ancient possession will no longer count for anything in opposition.

Correlatively a veritable profusion of orthodox formulas will come to color the hazardous alienations and compensate for their obvious precariousness by a virtuous verbalism: "Firm, licit, executory, definitive purchase, exclusive of any cause for redemption or option, concluded in full knowledge and elimination of ignorance concerning the price and the thing a price was put on, for a sum and a forfeit of an ounce and a half of whole coin, the two rightful claimants being put in possession, one of his money, the other of his property." It is doubtlessly thus that the buyer runs his risk. Although he enters into a perpetual dialectic with the progeny of his seller, he hopes to make his rights valid, and, seniority helping, to constitute an açl. It is possible that this açl may be contrary to the old agnatic distribution; in any case, the thing will not go far, since about five centuries of play of notarial writing have not noticeably disturbed the order of the grounds of the valley.

These purchases and these rrahn-s ordinarily bear on, rather than land topographically delimited, parcels individualized by the name of the legitimate owner in such-and-such a quarter. The expression is sometimes: "all that on which his name bears" (1).

[171] 1. In a completely different society, the France of the upper Middle Ages, it was the name of the

/362 cont./

432
171

/footnote 1 continued/ estate that identified the land: a formula diametrically opposed to ours and which rests, as has been seen, on a completely different conception of the "field." Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, L'alleu et le domaine rural /The allodium and the rural domain/, 1889, p. 18.

With any aim at comparativism set aside, but by title of a geographical lesson, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ let us note that in the milieu, similarly montagnard and conservative, of Andorra the so-called sale with power of redemption is by far the most frequent. Like the rrahn of the Chleuhs /Shluh/, the Andorran redemption can be very long term, transferable to a third party, and the operations of repurchase are connected, in their validity and their effect upon the pending harvest, with considerations of agricultural season! J.-A. Brutails, La coutume d'Andorre /The customs of Andorra/, 1904, pp. 198 sq.

432/363/ The sale is then called "aggregate," muchâ^{c} (1),

1. Al-^{c}Abbâsî, Ajwiba, lith., t. I, p. 169, l. 8 sq., defines this muchâ^{c} sale, the name of which he writes, ibid., p. 174, l. 15 sq. Locally muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c} is also said.

an expression of bookish origin that we will find to designate the collective, with an unexpected oriental analogy. Other terms are sometimes used: busiyyar or basiyyar in Nfifa, for example. [195] Sometimes the pen of the writer even rises to hyperbole: a whole

/363 cont./

432 country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093
[195] Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the
[175] forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains
423 the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794
423
428
562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 [432] [184]

/footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 428 562 [171]

From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175]

War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwîba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamullî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

/364 cont./

794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all 794 428 these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

671 An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'ŝchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfâa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634 The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1),

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in
[671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428
On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A
[691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga.
[177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
[695] jrîda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
[178] inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
[173] suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
671 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
[562] from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
[184] ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.

671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agélzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
212

/367 cont./

121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

/369/ IV. Communal Law

121 Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq, and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp.": 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

121 But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the
127 analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambiance. Hence the documentary value of these
[666] penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
[613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important: One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/371 cont./

627
681
[171]

/footnote 1 continued/ observations and those of C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

The dîâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrasting with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value other than a didactic one?

627
681
121

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

681
627

In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known: never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/372 cont./

627 of the "marabouts"), are solicited. The term of azwag signifies
681 both the "banished" and the "suppliant," double aspect, passive and active, of the notion.

682 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Some twenty years ago one of our officers wrote: "Today, when a murder has been committed, the tribe orders some of its members to go to burn the gutters and other pieces of wood that project from the dwelling of the murderer. This act signifies to the guilty one that he must immediately leave the territory of the tribe. It is later announced: "There is no God but Allah, and Moh'ammed is his Prophet. Hear, O people of the tribe, so-and-so must leave as azwag, and if he is seen among us he must not be pardoned." "In Seksawa, pecuniary reparation is accomplished during the time of exile, whereas elsewhere it is paid on the day of return. This day the murderer, accompanied by the jemâa, presents himself to the parents of the victim, must be the first to greet them deferentially and turn out of their way, while lowering his head."

This notation undoubtedly is in large part the interpretations of an informant. But even as such, how instructive it is that the "supplication" aspect and magical procedures of exclusion come to complicate an operation of public law! We shall not resolve this disparity; it is not the only one that the milieu manifests.

However that may be, the dîâ then paid to the parents was 100 reals and a bovine. In addition, the jemâa collected the provisions for a meal: one sheep, semolina, salted butter, sugar. Let us recognize, moreover, that the old acts almost never anticipated a case of murder, doubtlessly out of fear of bad augury. They were satisfied to decree the punishment incurred by the gesture, that /373/ is, by the intention: two degrees, as will be seen, depending on whether the weapon was brandished or utilized. This is a relatively refined technique. What has left traces, outside of codifications, a veritable literary genre and so abundant that it is surprising that a theory of retaliation has been able to exist in the modern exegesis, are veritable legal papers.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamî^c umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^c il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^c abbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Âbdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yalᶜanû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [119] ^{c}orf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

/375 cont./

634 554 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân. On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between [613] ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 634 554 [648] There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been considerable. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

634 554

/376 cont./

634 554 repairs of the séquias, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166 Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose pre-
[681] valence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the moqaddem": so much fine, man idda°a bichibha wa ta^c^arrad'a illâ bi-muchawarat il-muqaddam. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed.

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the moqaddem is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the moqaddem can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the jemâa is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the moqaddem or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the jemâa, illa bi-muchâwarat il-jamâ^c^a".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so consid-
erable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as
a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the
guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyran-
nical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there
is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a
new political morality. The automatism that the commune
looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discre-
tionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly
iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without
the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification
henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a
praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke
religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is ac-
companied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation
with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and
pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of
individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the
strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic in-
stincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense
the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the
very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of
enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to de-
scribe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories
have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nine-
teenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institu-
tion could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
212 jemâ^ca and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
794 affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
681 compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine,
and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
451 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/378 cont./

451
634
652

Credit	Nature of the operation	Debit	Nature of the operation
	A) In cash		
12 m 4 o	Remitted by the taqbilt.	60 o, 1/2 mu	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Amount of the present of condolences made by the jemâa of the Idaw Mçat't'og and the Idaw Kais.	3 uj	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
		57 o	"Bled Lebda," Idaw Mçat't'og and Idaw Kais.
9 o	Amount of a present of condolences.	45 o	Price of sheep remitted to Lah'sen b. Ah'med and Moh'ammed b. Messâud of Tamarwut, that is, 30 o + 15 o.
9 o	Price of a sheep slaughtered for the jemâa and reimbursed to the moqaddem.		
9 o 1 mu	Amount of the condolences of the Mentaga.	4 uj	Partial reimbursement to Lah'sen u Ah'med. This sum represents part of the debts that the taqbilt owes.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the granddaughter of the a. Buzid of Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the daughter of Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed of Agersif at the time of his return to the mosque of Asif Leh'lu.
Total: 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		Total: 16 m, 8 o, 1.5 mu, 7 uj.	

/379/ B) Fiduciary operations

451 4 o	Price of a sheep.	20 o	Price of sheep of dhbîh'a and sum remitted to the women.
634 3 o	—		
652 7 o	—		
5 uj	Loan to an old man.		
5 uj	Loan to an old man.	60 o, 1 mu	Gift given to Sidi H'asan, one of the sons of the a. Ben Nâçer.
11 mu, 2 fl	Price of sheepskins.		
10 o	Loan to Âbdallah u Març	6 o, 1/2 mu	Gift given to the Ulad Sidi Muh'.
		3 o	Sum spent by the moqaddem (?).
		9 o	Sum remitted to Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, that is, the price of three sheep.
		6 o	Sum remitted to Lah'sen Kâbûs as reimbursement.
		30 o	Gift to the marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ᶜAyâd of the Sous.
		4 o, 1/2 mu	Sum remitted by Âbdellah b. Ah'med u Març to Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
Total: 24 o, 10 uj, 11 mu, 2 fl		Total: 138 o, 2 mu	

Recapitulation of the credit: 18 m, 9 o, etc.
Recapitulation of the debit : 30 m, 6 o, etc.
Balance: — 11 m, 7 o, etc.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement betwêen the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/380 cont./

The Wording of the Rule

000 Made from harsh internal competitions, from inexpiable vendettas, the group nonetheless presents to the exterior a cohesion which is that of a fagot of thorns, inextricable and untouchable. And is it not significant that this image of a fagot was inspired in the Middle Ages by our first communes?

671 171 This thorny cohesion is sealed by a juridical act. It is these penal codifications called qânûn in Kabylia and inçaf among our Chleuhs /Shluh/, veritable commonplace of the Berbère /Berber/ institution. Revealed by Hanoteau and Letourneux, found, with what profusion! in the Moroccan South, producing in Algeria around 1930 a scandal of surprise of an indeed sympathetic naïveté, their history is already long (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Les institutions kabyles /Kabyle institutions/," R. E. I., 1932, pp. 138 sq., and "Les qânouns kabyles /The Kabyle qânouns/," in the work by Hanoteau and Letourneux, pp. 1 sq., 26 sq., ibid., 1933, remarkable historical critique of the documents provided by these two authors.

One can follow the chain from the edict, already mentioned, of Yah'yâ u Tâfûft (1510) up to the deliberation submitted to the prefect, in the cadre of our municipal law, by a Kabyle village in 1945.

671 212 It is probable that they represent one of the first uses of Arabic writing in the Sous. The synonymy of chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, ar. /Arabic/ alwâh', "tablets," "tables of the Law" (2).

2. The jurists of the Sous often speak of these "tables," alwâh', which corresponds to chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, "bits of wood,"

/380 cont./

671
212

/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[784]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakarn, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

1: Berque--538 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/381 cont./

671 m[redacted] dissertations to it (1).
212

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a
212 religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension
779 makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
685 of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for rob-
671 bery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of ampu-
779 tation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735,
683 emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of
671 Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some
779

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/382 cont./

671

The Community As Organ of Juridical Creation

"Public law," we would say. To what extent is such an appellation legitimate? In fact, despite the development of the contract in this society, the statutory aspect of many individual relations on the one hand, their implication with collective factors on the other, finally the omnipresence of a communitarian life whose adjuvant force and the feeling of well-being and normalcy that it inspires have for ransom a very extended gamut of sanctions, continually entail the interference of the private and of the public, of the civil and of the penal.

Such an interference will go by itself into an "archaic" law, and the fact that one sets up here a question that elsewhere would be pure scruple, and in addition anachronistic, indicates to what extent the present investigation has believed it necessary to turn aside, apropos the /383/ Seksawa system, and Chleuh /Shluh/ system in general, from such commonly accepted ideas, those of the late Marcy, for example. The distinction of public law and private law is related moreover, especially perhaps in Seksawa, to aspects of expression and elaboration rather than to the nature of things. But aspects how strongly contrasted! Up to the con-
[692] temporaneous period the jemâa has remained the penal judge. On the other hand, we see from the oldest period that an external magistery is called upon in order to recognize goods and persons. But, in addition, and on this very matter, the legislator is none other than the group.

671 This account has sufficiently marked all the traits of indivi-
779 sion, confusion, or junction between this communal law, as it is expressed or is conceived itself, and the fiqh. As in several departments of private law, it is in a sort of contractual excess that a surpassing of the model, thus a useful alibi, seems to have been sought. This law has outbid a law of citizens and merchants by the meticulous extreme of the cheap-Jack. With its being so close to magico-religious bases, to the communitarian vehemence of the group, it is not by an oath that, like our good towns of the

/383 cont./
671 thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by
[779] a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, unlimited in its applications. Two examples of it have already
[421] been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another
[586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two
671 other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution
794 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern. In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

/384 cont./

67 [194] private and public law, but further to the administration of the sacred.

Let us remember the constant intervention of the group that is revealed at all levels in the religious, economic, juridical institutions of these societies. Let one judge what its initiative could have been in the periods of expansion.

/385/

Group Reaction
Individual Ethics

Attempt at Reconstitution

000

Thus, in this life, two elements confront each other. The one, patrimonial; the other, movable and acquisitive. One establishes an equilibrium on the structure of the group, itself linked to an agrarian order; the other provokes incessant competition fed by full monetary play and the expansion of contracts.

On the one hand, law of the soil and of origins; on the other, law of money and convention, in other words, also a law of individual work and adventure. Between the one and the other, a tension, which further results from certain aspects of the judiciary joust, but formerly must have been expressed more fully. For four centuries a least a contentious genre ruled, where the law is expressed by action and has writing at its disposal. But the group, let us take heed, maintains this justice outside its walls. It may conspire, indeed in spite of itself, with the montagnard order. It is too far removed from it in its spirit as well as in its methods. In the end, it will destroy it.

There was undoubtedly a time when states, or, better, juridical attitudes, counted more, linked to the structure of the city and guaranteed by immediate safeguards, some traces of which still remain. It is not that their relations excluded movement or the unforeseen, or froze the person in an immovable communitarian equilibrium. On the contrary, one might imagine that the economic modes did not often depend upon what we call equity. Temporary success by violence, seizure of pledges very broadly

/385 cont./

000 understood, feint, surprise, violence temporarily broke up a legitimacy that adequate means, brought into play by the other party, came to re-establish in the end. Emigration, which one may consider as going back to a very ancient practice, had an important function: that of creating voids. Individual absences, ritual flights, military dispossessions unbalanced the local group. Today we see the return of the exiled child, who is not "prodigal," /386/ but miserly, take place in feast and scandal, because the one exiled brings back his savings, and because he is immediately going to attack sedentary capital. Formerly the role of these movements of individuals or of groups seems to have been preponderant. At the same time that it reconstituted the substance of the groups, it formed the bond between the two contrary elements whose tension we are observing even at present. Right of the soil and of origins against right of money and convention, on the one hand; right of the absent one against right of the one present, on the other hand: the antiquity of the system probably resided in the play of these four terms.

177 The contemporary stage expresses the organization that is built between these basic data and the oriental contribution. But when and how does this contribution intervene, and from which foyers of diffusion? Insoluble question for the moment. What is sure is that the amalgamation took place on levels of unequal depth according to the sectors of the institution. An important thing, because the oriental norms seem to have sometimes been accepted or submitted to in such a way that the practice contrived to palliate them, sometimes voluntarily elected, indeed systematically exaggerated, or diverted toward other ends. The hypothesis of phases of deliberate adoption or of authoritarian imposition, Almohadism, for example, is not excluded. With less gigantic, less legendary proportions, there were perhaps other cases in which adjustment was attempted by the indigenous legislative genius between the ancestral ideas and the universal alphabet that Islam brought. Whence the importance of so many 176 founding heros, today submerged under a dull or rude hagiology, 177 but in which one has a presentiment of appurtenance to an old

/386 cont./

776 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Amer u H'ad-
177 dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-
779 sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and
182 undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated
[212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

671
779
182

/387 cont./
formation of large ensembles and broad styles, rather than the spontaneity of youth.

Among its traits, there are some archaic ones. And not only on the plane where one ordinarily looks for -- and finds -- the one of magic or of folklore, but on the plane of the law itself, a matter indeed more irrecusable. First of all, the notion of an agrarian order with ritual sanctions, with magico-religious defenses, survives in some techniques of immediate settlement, some attitudes generative of powers, of movements, or of juridical states. It is probably thus for what touches on the oldest economic foundations: relations for irrigation or pasturing, landowner equilibrium of the ikhs-s, exchanges with the communal sacred. More on the surface, an agonistic reality is expressed in the judicial joust (1)

1. J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 399 sq.

and in the very details of the procedural play. But only its expression is individual. It stems in fact from the same archaism upon which are founded the pacts of mystic patronage, seasonal feasts, and the ritual disputes for which they furnish the occasion: thus the auction for the sacrificial meats, still very recognizable under a cloak of notarial law.

But it is this elaboration that leads. A vigorous synthesis takes place at the communal echelon. It suppresses all the rest into incoherence and discontinuity. Collective tension has become /388/ dialectic of litigants. Relations with the sacred take the contractual path. The agrarian order is maintained only by resorting to contentious debate. Islamic schemas dominate the successoral material so much that the indigenous law no longer deviates from the fiqh, apparently at least, except in the quantity of subterfuges, ar. /Arabic/ h'iyal. All this law, which guarantees, through the duration, the permanence of the milieu, has

/388 cont./

671 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the
779 point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in
182 order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The
675 mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here.
421 The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus
182 personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkâl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Hég.: 1654, the following expression: tawlîya çah'îh'a wa'starkaba-hu fî sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fî mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarikt, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
177 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[625] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qāhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/393 cont./

175 121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

175 121 343 712

1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] [184] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/394 cont./

577 571 foundation. The result is this judiciary tension in which the person has his place, which defines him. This stage is not that of the old group solidarities. Nevertheless it stems from it. In certain respects, it expresses it, in rejuvenating it. Proceedings here have, even more than a role of extinguishing trouble, a role of maintainer of the trouble. Its essential function is to reveal and to keep watch of the individual and collective lives. This is the very function of the rite in other societies. This one, harsh, rational, polemical, has a more juridical than religious bent. It finds its privileged moments in judicial tension rather than in religion. It is a society -- own genius or historical factors -- at the stage of dialectic and moral indignation.

This moral coloration is very important. It produces antagonisms in a very much constructed communal milieu. It also produces the heated asides of individual resentment.

Partisanship, vengeance, what people will say become the motive forces of an existence that perpetually oscillates between the two faces of the oppression: submit or make submit. There is scarcely any intermediary plane. That certainly not from the lack of a sense of imminent justice, but from a keen appetite for reparation. An /395/ unfathomable heredity imposes in all its rigor the persecutor-persecuted alternation, revealing the hazards of a milieu nevertheless profoundly egalitarian.

The enormity of the legacy of oppression governs the reactions of the passions to the extent that any success obtained in the revendication appears out of proportion with the immense failure of the past. Sterile tumults, repression in an economy where the forces of the man are untiringly wasted impose a heavy heritage of vengeance.

Whence it comes that, over against modern law, where the matter judged guarantees social stability, it would be to the protection of an indefinite possibility of instance, of a perpetual deferment of trial, that the Seksawa aspire. That is related not only to the structure of such a milieu, but also to an unconscious calculation of the probabilities. The civil life being defined for each one by insertion into the inextricable web of the disputes and

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small
compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fi-
delity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite
reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close
debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests,
of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is
formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to
say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions.
Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary posses-
sion of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for,
for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of
persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus
governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alterna-
tive.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate
one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the
rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal
adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous
cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer
here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war
the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it
is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance
/396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one.
More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists.
Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and
rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To
what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides
of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar
and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

121 /396 cont./
threshold: here is one of the primary objectives of Maghrebi sociology.

This threshold is in any case perceptible by the heart. Serious circumstances, a shifting of emotions or passions are necessary in order for one to transgress it. It is then a leap to another plane. Here the communal order reigns, with its warmth and intimacy, its lively ceremonies, its choruses, its dances. It rests upon a formidable instinct of duration, and of what it contributes in compensations in the long run.

The need for revenge, the hope of distant restorations, of showy returns, confidence in antagonisms propitious to the maneuver, offering each one his chance, and which excite the man, in victory as in defeat, to his full measure of vehemence and beauty -- that is what guides the group. Precariousness at the moment, but safeguard in time, indefinite quarrel, but reversals that guarantee perpetual movement: such are also and down to the details the moral correspondences of the law in this part of the Atlas.

Now this system is not isolated. It adheres to a great monotheism. It is interested in the wonders of the towns and of the plain, anxious to appropriate for itself, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. All this has imbued it with enthusiasms, distrusts, equivocations, and, above all, uneasiness. It feels besieged. Its culture has become transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, did not escape the reach of such a phenomenon. The Seksawa order, this order of compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself for the worse.

Only contemporary psychology could attempt to explain how this society has expressed its resistances and its defeats by all sorts of traits of ambiguity perceptible in its dialect, its ideas, its mores, its law. It would account for, by a felt culpability, this comportment that sometimes reserves for itself, sometimes transfers to others, the terrible judgment of history. Both these attitudes are fashioned diversely, according to the object or the epoch. This is the origin, not only /397/ of so many contrasts

/397 cont./

121 literarily exploited apropos the "Berbère," but more precisely of this incertitude that is at the bottom of it, formed by intimate transactions, relinquishments, and circumscribed resistances. To give and to retain: such is his law. Culture of contractions and circumvolutions, I should venture to say.

How, in the apprehension of a justice for which this man violently thirsts, can such a state of affairs be reconciled with a vitality with tension and alternations, so equipped to be patient and to endure? The just, for the Seksawa, risks being both the thing of importation, or at least expected from the exterior, and the thing that one hides within oneself without ever discovering it. Evasion on the one hand: through emigration, apprenticeship in Arabic or French letters, sometimes such an ostentatious treachery, almost romantic, such profanation: then the individual rushes forth, casting all behind him.

But also inaccessible flame in the depths of the heart, in the depths of history, in the depths of the grimoires, and which a rhythm of communal dancing, an inspiration from the saints of the Tichka or of Z'init' alone come to revive from time to time.
/Page 398 is blank./

000 /399/

Fourth Part
Attempt at Interpretation

/Page 400 is blank./

/401/ I. Limits and Range of the Seksawa Type

Position of the Seksawa in the
Ensemble of the North African Sedentary Peoples

171 The method of parallels is obsolete. Even to stop at criteria
121 as provisional as sedentariness or Berbérophony, the present knowledge of North Africa does not permit a precise enough comparison between sectors. The latter, however, are ordered by geographical masses. Once the Rif, because insufficiently studied, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, because governed by economic and

/401 cont./

171 social movements too different from those that concern us, and
121 finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /Tuareg/. My thanks to all.

(114)

171 Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

/402 cont./

171 what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

[241] Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion [342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branés architectures" (1).

1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

/402 cont./

000 exceptions, the art of retaining the soils and the rain. Neither tiers nor basins. The plantation does not stop the rushing downward: it retains only too little of the water that runs down. The Kabyle, too, even more than the Chleuh /Shluh/, must have recourse to a veritable worker-nomadism in order to balance his resources.

This society (2),

2. This atmosphere has already been described well by M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, pp. 19 sq. The famous explanation of the takharrubt by analogy with the fruit of the carob tree (p. 48) perhaps goes back to these authors. Let us note that it is only a matter of an analogy: the term perhaps signifies only "turn for participation." It is in this sense that one finds it, for example, in the hydraulic customs of Figuig, that is, quite far from the Kabyle carob tree!

held by a summary energy, a /403/ lively and brutal sensuality, settles its conficts according to a code of honor with exigencies often deadly. In the comportments, the acquisitive lust, an avarice raised to the epic are made up for by the vehemence of fidelities and the generosity of passions. The woman, although victim of a system of rigorous masculinity, is indeed the worthy daughter, sister, and wife of these montagnards: victim, certainly, but participant, and sometimes gratified. Her future will perhaps be a revendicating one. It is said that already an association of girls, from Algiers it is true, has toppled the stone of Djemâa Çahâridj, symbol of a historic resolution: the one that in 1748 disinherited women. The stone has since been set up again.

Around the central theme of the solidarity of thakharrubt (1),

1. Well before Hanoteau and Letourneux, and more ingeniously than they did it,

000 /403 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ G. Devaux drew a picture of Kabyle institutions, Les Kabaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, pp. 3 sq.

"agnatic group," run wild a miserly egalitarianism and a mad complexity of initiatives of all types and degrees: of the person, of the family, of the village, of the party. The interferences are made up of unstable balances, fed by the crisis itself. Underneath is divined an obscure ponderation by confrontation of two general leagues, the one "above" and the one "below." But at any moment the league breaks up into more strictly local, more unstable çoff-s. And the system has to readjust in some fashion. The whole within the exuberance of jousts, feints, machinations, and prowesses of egoism or of sacrifice.

This strife invincibly arouses among us the communal idea. To which many other aspects are attributed: the village habitat, thaddert, and its evident conjunctions; a rudimentary, but permanent municipal organism; finally this exception to the Islamic Law that has to be seen in the practice of assembly codifications. But let us keep it in mind that these traits may be those of the state as well as of the commune in the strict sense. They are better so if one considers that, poetically compared by our informants to the seeds that one and the same carob-tree pod unites, the takharrubt balances and counterbalances its equals rather than being integrated with them in a united ensemble. It finds in the thaddert community nothing that reforms it, surpasses it, or inspires it: a mechanical composition of rival forces rather than the creation of a new basic entity. As proof, a penal law dominated by the vendetta, and still remaining on this side of tariffed composition. "The dîâ," we are told, "is rejected by the Kabyles" (2).

2. The formula is from Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. III, p. 61. The analysis of the penal law is one of the good

000 /403 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ parts of this book. M. Daumas /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ and M. Fabar, op. laud., p. 35, already set the vendetta opposite to the practice of the dîâ; cf. J. Berque, remarks on Kabylia, in "Quelques documents sur le droit répressif ancien du Haut Atlas /Some documents on the ancient repressive law of the High Atlas/," R. al., 1953, pp. 1 sq.

/404/ Gentilitial honor turns up its nose at it. In the familial system, nothing comes to temper, in favor of the wife or of the child, the violence or the avarice of the male. In political life, unanimity is practically necessary; for want of it, open or clandestine secession. Therefore it has a chance of being realized only at the ultimate echelon of habitat, the hamlet. That is why so paltry a cadre finally won out over the French institution of the "douar-commune." All these traits have their visual expression. In most of the Kabyle villages, there is the "common house," the thadjemâit — and we immediately think of a town hall! But the plan of operation of the Sénatus Consulte cast a fertile doubt upon this: one finds there not one, but often several of these houses. This is because each takharrubt has its own: what better sign of separate political existence?

In fact, the thaddert and, with more reason, the tufiq, which sometimes groups several hamlets, come closer to a federation than to a unit of internal law. And the fragility of superior examples, ᶜarch or even taqbilt, evanescent, circumstantial, and sometimes so theoretical that the observer fails to define them all the more because their sole constancy, their sole substance are those of names, can only fortify the same idea. The large conjunctions no longer have the tangible seat of the village: their role will be consequently reduced to resistance or competition. It

/404 cont./

000 will barely survive the event that roused them (1).

1. Daumas and Fabar, op. laud., pp. 45 sq.; C. Devaux, op. laud., defines the çoff-s as "a hostile state of observation that the various parties maintain between them" (p. 41), and he describes many fluctuations, pp. 241 and 242; Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, p. 67, show the evanescence of the "tribes." I find several examples of this in the Archives of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863 (G. G. of Algeria). After a war between the Beni bu Yusef and the Aqbil, two villages passed from the first to the second, with whom they henceforth became integrated. The Beni Ithuragh of the Tirurda constitute the federation of 18 villages operated after the submission of the rest of the country at Randon. Other examples could be found for the Turkish period in S.-A. Boulifa, Le Djurjura à travers l'histoire /The Djurdjura through history/, 1925, especially pp. 300, 311, 319, and passim.

More than entities, these are virtualities. Undoubtedly it would be somewhat paradoxical, on the other hand, to contest all that village life inspires for the Kabyle in rites, practices, sentiments: a community results from it, of course. It does not abolish, on the very plane of the public law and of the political course, the autonomy of the groups that it divides as much as it unites them. A deeper study of this society would be necessary in order to discern, under the contribution of a century of /405/ proceeding in the French fashion, the anterior base: and we would find it itself well "second," well elaborated.

171 The contrast nonetheless blazes out, in relation to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, for this economy, these mores, and especially this organization. Relation of political unity here communal, the

/405 cont./

171 taqbilt; there federal; the thaddert, with their subdivions on the one side, their multiples on the other side. Treatment of the natural milieu, attachment to institutions or to transcendent values finally: all seems differently arranged on the two sides. Although the materials are perhaps identical, it is this diversity of arrangement that determines the general judgment.

Here, on the contrary, is the Aurès (1).

1. G. Marcy, "Cadre géographique et genres de vie en pays chaouia /Geographical cadre and ways of life in Chaouia country/," L'éducation algérienne, 1942, pp. 28 sq.

The analogy of the physical milieu, of the economy, of the ways of life directly suggests comparison with the Haut /High/ Atlas. The tribes, abstraction made from numerous personal varieties, and with a general hue of rusticity, strike the observer by their adaptation to the chances of a difficult country. Sedentary, doubtlessly, but in perpetual movement. This is a sedentariness with successive stages. These people play fully on the clavier that offers them four climatic formulas: valley horticulture, cereal crops on the heights, transhumance of animals, and recourse to the border resources of the Sahara. Whence a system of displacements far exceeding in complexity what Morocco can offer as analogy. An incessant "remue" /moving/ expresses in mobility of enterprises, in variety of techniques, a remarkable exploitation of the geography. Like the arrangement by valleys where the villages are echeloned, this utilization of the differences of level, this montagnard privilege of strewing herds or tillage in the plain recall, in a profusion of combinations without any doubt superior, traits observable in Morocco. The country's general allure itself, with its streets of greenery, it tilled slopes, its forested summits, the bareness of the high aretes, across the differences in morphology, presents the same elements of an economy peasant and pastoral at the same time: but the one of the Aurès owes to a position more concentrated between the Mediterranean and desert influences new vocations, a more acute nervousness.

/405 cont./

171 The resemblance is further accentuated in the habitat. Same joined villages, same houses with terraces, only driven more into the slope, and as if closer to troglodytism. Certainly, stories are much less widespread, the same as /406/ the loggia. Except for nuances, the texture of the masonry, the arrangement of the square of open air in the middle of the covered one, the tunnel streets: everything of the Chleuh /Shluh/ village is found in the Aurès dechra. Same techniques for retention of the soils and distribution of water. The irrigated tammurt of Menâa reminds one, as its very image, even though in a botanical variety pushed further, of such a southern Moroccan tamazirt. Here is the "ditch," targa. It flows from the "basin," lmajen, or from the "dam," ssedd, branches down to the last "platbands," isura, and to the "cuvettes," th'ud', skillfully arranged at the foot of the apricot trees. "Murettes" /low walls/, tirutin, set off tiers of crops. On the neighboring slopes, in the dry, gentle epaulements break the declivity and set off long, unraveled fields, ir^{c}aqay. The intense manipulation of earth, of water, of animal manure gives a harvest destined for ensilage and for preserving. Terms all the more obligatory because this life, with continual displacements and subject to terrible hazards, demands reserves at a fixed point. Another analogy with the Morocco of the igudar. The "granary-citadel" (1)

1. G. Marcy, "Un règlement coutumier de guela^{c}a chez les Chaouia de l'Aurès /A customary regulation of guela^{c}a among the Chaouia of the Aurès/," L'éducation algérienne, 1942, pp. 33 sq.; a substantial article by Mme Faublée, which was communicated to me in manuscript before appearing in the Joumal de la Société des Africanistes, 1953.

of certain Aurès tribes, aqli^{c}t, abound, for example, among the Beni bu Sliman, who store their grain there between two

/406 cont./

171 migrations towards Biskra, the Dikhla, or the high territories of Tafrent.

What is to be said about institutional resemblances that sometimes go as far as identity? Without speaking of these codifications, of granaries or other things, where a very general base is perceived, here is a society which organizes, as has been seen, the landed interlacings of "fractions," where the ubiquity of the family habous, the generality of sales under resolutory conditions protect the landowner patrimony and tend to maintain the seat of the group. Let us descend into the reddish fault where the village of Buzîna has been built conically. Let us make our way downstream from the springs amidst the murmuring waters, the rumbling of the hydraulic mills and the bustle of the gardeners. Let us speak with these Chaouia graybeards rich in origin legends and so faithful to the juridical tradition that, even in penal matters, their law is applied concurrently with the French law. We shall experience, in truth, the poignant sensations of Maghrebi, montagnard, and Berbère /Berber/ identity.

000 But here is in what the two societies diverge.

The precise organization of the granary-citadels is not at all the deed of the village grouping here, but of the agnatic subdivisions /407/ of the tribe, called nah X, nah Y, etc., which our territorial norms have effaced no more than the Arab entity of the ᶜarch has. In Beni bu Slimân, for example, they are about twenty, for about fifteen granaries, of which each agglomeration counts up to five: thus at Channâura. In principle, each subdivision possesses its own, or, if it has grown in number and prosperity, several of its own. But the original granary sometimes corresponds to an individualized gentilitial agricultural perimeter, a sort of flight base, which can be indicated to you. Thus at Bu Yighd, beneath the impressive cliff of the col of Ferqus, for the Nah ᶜAbderrezzâq who concentrate there a vast "habous" of plain and plateau, marvelously notched with ressauts, talus, and ledges for the conservation of water and lands. The assembling of Aurès families into the "tribe" has not been, at least in this, up to the synthesis that the agadir of the Moroccan South expresses.

1: Berque--567 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/407 cont./

000 Correlatively, the status of the woman (1)

1. The essential work is that of Mathéa Gaudry, La femme chaouia de l'Aurès /The Chaouia woman of the Aurès/. 1929. In what concerns the application of the fiqh, G.-H. Bousquet, R. al., 1952, pp. 109 sq., R. afr., 1952, pp. 449 sq.

evokes an "Iron Age" that no ethics of general or local inspiration, no regulations come to soften. Almost always disinherited, defrauded of the ṣadâq to which she can lay claim only after the death of the conjoint, deprived of the benefit of the very dispositions that the family habous stipulate for her use, she was in certain tribes given up to prostitution. The sexual liberty of the ᶜazriya, "single woman," is inserted moreover in a system that one divines to be ancient, and where she plays her official role with compensatory revenue and traditional function.

The weekly markets are lacking. Monetarism has penetrated so little up to now that formerly, at Tkut for example, it was once a year, at the feast of sidi ᶜAbdesslâm, that the commodities were tariffed and the amount of the fines fixed. Grave discordance with the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, formed so in the laws, in the play of money, maintained by speculative exportation, the hoarding, devastated by inflation, and where all the exchanges are equally stamped by communitarian values and by individual capitalism.

171 181 Above all a strong institutional inequality sets the Chaouia society, as well as, moreover, the Kabyle society, against that of the Sous. The privilege of the latter, in comparison to the two others, lies in a greater maturity of the state organization, more ample references of the social system to the external and transcendent. Perhaps this transcendence comes from /408/ Islamic universals, with which a balance was knowingly sought. Perhaps, on the contrary, from collective symbols linked to certain periods of the past. These are two plausible explanations of

/408 cont./

171 an essential fact. On the other hand, Chleuh /Shluh/ life does
181 not have the violent complexion of the other two. It does not know to the same degree the hyperboles of gentilitial honor, any more than it as spontaneously arouses the analogy--be it superficial with such Mediterranean images of not long ago: the Corsican bandit of honor, the Albanian highwayman. What characterizes it, besides the singularly mature level of organization, is a pious and regulated pace, of more patient virtues, of more complex sentiments, more in half-tints.

171 That way, and in spite of everything that might oppose a peasantry to the townsmen, military vigor to mercantilism, haughty orthodoxy to a no less devout heterodoxy, an airy and muscular existence to the shadow of the mosque and warehouse -- it is of the Mzâb that these latter traits make one think. The richness of historical, legendary, and doctrinal foundations, a double vocation that is spiritual and trade, the precision of the play of its subgroups, qbâil, within communities, a juridical organization balanced between corps, recorded by writing, rich in jurisprudences burst forth there (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâ^c a-s du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâ^c a-s of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 193.

The Mzâb thus offers several of the aspects that have appeared to us both constitutive of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society and distinctive from it in comparison to other Berbère /Berber/ socieites. This time, however, institutional superiority is not on the Chleuh side.
000 What one can surmise, through too rare documents, of the functioning of the Mozabite ittifâqât proclaim a surprising success. The cities are governed by a consistory that is both senate, because of the meeting of the qbîla delegates, and moral magistery because of the presence of clerks. A jurisprudence as attentive in regulating the equilibrium of the families as in censoring the mores or in resolving the problems of the hour has left us its

/408 cont./

valuable testimony. Its sanctions are strangely archaic; ostracism, for example, of which it made great use (2).

2. Id., ibid. The text cited, p. 205, distinguishes five kinds of exile.

Because it knows how to maintain, in a constant effort of adaptation to modern life and of Islamic rigorism, inspirations more profound and older than any juridical or religious formulation: the idea of forces attached to the territory, for example. Its success resides there, the principle of which has not even suffered from the French laicity, for it was posed /409/ on another plane. And a solid proof of authenticity, a sign of juridical perfection to the Berbère /Berber/, is this h'awît'a of Ghardaya, with its ellipse of flagstones borrowed from tombs, and where the deliberation of the jurists, the cunning of politicians are ennobled by the mysterious complicity of the dead (1).

1. Characteristic jurisprudences in the article by G.-H. Bousquet, on a "Recueil de délibérations à la mosquée de Beni Isguen /Collection of deliberations at the mosque of Beni Isguen/," Ann. I. E. O., 1951, pp. 18 sq.

The Moroccan South offers nothing as advanced as the Mozabite constitution. But it surpasses this type with all its rural power. Here one is no longer shut up in the schism, the minority, the more or less clandestine exception. The Chleuh /Shluh/ system extends over immense portions of the country and today has even invaded the large towns. One day this expansion will be able to bring about between agriculture and industry, with strong rural virtualities and the concentrated spirit of the cities, this synthesis which has as yet been lacking in the history of Morocco.

171

/409 cont./

Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb

121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/ type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berbérophone societies of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have played the role of relay of the independence and of the continuity of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must, however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

/410 cont./

121 and the country. In the explanation of these exchanges seem to reside both the principal contribution of this investigation and its most certain contribution to the generality. The relations stated here between different orders of reality, such as the structure of the community, its work techniques, the scansion of its duration, the division of its space, are valid beyond the sector.

It will therefore be legitimate to interpret. The application of the ideas thus extricated might be risky elsewhere. One will refrain, both from a lack of material and through scruples of principle, from asking of the Šeksawa, in comparing them with other "examples," the least lesson of comparativism. But one will attempt to apply the concrete results, the indications of method and the questions flowing from the present research to the principal problem of Maghrebi sociology: that of the strucure of the groups.

/411/ II. Narrow Formations

Now this problem is obscured no less by its own difficulty then by almost a century of doctrinal debate. Observation of the lively small countries of the Haut-Atlas will nevertheless permit grasping it with concrete holds, on condition of pursuing, up to the ultimate ramifications, the examination of the exchanges between the group and its milieu.

Levels of the Agrarian Organization

000 The old Roman agronomy had two ways of considering a field. To see there the "land for wheat," the "land for the vine," according to characteristics melted into individualities, ingenia, says Virgil. Or else to appreciate it as a function of general data that it more or less shared, and whose influence won out over its particular vocation: "lands hot, heavy, cold," etc. One could in fact, like modern science, define a field by the combined play of physical and chemical factors. But, no less validly, one can see in it a whole defying analysis, an almost personal figure.

/411 cont./

311 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object:
182 it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neigh-
423 bors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that
182 the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

/412 cont./

312 eye, who can follow the cutting up of the principal séguia by the
423 successive trenches. In the dry, the notion of quarter is enlarged
182 to that of ground. In fact, the use of water no longer intervenes to impose so extended a differentiation of the landscape and of work. Correlatively the toponymy, which, in the irrigated, would be confined, would refine divisions and subdivisions, describes in the dry no more than very broad meshes. This changing of rhythm, linked to the agricultural technique, constitutes an important sign. The comparison of structures collected from the upper cantons with the immense deployment of the Mez'ud'a or the Mtugga furnishes another one.

423 But let us leave the fertile avenue that is open here to re-
182 search, in order to evoke -- if only for a moment, and only for the fine antagonism of the types -- the Latin fundus, with its individuality, its name, its mass: veritable syntheis of notions of patrimony, parcel, quarter, and ground. The economy of the high valleys permits one to observe the play separately. It thus permits analysis of it. The individual patrimony is dissolved into a sampling of parcels encased in the different quarters constituting the ground. The parcel is not a unit. It is a fraction. Several causes are undoubtedly responsible for its evanescence: want of economic consistency, lack of mass, excessive and exclusive liaison with human data. The parcel, if one wishes, is the atom of this rural world, but so /413/ paltry and so little charged with material that it is reduced almost to a purely social definition.

It is not the same for the quarter. It is a veritable collective object, for it consists of the assemblage of representative shares of the gentilitial elements of the group. To neglect such a character would be to abstract and mutilate a communitarian genius that alone explains and supports the institution. But the quarter is not only an object. It is above all the meeting place of the object aspect and the factors aspect. In it are conjugated the social forces and the natural conditions. It is at the junction of the group and the soils. In it a bundle of family names is compounded in order to be enclosed in a toponym based on a fragment of landscape and a concourse of agrologic elements. Thus, the Twuttyan

/413 cont./

423 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the
182 same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more
182 general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can ex-
103 ceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

613 /415 cont./
182 moral balance in which the group finds exercise and permanence. A good part of the ethics of these populations amounts to rules and sentiments that assure the persistence of this balance against the damage of time and the hazard of individuals. In a past that 000 is not merely hypothetical -- since several modern traits postulate it -- the ikhs could have partaken of a hierarchy of qualifications that conferred upon such-and-such a lineage the charge of common actions involving the collectivity, its soil, its future (1).

1. For example, at the stage described by al-ᶜAbdarī, who is witness at Ans, in other words, on the South reverse of the Tizi Umachcho, veritable jousts of quarters, where it is not risky to recognize a ritual manifestation of the tension between ikhs-s. Cf. tr. of this passage in Cherbonneau, Journal asiatique, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Only al-ᶜAbdarī wrote in the thirteenth century. That is a terminus a quo a bit distant!

/416/ Major role! For the existence of the group must bring about connivances with nature, with the unwritten laws of the kosmos. It would follow that war, politics, agriculture, justice, beauty, and even holiness were in certain respects and to different degrees gentilitial affairs. Now there is nothing of this today (1).

1. Let us not forget the timezgida, whose communal role has been described above in detail. Borrowing terms from Greek Antiquity, it is in certain respects a prytaneum, it is never a leschè!

This past, if it is necessary to place it, can only be within the four centuries that our archive documentation covers. What counts today is not the function of the ikhs, but the crisis that shakes it. Neither the juridical folklore, nor especially the

/416 cont./

000 hagiology, which could have been a rich repository, nor the popular poetry reflected by any development the equilibrium of the ikhs-s, so essential to the life of the canton, and the meaning of which is so necessary to one who wishes to comprehend it. One is also struck by the relative poverty of the hagiology in personal saints and ancestors. A zone of leveling or of annulation drives back into antiquity everything that one might conjecture about the constructions of an agnatic genius. And perhaps there has never been any of these constructions. Society of gentes, one might say, but whose heroic phase is lacking (2).

2. We are straying here, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, from the nevertheless very suggestive ideas of Vidal de La Blache, this masterly exegetist of the Mediterranean, for whom the Berbère /Berber/ societies represent a stage in which there is not yet synoecism, and which by that especially differ from the classical societies, Principes de géographie humaine, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

613 181 Either it had never been, or it ceased to live in the hearts of the descendants and no longer speaks to the imagination. Individualism reigns even in the bosom of the house. It restricts paternal authority, makes acquisitive aspects predominate in marriage, precisely delimits the feminine autonomy, resolves the union of the couple in punctilious co-operationalism. Victim of its conquests, and even more of its permanent menace, the ikhs has suffered, from the fact of the commune, even more serious defeats. If analysis discloses, confronting the familial conservatism and the symmetries of the agrarian order, an individuation of rights that finds obstacles neither in theory nor in practice, is it not that the tension between the two orders of forces serves the vitality of the group?

/416 cont./

A Third Element of the Analysis:
The Name (3)

103
182

3. The toponyms: these "fossils of human geography," as was said by J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine de la France, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

System of place names and system of group names are entangled according to a gradation and correspondences still /417/ readable between the quarter, the ground, and the canton, on the one hand, the ikhs and the taqbilt on the other. On superposed levels, divisions and subdivisions correspond to each other from one order to the other. The human civil state and the civil state of the space intersect, so to speak, their effects, each prevailing according to the level.

At the base, the "parcel" has almost no local substance, but a reality almost purely anthroponymic. It is a fluvial system that prevails at the summit, to the point that great collective designations like our Seksawa are perhaps only geographical expressions. In any case, in the intermediary degrees, the "group" corresponds to the "ground." The "quarter" expresses an equilibrium that forms influences and reflects, between the collectivity and the land, a complex appropriation conferring upon it complete consistency. In this privileged case, local definition and social definition are conjugated, leaning on each other, so to speak.

Now this entire toponymy, and not only that of the named places, but more profoundly the one that intimate exchanges with the man push to the most extreme detail, is original. Singularly the names of quarters, for which an almost constant intelligibility has been noted, within larger and less clear meshes, are evidence of a direct linguistic authenticity. How valuable an indication(1)!

1. Cf. L. Febvre, "Histoire et dialectologie," R. de synthèse historique, t. XII, p. 249.

/417 cont./

121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élémentaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

/418 cont./
coff, leff (1).

103
182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634]
[619]

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171
103

An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/418 cont./

171 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they
103 can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

/419 cont./

182 from a successoral distribution. Here the jemâa begins, one might say, where there is no longer natural or conventional kinship. Or rather -- since the preceding formula arouses the idea of a composition starting from the family -- the specific attribute of the group is that it is divided into heterogeneous subgroups, that this heterogeneity results from a diversity of origins or from other variations. One could say as much of the Kabyle thaddert, or of the Mozabite city.

[171]

000 Let us set in opposition the Arab tribe, which we are going to observe in the Orient, so as to eliminate from the type the influences and the evolutions peculiar to the Maghreb (1).

1. P.-A. Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab /Customs of the Arabs in the country of Moab/, 1908, pp. 107 sq., and the masterly account by Hertz, Ann. Soc., t. XI, pp. 323 sq. Cf., more recently H. R. P. Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London, 1951, pp. 108 sq.; G. W. Murray, Sons of Ishmael, London, 1935, pp. 35 sq.

The veritable unit there is what /420/ P. Jaussen improperly calls the "clan," united by consanguinity or adoption. It is the h'amûleh or ᶜachîreh. Everyone is supposed to have descended from an eponymous ancestor. Several clans form the "tribe," qabîleh, indeed the "confederation," bedîdeh, loose and unstable groupings. "The clan serves as model for any community whatever it may be. The tribe also claims identity of name and blood, by the derivation from a single ancestor." The cult of this ancestor appears even characteristic of the Bédouins, governed by the agnatic formula, whereas that of the saints, with territorial basis, reigns almost exclusively among the sedentary peoples. Such a form is naturally no longer to be seen in the pure state in North Africa. For all that, it reigned there at certain periods or in certain zones -- and one thinks of the Bédouin organizations that the Hilalians were able to propagate -- no doubt it was opposed, trait for trait, to the type of the Haut-Atlas.

/420 cont./

000 But let us keep in mind that the antithesis remains quite theoretical. Geometry is neither about the life of peoples nor about the courses of history. Such an opposition moreover does not recover either that of the sedentary peoples and nomads or that of the Arabs and Berbères. There has undoubtedly never been in the Maghreb a group so independent of its seats that its structures were able to escape any territorial concept, were it only in the form of terrains of routes, sectors of influence, or pastoral itineraries. The example of the Touareg /Tuareg/ themselves leaves no doubt in this respect. Reciprocally, among the sedentary Chleuh /Shluh/ the fiction of the ancestor has also acted more or less (1).

1. And nevertheless a nuance, which only the linguists could fathom, exists between the ar. /Arabic/ Awlâd, "The sons of ...," and the chl. /Shluh/ Ait. "the people at ..."

This is in fact a convenient explanation. The first centuries of Islamization, and even more perhaps the contact with the Hilalians, must have given him great vogue. This period appears to have supported a vast enterprise of assimilatory heraldry. The origin of the Berbères /Berbers/ was taken back to the Philistines or to H'imyâr (2).

2. The most complete account of the question by M. Simon, "Le judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne /Berber Judaism in ancient Africa/," R. d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse, 1946.

In both cases the same process is affirmed as in the Trojan legend of Rome: an attempt at lateral attachment to classical history. It is known what minuteness of detail these myths of ennoblement end up with in the works of Ibn Khaldûn, and through him in the works of modern exegetes who are still imbued with it. Just as

/420 cont./

000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ᶜaçâbiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, noncharmantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1);

> 1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

619 634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of [613] the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, them- [423] selves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a [177] makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. [613] Within the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug [631] was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. It has justly been noted [616] that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

619
634

/422 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not the only anomaly of these names, of which a philological study -- perhaps impossible, it is true -- has not yet been done.

/423/ This coming and going between expansions and particularizations is observed even in our day. To each change of dimension corresponds a change of register. More profoundly than the debate between the jemâa and the caid, democracy and personal power, a debate that often accompanies it, this variation of social rhythms connected to the geographical dimensions of the group is revelatory of the life of these societies. The political game here is only superficial. Or rather the politics of the great chiefs of the Atlas succeeded only by a constant adaptation to these differences of level. It is thus that in his khoms of origin, the Idaw Talilt, the great Abdelmalek Mtuggi is only an amghar, the first among his peers. At the echelon of the Mtugga, he is a patriarchal centralizer. At the echelon of the ensemble of dependent tribes, a cunning and authoritarian exploiter. His appetites must nevertheless reckon with the local transactional necessities of the minor amghar-s, his vassals at the echelon of the Moroccan South, and almost the entire country, courtier or rebel, he even rises to international intrigue. But the political weight that he throws about in a word amounts to the fidelity of his own jemâa.

A life like that of Abdelmalek has run over the clavier of Maghrebi morphologies from top to bottom. It infinitely goes beyond our cadre. Only the attentive examination of the cases at hand would be able, for such and such a political unit, to cast the accent on one or the other of these movements as having the most influence upon its contexture. For there has been movement, and, throughout the course of history, dilation or contraction of the local cadres. The essential perhaps consequently lies in the correspondences exceeding the narrow limits. And if the present chapter has attempted to set up, in all its value as explicative criterion, the cantonal taqbilt, the precariousness and, on the

/423 cont./

619 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodo-
634 logical import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/

III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616
121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121
171
616
114

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ^{c}Abda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'ogg^{w}at of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq. 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616
121

resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114]

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171]

In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/425 cont./

616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3).

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its
[695] field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/425 cont./

616
121

They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616
121
114

4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last ¶. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

616
121

and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

/426 cont./

616
121

consciousness, present there some confusion of contour. It would therefore be inexact to label them under signs that are too precise: consanguinity -- pacts subscribed to -- existence of affinities; or else ancestral community -- convention -- statute. This would be to attempt to define them for the European. What observation suggests, on the contrary, is their indistinction. At the very least the continuity that prevails from one to the other. This continuity goes quite far. It can go so far as to modify the situation of the group, to form or break up what we today, groping a little, call confederations or tribes. Local tradition has recorded several of these morphological variations (2).

2. It is in this fashion that in a. Abdella, the ikhs of the a. Si Mh'and was attached to that of the a. Lkhil through a promise of sacramental assistance, and thus was able to settle in the village. The a. u Gord', of the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), not being supported by their "brothers" in a criminal affair, emigrated and came to live on the border of the plain, attaching themselves to another group. For all that, they have not lost their ritual capacity in the former habitat. During the annual feast of the saints of Aduz, it is they who inaugurate the round of visits that the whole tribe makes there. In Mez'ud'a, the a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gh'id'), for an analogous reason, seceded from their original group, the a. H'sayn, and settled in the village of Tamazirt. The a. Uchellad' left the a. Werdas and was admitted at Taz'arin. They left in their original habitat only a colony of crops. But here is a wider movement. An entire taqbilt, that of the a. Khtab, was accused of murder. Its I. Buzia brothers refusing to swear for it, it was admitted into the Mtugga.

/426 cont./

616 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The
121 procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any
[184] case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghōrti, plur.
619 Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously
634 Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/427 cont./

616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin, so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2),

2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

/428 cont./
616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
121 one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

/429 cont./

616 brought about a basic perturbation. It was thus that Umulid con-
121 stantly played against other Ighertan, by making common cause with the a. Lh'sen. The very chance of one of his letters shows us apropos of this, as has been seen, one use of the word leff: a valuable lexicographical cross-check, but basically a new difficulty. For either Umulid considers himself as having become Emsifor, like the caid Mokhtar, or he uses this term in an extended sense of alliance, or of front: in a word, in a sense which vulgarizes the Algerian term çoff, which has become so essential to Franco-Mussulman life of small Algerian towns that the modern novel has made it famous.

If the dualism of the leff-s is above all a coexistence of virtualities, between which the collective, and sometimes even the individual, option is exercised, if each one these two terms themselves is exclusive neither of variety nor mutations, the problem then remains entirely one of learning why large zones are subject to it and why, on the other hand, such and such a sector escapes it. The distorting schemings of the chiefs, the degradation of the old order inherent in the rise of personal power during the twentieth century could not in any case account for the particular situation of the Seksawa. Everywhere and always in the Atlas, there has been alternation of the chefferie /military district/ and democracy. The historical and statistical inquiry, with graphic notations, that was desired in the case at hand by R. Montagne (1)

1. In his c. r. /report/ of the thesis of J. Dresch, Hesp., 1943, p. 232.

would certainly be useful for knowlege of the past of these societies. It would not provide any explanation. It would reveal the play of initiatives, being applied to conjunctures. Perhaps the bicolor background of the leff-s would come out as endowed with constancy, with a constancy in restorations, and thus linked to a certain legitimacy: thrilling research, but one does not see that it could advance the definition of the content.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

616 571 184

/430 cont./

616 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw
571 T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such
184 an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and
121 not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to
171 come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/431 cont./

616 or on the Hauts Plateaux /High Plateaus/. Truthfully speaking, it
17 is intelligible only in this broad, analogic context. Replaced in an area going from the Saharan socle to the littoral of the Maghreb, the facts of the Sous, of Kabylia, of the Rif are amenable to the same institutional ensemble as the relations of protection between nomads and gardeners of the oases (1),

1. Dj. Jacques-Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, institutions traditionnelles des Draoua /The Oases of the Lektaoua and of the Meh'amid, traditional institutions of the Draoua/," Hesp., 1947, p. 420.

as the herarchies between Mauretanian tribes (2),

2. In. /unpublished/ note by Ahmed Miske Ould Atiq, Hormas et Ghafers, Atar, 1935. Contribution au coutumier indigène /Contribution on native customary law/, Cercle de la Baie du Lévrier, 1931.

and as the still living dualism between Touareg /Tuareg/ "nobles" and "vassals" (3).

3. Besides the work of Foucauld, Duveyrier, H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, and oral references by Lieut. Berthé.

The relations between imochar and imghad have in vain affected the most precise modalities, in essence both chivalrous and fiscal; they are nonetheless irreducible to the analysis of origins, just like the Maghrebi dualisms (4).

4. The amzid is often richer, and as martial, as his suzerain, notes H. Duveyrier, Les Touaregs du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, pp. 334 sq.

616
171

/431 cont./

/Footnote 4 continued./ The origin of the "dues," tiussé, is incomprehensible.

Even in the latter, any qualitative nuance is not excluded. In the Anti-Atlas, the Tah'ogg^{w}at is opposed to the Tagizzult, as what is less "chic" is to what is more so. If this already ancient notation is highly instructive, what will the comparison with the series, similarly, but more strongly dissimilated, of the Sahara be? In these last there prevails a plenitude of content, whose system seems little by little to be stripped away in proportion /432/ as it is applied to zones nearer the Mediterranean, and more signs of its dry, reasonable, and individual genius. Is not this impoverishment the ransom that must be paid, one might say, in order to be admitted into the classic culture? The antagonisms in it tend to preserve only the formal arête. At this stage the notion has little but nominal value. It is an antithesis without content. Such as we observe in the Haut Atlas, and even more in Kabylia, where it crops out in the most modern electoral debate.

A perpetual exchange appears to operate between configurations of consistency and breadth as discordant as these "balanced dualisms," the simple leagues, and the thousand regroupings of politics or of faith. Basic structures, tactics, tendency and fantasy are then inextricably mixed. Whence a constant reaction of each on the others. The morphological virtue of great style that the antithesis of the leff-s, or of the çoff-s, possesses, when it attains all its geographical breadth -- this is the case for the Haut and for the Anti-Atlas, in the same way as for the Sous; that of oriental Morocco; that of the Constantine South with the confrontation of two great familial parties -- is often broken, exploited, disguised. But it may also be revived in new kinds. The old dialectic then becomes that of electoral propagandas, and tends to be no more than that of a "right" and of a "left" to the French one (1).

1. The matter is current in the elections in Kabylia. Cf. the interesting study by Laurette,

/432 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ "Aspects de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie /Aspects of the social life in Little Kabylia/, "ESNA, 1951, pp. 21 sq.; Jean Menaut (Aug. Berque), "Circonscriptions arabes et kabyles aux Délégations financières /Arab and Kabyle circumscriptons to the finance Delegations/, " Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française, 1935, pp. 64 sq., with historical reminders. In Tunisia, two çoff-s are affirmed and defined in the long struggle of the bey Husayn and his nephew Ali pacha at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are the Husaynîa and the Bachîa. The interference between the tribal antagonisms and a conjuncture of central politics from which they borrowed their names is significant, Cf. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse-Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Lower Steppe/, 1940, p. 208. The çoff, Europeanized, modernized, has become in Algeria a literary theme that runs, for example, through all the work of R. Randau.

In these movements, there is more than an evolution that destroys or restores, modifies or refreshes. There is their very possibility. It expresses a fluidity of terms, an aptitude for substitution, a facility and almost a gaiety in the exchange of territorial and moral forms, which seem characteristic of North Africa.

Examples of Variations

000 The theory of the leff-s, in its classic formulation, made much of evolutions of this genre. It noted that the name of such a great /433/ league is none other than that of a more limited assemblage found by a chance discovery in Almohade archeology. The inverse is also observable. Such great constellations or "races" of the Maghrebi Middle Ages have only left their name to puny tribes: thus Zenâta, Maçmûda, Ghomâra, etc.

/433 cont./

000 Present-day Morocco presents a privileged example of these
[648] variations: not so from the Seksawa, since it is a matter of their old allies, the Sofyân (1).

1. Note that the name Sofyân is that of a çoff in the Gourara, cf. E.-F. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, 1910, p. 153.

They have been relegated, as is known, to the hills with heavy soils, ending in a swampy estuary, of the Gharb. They divide this territory with another Arab tribe, the Beni Mâlek. Madly tangled division! In the present terminology, no "fraction" that includes both the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek. And the "douar" itself often makes up the two appurtenances (2).

2. Direct inquiry and Michaux-Bellaire, Le Gharb /The Rharb/, 1913, pp. 325 sq.

On the map, the posting of the latter in two hues figures a check pattern, something absolutely similar to what has elsewhere been called the "chessboard of the leff-s." Only here the genetic fiction has acted fully. One does not refer to parties or leagues, but to two tribes. There the difficulties begin. Only the Sofyân have a history (3).

3. Well known by G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, 1913, cf. index.

Nothing tells us about Beni Mâlek before the maraboutic crisis of the sixteenth century. They were then courageous champions and knew, with al-ᶜAyyâchî, their time of preponderance. But no one knows where they are from or where they come from (4).

4. Nevertheless ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. Zaydân, Ith'âf, 1929, t. I, p. 171, placed them already

/433 cont./

/footnote 4 continued/ in 1270 around Larache. Several saints of the sixteenth century bear the ethnic name of Malkî.

except that they are "brothers" of the Sofyân, which moreover postulates their close cohabitation with them.

Everything takes place as if, at a given point of the decadence of the Sofyân, having declined since the Mérinides, a scission took place in their midst. The tribe itself would have secreted "its" Beni Mâlek, perhaps like, a little more to the N., the Khlot' secreted "their" T'îîq. The matter becomes complicated by the fact that one finds among the present-day Beni Mâlek-Sofyân, side by side with names of old authenticity, such as that of al-H'ârth, others that are those of foreign Arab groups: Khlot', ᶜÂçim, Riyâh', Solaym, Çobayh', Châwîya, and ever Beni Hilâl! Some of these names may be the relics of former habitats, as is the case for the Khlot', or reflect late contributions, as is the case for the Châwîya. But others escape this /434/ sort of explanation. How can one not be disturbed by the disparity that joins together, under the present label of "douar," these ancient appellations of tribes, of peoples, and even of the Hilalian race in its ensemble? What is remarkable in this case is therefore not only the imbrication of two tribes, reproducing to the image what elsewhere would be interpreted as the interlacing of two leagues (1).

1. The remarkable study by V. Monteil on the Tekna, 1948, shows to what point these configurations are shifting, and the denominations of groups of diverse order interfere.

It is the play of classifications and declassifications between groups of such diverse scale.

A movement, which everything inclines one to believe constant, sometimes expands, sometimes diminishes the extension of of the group names. A whole reciprocal exchange of expansions

/434 cont./

000 and declines, ascensions and falls, is thus glimpsed in the past, merely from traces that it has left in the language. One discerns there a sort of semantic back-side of the history of events as the chroniclers retrace it. But considering the Maghrebi virtue of names, of their variations, of the classifications that they express, and whose entire consistency they can make by themselves alone, one wonders whether this back side has not been in many respects determinate.

Moreover, one has not only observed in the case at hand passages from one echelon to another, simple changes of order of size. More delicate phenomena, implying more complex hierarchies, also appear. Since social demarcations in the Maghreb willingly adopt spiritual criteria, it is not rare that one therefore registers the promotion of entire populations to a plane that opposes them to the humanity around. Unless this would be their disqualification.

A striking case, peculiar to Morocco, where it knew a veritable pullulation, is that of the Indrisite /Idrisid/ sherifism since the sixteenth century. It was expecially from this time that an explicative history of the Moroccan past was founded, referring completely to Mawlay Idrîs and, beyond him, to his ancestor, the Prophet. Perhaps collectivities that up to then had shared other prestige benefited from the saintly ancestry. The hypothesis has been set forth that among many Berbère chorfa /Berber shorfa/ crept native possessors of baraka, men of God or persons of good augury (2).

2. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 315.

There would thus have been in the case at hand transposition of the sacred, or rather requalification. Individual sherifism, transmitted by successoral vocation, subject to the genealogical critique of the manuals of /435/ nasab, does not have the same morphological content as that demanded, by collective devolution, by compact layers of peopling. Taking up again the

/435 cont./

000 example of the Gharb, among the Beni Mâlek and the Sofyân, a mass of Ud Khalîfa spreads from the Ouergha to the Ocean. This phenomenon is common in the Moroccan South. The Ud Besseba^c, for example, all want to be chorfa, and their history is a long polemic of legitimacy.

Besides the nobility that is inherited, there is that which one assumes. On the one hand personal investiture, transmission by blood, initiatory aspect. On the other, segregation of communities, founded above all upon a collective attestation. The Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an example of degrees in this profession. One does not find there, as in the Ahaggar, promotions of status based on the deliberate affirmation of a group (1).

1. H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163, quoting Cauvet. This is but an extreme case of these autofabrications of status that one finds in the whole Berbère domain, from the asri of the Touareg to the ag^wmman of the Anti-Atlas.

But one does observe there instructive nuances between foqra, "ministers," ig^wrramen, "marabouts," and chchref, "descendants of the Prophet."

Besides the Prophetic ancestry, the most prestigious, it also happens that a similar course confers on ethnic names a meaning no longer of origin, but moral. One is no longer "son of . . . ," one is "adept." One is what French would signify by an ending in -iste. Thus the Regrâga. They were perhaps a people, but the memory of it has been lost. They have fabricated for themselves a genealogy connecting them to an ancestral baraka. But even more they are catechists of Islam, witnesses of a very ancient layer of hagiology, since it is made to stretch back farther than the Hegira. The same specialization seems to affect, in the thirteenth century, names like those of the H'âh'îyûn, the Hazmîrîyûn,

/435 cont./
the Çanhâjiyûn (2):

2. Ibn al-Qunfudh, Uns al-faqîr, Rabat ms.

they designate mystic companies without tribal acceptation: and this last was maintained parallelly. Evolution moreover was accomplished unequally according to the case. The present Gnâwa of North Africa were not Guineans in origin, but adepts of orgiastic rites and of mysteries. Similarly the Mlâyna, the Bdâwa, scattered in small occult groups. The Dghûghiyîn, although their name is still that of a local group, are above all a category of popular ecstatics. In another order of ideas, the Zekkâra, dear to Mouliéras, are both a tribe and a sect: there is identification of two orders of community there. And inversely the ait sidi Ah'med u Musa are acrobats who almost never have anything in common with /436/ the apostle of the Tazerwâlt. One can be Mlâyni by birth, by conviction, or by affiliation. One can be son of sidi Mh'med u Musa by origin, by convention, or by trade. This plurality of acceptations, with the variable sliding from one to the other that is brought about according to place and time, should give rise to a precise inventory. There would result from it valuable indications on the career of Maghrebi names. What more curious, for example, than the progress of meaning that causes that of a large medieval assemblage to survive in the divinatory proceedings called lkhat't' z-znâti? Or that of the Maçâmida in these Mçâmda, dervishes with wild manifestations that are released during certain feasts of the Aurès (1).

1. E. Dermenghem, Sciences et voyages, Sept., 1950.

Nothing exists of such an inventory. If it were ever brought about, it would give the sociology of the groups in this country some material of facts, names, and acceptations that it lacks, and without which it has marked time for about twenty years. One, of course, can presume nothing about this research. But perhaps the

/436 cont./

preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

619 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the
634 Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the taqbilt obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship, initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling
[616] of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal?
000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

/437 cont./

000 "tribe," the ᶜarch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ᶜarch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ᶜarch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

[619] [634]

M1 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

/438 cont./

171 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a
613 clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ᶜazri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs
[592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely regative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

/439 cont./

000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

/440/ Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

/440 cont./

182 advance, or extension of the herd, collapses. The decline of the soils, the flight of the trees sanction the momentary victories. Such a view, it is true, concerns above all the plain. But it also applies to the valleys of the Atlas, for all that, even there, the techniques of refection of the lands and of collection of water do not arise out of any fathoming of the hydraulic or arborical techniques. Among these great sedentary peoples of the Maghreb, the view of the livestock raiser remains sovereign. Now that is undoubtedly not at all a matter of traits of montagnard rusticity, of economic and cultural archaism. The livestock raiser doubles as a speculator, sometimes as a man of letters with a townsman's aims, and always as the most demanding of citizens. In the material as in the spiritual, people from here go far. But their success does not bear on utilizing the milieu. It bears on social constructions, for which the latter is only the pretext, and which contain a part of hyperbole.

/441/ The superiority of the social apparatus contrasts with the relative mediocrity of the techniques. Extraordinary sureness of the system of distribution! The division of the water, that of the soil between groups attain a disturbing perfection. Incomprehensible and inimitable perfection, not only to the European, were he a specialized engineer, but to the Moroccan of the plain. The social here knows a veritable hypertrophy. Its profusion exceeds on all sides the suggestions of the physical milieu. All allowances being made, it ends up being a cause of stagnation as decisive as the ritual superabundance is in other milieus. The analysis has made stand out in detail this disproportion between material techniques on the one hand, the social organizations on the other. It is the very one that a brillant page of the Genséric of E. F. Gautier pointed out in Roman and Mediterranean antiquity. For other reasons, it could also be qualified as "oriental": superficial assimilations! The disproportion that is verified here has without any doubt causes peculiar to this society.

It always disconcerts the observer. It forces him finally to judge severely a system in which he admires the civicism and laicity full of promise. His judgment is that of history. In the

/441 cont./

182 remarkable and, if one wishes, pathetic contrast which bursts out between the precariousness of the foundations and the exuberance of the masonry, one cannot see an advantage, but a factor of ultraconservatism and sterility. The force of the man is exhausted, one might say, by these communitarian refinements. It loses its impact upon the material of the country.

That is why these societies of exact genius, of untiring energy have up to now only been able to progress by denying themselves. In the order of the taqbilt they find their own consummation, something beyond which nothing remains, except to begin again upon other foundations. Therefore they defend themselves to absurdity. Everything acquired in the way of resources, experience and ideas that emigration sometimes goes so far to seek, they use to reanimate the old and imperfectible machine. The latter, in contact with the world, cannot evolve. It persists, or bursts.

That it may be less an original form than an effected form, less a beginning than an impasse, this is what the observation of its internal disparities would already suggest. There is without any doubt a connection between its morphological profusion and the meanness of the milieu. The republics of the Haut Seksawa, and their equals of the Moroccan South, are little monsters of social ingenuity. Their creative richness on this plane, contrasting so strongly with the minuteness of their cadre, arises less from spontaneity, from an immediate inspiration /442/ from the country, than from a reaction against the scarcity of space and the troubles of the past. It is a richness of substitutions and requitals. Although we poorly know the causes and modalities of it, there has been a forcing back of Berbère /Berber/ societies. But if we did not know this, we would be struck by the contrast between the milieu and what this humanity institutes there. Numerous traits lead one to believe that it has wanted to adapt itself there less than to be exalted there and, in certain respects, to be exaggerated there with a goal not so much of survival as of affirmation, of play.

/442 cont./

Recourse To the External and To the Transcendent

619 634 182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

/442 cont./

182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 186 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

/443 cont./

177 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences
186 of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[197] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

/444 cont./

177 [197]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 1948. p. 12.

171 In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédouine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the fiqh, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

171 177 It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

/445 cont./

177 in it, the same problems posed, sometimes the same solutions in-
171 tervening from Fès to the Atlas and from the Gharb to the Djérid. At the same time heterogeneous, if one thinks of the no less important evidence of varieties of comportment going so far as violent affirmation, secession and insurrection. Most often, it is institutional denivellations, shifts in emphasis, themselves arising from local structures, that introduce variety, indeed discordance.

000 When the study of these phenomena is undertaken systematically for the ensemble of North Africa, the richness and the precision of relations that it will discover, their firmness of contour, the constancies that will stand out between the most modern evolutions and the oldest foundations will no doubt console the investigator who has found nothing here that calls to mind the Dogons and the Nambikwara.

177 Contemporary sociologists describe under the name of acculturation the transformation of a society in contact with another, expansive or superior. There results on the part of the more receptive one, the client or the conquered, an instinctive simulation of the most intimate realities, a search for arguments drawn from the model. A mass of ancient traits sinks into a system of survivals, of practices more or less clandestine or disdained. The same in the individual consciousness. Folklore on the one hand, psychological vestiges on the other. The reaction of the Maghrebi system, formerly in regard to the Orient, today in regard to France, points up in many respects this sort of phenomenon. Mixed and adulterated society, certainly, and from as far back as one goes. Society in which the problems of reinterpretation, of opposition or of transaction have outweighed all others. But in this eternal conflict it takes on such a strong personality that even its most protected cantons remain unintelligible to one who does not consider them from the dimensions of a whole space, a whole history.

/446/ Original Characteristics of the Chleuh /Shluh/ System

181 Since it is necessary to begin with working hypotheses, some search in the Haut-Atlas, if not for the primitive, at least for the archaic and the spontaneous. But what have we found there? A mature society subjected to foreign influences, but re-establishing itself by a continual effort. A system with opinionated consciousness, in which comportments are organized, and are disguised even more than they are expressed. A construction contrasting with the mediocrity of the economic bases. This surpassing of the physical by the human, and almost this contrast between the one and the other, are characteristic. When one eliminates, as we have attempted to do, everything that this culture has in common with its North African neighbors, there justly remains to it in its own right a breadth going beyond the suggestions of the milieu, and an integration capable of putting one on the wrong scent concerning the variety of the constitutive elements.

The institutions of the Chleuh /Shluh/ rise by levels of depth, which imposes on the analysis its being diversified (1).

1. A Varagnac, "Cultures dissociées et cultures homogènes /Dissociated cultures and homogeneous cultures/," Ann. Histo. soc., 1945, t. II, pp. 94 sq., views that in certain respects join those of G. Gurvitch on the sociologie en profondeur /sociology in depth/.

Nevertheless, in North Africa such a structure has the peculiarity that, more or less manifest or hidden, according to the geographical province or the genre of phenomenon, it forms facts of different age, origin, character, and sometimes of a completely different tendency. It thus reveals a violent history whose contributions are irregularly arranged. The indications that it offers to knowledge, sentiment, or action are opposed to one another. The grasps of it are multiple and deceptive. This is why the Chleuhs /Shluh/, in whom this specious intelligibility is carried to its height, have been able, almost as justly, to be taken for ancient

/446 cont./

181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

[171]

1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

/447 cont./

182 climate. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our entire conception of these people and their history. It is now
128 going ~~to be~~ necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

/448 cont./

121/ the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of
184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The
[197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in-
[171] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/448 cont./

184 Among the Chleuhs /Shluh/ such segmentation implies the existence of vast areas. Linguistic or juridical facts, varying endlessly, belie in many respects the homogeneity of the country and ways of life. Sometimes they oppose it. At the very least they do not reflect it.

Many of these characteristics hence give the impression of the /449/ constructed and even of the factitious, of the desired and even of the exaggerated. The rural order with three terms that is found in the upper valleys clashes with so many other aspects of disorder or of evasion, of decline of the constraints of the group, that it is tempting to see there an issue, a precarious and threatened result, rather than an original legacy. The dispersion of this society in a body, and even more so in autonomous acts, reveals the work that it performs on itself rather than one knows not what congenital status. Diversification rather than diversity. Cantonal variety, social complexity, agrarian order would be only the three faces of the same historical effort (1).

1. The debate between ethnology and history has been enriched, in the course of recent years, by the studies of L. Febvre, "Vers une autre histoire /Toward another history/," R. de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, p. 226, on the different historicity of the various civilizations; ibid., G. Davy, "L'explication sociologique et le retour à l'histoire /Sociological explanation and the return to history/"; ibid., Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "Histoire et ethnologie /History and ethnology/," especially pp. 369, 373.

If it is so, would not the dualist structures that one observes in several parts of the Haut-Atlas, of the Anti-Atlas, and of the Sous arise from the same law? In them the content is hidden; it is the sign that counts; their mode of classification is interchangeable with others: it is necessary to consider above all in them the function. Now this function may be assumed diversely, whether it be

/449 cont./

184 a question of political or spiritual, territorial or moral groupings, charged with concrete substance or fictive values. The ones and the others are only means. All strive to maintain, in the bosom of the ensemble, the tension that is life, the variety that is solidarity. In fact, this world remains one. Its cantonal morcellation is not dispersion. Recourse to a plurality of collective types, fashioned by the joust, war, ritual qualifications, has assisted rather than ruined the survival of an ensemble. This ensemble, if one may say so, divides in order not to be broken up. The explanation is that the dualism of leff-s intervenes above all where there does not act, or no longer acts, any other mechanism of differentiation. I mean to say of cohesion. It is that wherever this culture remains deep-rooted, forces of dissimilation struggle against the forces of bursting or of uniformity.

This does not happen without waste. The consumption of energy and ingenuity in such a system is formidable. Here is the negative side of these organisms with solid virtues. Many of these evolutions go beyond the goals. The invention of forms is such that it ends in sterility. The disproportion between the social and the economic makes the machine turn in a void. The conquests or the re-establishments of the communal consciousness have been up to here those of archaism. Balanced between imitation and the denial of others, /450/ impulsive revolt and feint, this genius ends by clinging to its evasions. No more than its magnificent democracies withstand extension beyond the col, its souls do not escape the terror that their own mysteries cause them. Therefore, in order to grow, the individual must escape. With respect to the natal group, he will then remain divided between hatred and nostalgia. Conformist or inconoclast: he will be so simultaneously or in turn. It is that the mechanism of the parties, of the factions, of the groups, all this dialectic of qualifications, of names and of signs, end by suffocating their man. The "optimum de diversité" /optimum of diversity/ (1)

1. I am borrowing this expression from Cl. Lévi-Strauss, Race et histoire /Race and history/, 1952, p. 9.

184 /450 cont./
is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 177 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back into its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

/451 cont./

181 surrounds them and menaces them: Bédouin mobility, the decline
177 of the surrounding countryside, this universal culture itself, to which they have so profoundly adhered. Whence the excess, the feint...

Participation or resistance to North African history have doubtlessly both acted. But which more, and according to which variations in time, and in which context of facts: here a new investigation begins. /Page 452 is blank./

1: Berque--629 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453/ Bibliography

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa
128 facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its
113 character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

I. -- Cartography

[114] The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

1: Berque--630 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453 cont./

113

definition and classification/," Hesp., 2nd-3rd tr. 1938, pp. 109-180, 17 pl.

J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Research on the evolution of the relief in the Central Massif of the great Atlas, in-4°, xis-708 p., 40 inset pl. Essential on the physical bases of this society.

L. Emberger, "La végétation du massif des Seksawa," Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des sciences, t. CXCVIII, 1934, pp. 968-970.

Id., Les arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaitre /The trees of Morocco and how to recognize them/, Larose, Paris, 1938, pet. in-12, 317 p.

/454/ III. -- Exploration

There is scarcely anything to be drawn, for our purpose, from the travels of Quedenfeldt (1881), Division et répartition de la Population berbère au Maroc, trans. by H. Simon, gr. in-8°, 223 p. - 1 map, Algiers, Jourdan, 1904; of Larras (1900); of L. Gentil (1904); of J. Felze and Th-J. Delaye (about 1923), Au Maroc inconnu /In unknown Morocco/, 1935, Grenoble, Arthaud, gr. in-8°, 185 p. ill., 1 pl. in color as frontispiece. The first detailed description of the Seksawa is the one by A. Brives, "Au Seksawa /on the Seksawa/," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord, 1905, pp. 48-52, and above all: id., Voyages au Maroc, Algiers, Jourdan, 1907, in-4°, x-612 p., 274 photos, maps, plates and album. Stay of 1901, goes up the valley.

Among the monographs of the penetration, all unpublished, let us mention especially:

F. de La Chapelle, "Note sommaire sur les tribus du Grand Atlas et du Dir du Mtouggui /Summary note on the tribes of the

1: Berque--631 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/454 cont./

113

Great Atlas and of the Dir of the Mtouggui/, Arch. in. Im., 1926.

Id., "Le grand Atlas du Mtouggui," fasc. I and II (IIIe Partie), Arch. in. Im., 1926. Not only practical inventory, but scientific investigation of great value.

Dupas, "Seksawa," Arch. in. Im., 1929. Useful for the upper cantons, which the preceding was not able to know directly.

IV. -- Ways of Life, Economy

R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les Haut vallées du grand Atlas," Hesp., 1927, t. VII, 1st tr., 5 p., 1 inset map, pp. 1-32.

J. Célérier, "L'Atlas et la circulation au Maroc," Hesp., 4th tr., 1927, pp. 447-498, 2 maps.

J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, Tours, Arrault and et Cie., 1941, already cited, commentaries, and agricultural maps, maps of the exchanges and displacements of the herds, at 1/200,000. Useful tentative synthesis.

J. Berque, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/," Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français, Nos. 210-211, May-June, 1950, pp. 116-119.

Id., "Terroirs et seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and lords of the western High Atlas/," Ann. E. S. C., No. 4 and Dec., 1951, pp. 474-484.

Id., "Un glossaire notarial arabo-Chleuh du XVIIIe s. /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary of the eighteenth century/," R. afr., Nos. 422-423, 1st and 2nd tr. 1950, 1 map, 1 inset pl., pp. 357-398.

Id., "Notes sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas," Ann. E. S. C., 1953, 1 map, pp. 289-314.

1: Berque--632 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/454 cont./

113 L. Robine, "La transhumance dans les tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

/455/ V. -- The Group and the Individual

a) Morphology

R. Montagne, Villages et Kasbahs berbères, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-8°, ix + 22 p., 80 pl., and 1 inset map.

J. Dresch, Map of the density of the population and commentaries in op. laud.

J. Berque, "Notes sur la démographie des tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1953.

b) Institutions

R. Montagne, "Le Régime juridique des tribus du Sud marocain," Hesp., 1924, t. IV, 3rd tr., pp. 313-331.

R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-4°, xvi + 426 p., 8 inset maps. A great book of Maghrebi sociology.

G. Surdon, Institutions et coutumes des berbères du Maghreb, Tangier, "Les éditions internationales," 1938, in-8°, xxi + 502 p., 1 folded map.

Anonymous, "Le mariage dans les tribus de coutume de l'annexe d'Imintanout /Marriage in the custom tribes of the annex of Imintanout/," Arch. in. Im., no date.

Hubschwerlin, "Le droit de répresentation, succession des petits enfants /The law of representation, succession of little children/," Arch. in. Im., 1932.

Id., "Etudes des successions en pays Seksawa /Studies of successions in Seksawa country/," Arch. in. Im., 1932.

1: Berque--633 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/455 cont./

113 Miollan, "La composition en pays de coutume berbère /Composition in country with Berber customs/," Arch. in. Im., 1928.

Dupas, "Les Igoudar Seksawa et Ida ou Mahmoud /The Seksawa Igoudar and Ida ou Mahmoud/," Arch. in. Im., 1929.

J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /Sources of the customary law in the Sous/, Agadir, Imprimerie du Sous, 1942, in-12, 95 p.

Id., "Le règlement de la dya /The settlement of the dya/," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., Nos. 416-417, 1st and 2nd tr., 1948, pp. 363-402.

Id., "Le droit du Sous /The law of the Sous/," Bulletin des études arabes, 1949, No. 41, Jan.-Feb., pp. 8-11.

Id., "Loi et coutume dans l'ancien droit familial du Sous /Law and custom in the ancient familial rights of the Sous/," Arch. in. Im., 1949.

Id., "Quelques documents sur le droit repressif ancien du Haut-Atlas /Some documents on the ancient repressive law of the High Atlas/," R. alg., Nos. 1-2, Jan.-April, 1953, pp. 1-8.

c) Comportments

Beyond the archives of the penetration and, on a general plane, Les Berbères et le Makhzen, by R. Montagne, we have used:

F. de La Chapelle, "Un grand Caïdat du Sud marocain /A great Caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927 No. 10, pp. 373-386.

/456/

Id., "Les tribus de montagne du Haut-Atlas occidental," R. E. I., 1938, cahier III, pp. 339-360.

1: Berque--634 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/456 cont./

113 Id., "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchic power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/." Hesp., t. VIII, 3rd and 4th tr., 1928, 3 maps, 5 fig., pp. 263-283.

Naissance du prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, collective inquiry, under the direction of R. Montagne, Paris, Peyronnet and Cie., 1948-1950, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, t. III, 291 p. + 61 pl. in 16 inset sheets.

F. Bonjean, Au Maroc en roulotte /To Morocco by caravan/, Paris, Hachette, 1950, in-12, 318 p., Paris, Flammarion, pet. in-8°.

J. Orieux, Kasbahs en plein ciel /Casbahs in the middle of the sky/, 1951, 185 p., inset photos. Stay in Ait H'adduyws. Vivid notations, psychological and of atmosphere.

G. Chevalier Le More, "L'émigration dans les tribus d'Imantanout," Arch. in. Im., 1953.

J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Verity and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131-164, 2 inset pl.

/457/

104

Glossary of Local Terms (1)
Cited in the Text

1. The term is cited in the form of the singular, followed, if such should be the case, between parentheses, by the modification of the initial syllable in the constructed state. Then comes the form of the plural. /The entries in the double columns on pp: 457-461 in the original source have been put in a single column in the translation./

abadu(u) ibuda: furrow, sheltered bed.
abelhas(u) ibelhasen: juniper berry.
abuhu(u) ibuhuten: acorn.
açd'er(u) içd'ar: head of a ditch, sluice.
acheddir(u) ichedran: blackberry bush.
adaghas(u) idughas: shelter for the transhumant livestock.
ad'ar(u) id'aren: peduncle (of terrain).
ad'erras(u) id'ersan: wall of dry stones.
ad'erg: passage reserved for the animals.
adrar(u) idraren: mountain, high country.
adunkal(u) idunkalen: preliminary irrigation by spreading.
afghyus(u) ifghyas: superficial and very hard layer of sheep dung dried for at least a year.
afqir(u) ifqiren: old man, sober personage (and of the commune).
afraw(u) iferwan: basin not walled up.
afza(u): calcareous rock (cf. afur).
agadir(u) igudar: strong position or building, monumental construction or ruin.
agellay(u) igellayen: orchard, enclosed field.
agellid(u) igeldan: king.
agelzim(u) igelzam: hoe.
agenza(u) igenzaten or igenzwan: talus separating tiers.
aghu(u) ighuten: whey.
agh^{w}zzir(u) igh^{w}zran: mountain plant.
aglib(u) igliben: tillage preceding sowing (= leqlib iqliben).

/457 cont./

104 agrur(u) ig^{w}rar: stable, ground floor used as a stable.

agudi(u) igudiyen: pile; dim.: tagudit.

ag^{w}las(u): barley given to the animals green /Fr. en vert/.

ag^{w}rram(u) ig^{w}rramen: marabout.

ah'riq(u) ih'riqen: dam of resurgence.

ah'wach: communal dance with choruses.

aida(u): patrimony.

ajaffu(u) ijuffa: torch, bonfire; dim.: tajaffut(t) tijuffa: small torch.

akchchud'(u) ikchchud'en: wood, plank, and, by extension, table of codification.

ak^{w}erkur(u) ik^{w}erk^{w}ar: pile of stones.

akchchaw(w) akhchawn: preserved fruit or vegetables.

akheddam(u) ikheddamen: day laborer.

aknari(u) iknariyen: opuntia.

akuray(u) ikurayen: stick; dim.: takurayt(t) tikurayin: shepherd's crook.

amachchu(u) imuchcha: somber land.

amadagh(u) imadaghen: loose sheaf.

amater(u) imutar: species of genista.

/458/

amchchard'u(u) imechchurd'a: communal agent charged with surveillance of the harvests.

amazir(u): manure.

amaz'uz'(u) imuz'az': late.

amazzal(u) imazzalen: communal agent charged with the distribution of the water.

am^{c}chur(u) i^{c}yud um^{c}chur: the feast of the ^{c}achûrâ'.

amddakk^{w}el(u) imddukk^{w}al: person who is in regular relations with another, partner.

amerwas(u) imerwasen: matrimonial gift.

amenzu(u) imenza: precocious.

amghar(u) imgharen: chief.

^{c}ammer: to exercise a legitimate usufruct.

amlal(u) imlalen: sand, sandy terrain.

/458 cont./

104

^{c}am rruz', ^{c}am farina: year of famine when one nourishes oneself with rice or farina distributed by the administration.

amud ih'ellan: favorable period to till.

anflus(u) ineflas: bearer of good fortune, leader (understood, but unusual.

anrai(u) inraren: threshing floor.

anual(u): place where one does the cooking.

aqarid'(u) iqarid'en: sou, some sous (in the sense of money).

aqend'ar(u) iqend'aren: quintal.

aqerbus(u) iqerbas: stack of straw protected by a circular wall of dry stones.

aqeryan(u) iqeryanen: kind of impermeable soil.

arabbu(u) irubba: subgroup, in turn.

aruku(u) irukuten: dotal contribution of the bride.

aryal(u) and dim. taryalt: basket, basketful.

asais: place for municipal operations, choruses, dances, etc.

asarag (like asais).

asaru(u) isura: irrigation ditch.

asengar n-ddu tadla: maize cultivated immediately after barley.

asemlal(u) isemlalen: cherry tree.

asgh^{w}ert(u) isgh^{w}raten: prenuptial stage, feast of conclusion of the agreement for the marriage.

asegg^{w}en(u) isg^{w}an: night shelter (for livestock).

asqqif: loggia, story veranda.

astad'hara: to produce a written proof (= biyyn).

aswik(w) aswiken: walnut tree.

att'aç(w) at't'açen: receptacle used to wash the hands or to measure the time of irrigation.

aylini(w) anli: millet.

ayrni(u): tuberche of the arisarum /Araceae/ (food during scarcity).

aytmaten: brothers, agnatic relatives.

ayyaw(w) ayyawn: shoots, suckers (of the olive tree).

awuttu(u) iwutta: limits.

azegg^{w}ay(u) izegg^{w}ayen: beating /of fruit trees, etc./.

azemmur(u) izemran: oleasters.

azenbu(u) izenba: grillade of barley in milk.

/458 cont./

104 az'lag: dependencies (of an estate).

azmu(u) izma: meadow for mowing, fodder.

az'z'allu(w) az'z'alluten, iz'z'ulla: area for collective prayer.

az'z'ayn(w): communal interdiction (of agricultural or pastoral order), fine (which sanctions it).

^{c}azzeb: to vocalize (on the occasion of certain ceremonies).

azzunti(w) izzunta: olive tree (name of unit: tazzuntit(ta) tizzuntiwin or tizzunta).

azwag(u) izwagen: exile, suppliant.

bab l-lkhir id-bab l-lkhir: bearer of good fortune.

baraka, barakat: benefic influx, magico-religious force.

bay^{c} us-salam: selling as fresh /Fr. vente en vert/.

berninch, lberninch: crop of rotation; plur. lebrannch, id-elberninch.

berrh': to publish.

berru: to release oneself (from a responsibility, from an appurtenance).

bu-zegg^{w}agh: the redness (disease of fruit trees and cereals).

/459/

ççadaqa, ççadaqat: donation, feast of delivery of annual offerings to a saint.

chajara, chchjert: genealogical tree.

chchaif: smoothed relief, swelling.

chchard', chchrud': dower stipulated for the wife, cens paid to a saint, salary of the Koranic master.

chchefâa: lineage exception (opposable to any mutation of the patrimony) (= chchufu^{c}a).

chchrif chchurfa, lechref: descendant of the Prophet.

chutanbir: September.

ddabaran: period of Aldebaran (time of the agricultural year).

ddiyt, ddiya: pecuniary composition.

ddment: patrimonial portion (of a landed estate).

ddu^{c}a, ddu^{c}at: invocation, vow.

ddurt: feast of end of cycle.

dujambir: December.

erz' ut't'ib: to bring about the breaking of the clods (second irrigation).

/459 cont./

104 f^{w}bray: February.
ghucht: August.
h'ddit: foreign homily.
ibril: April.
ibrin: coarse semolina, first grinding.
ifid' ifyed': formula for expulsion of evil.
ifulki kh-tyuga: good for cultivating (period of the year, parcels).
igg(yi) aggiwn: terebinth.
ighin(yi) ighniwn: head of ditch (principal intake).
ighzer(y) ighezraten: ravine.
igmi(yi) igman, ugmi(w) ugman: defense /prohibition/.
ih'h'yalen: unlucky period of the year.
ikhs(i) ikhsan: agnatic subgroup.
ikri(i) akriwn: gravels, crops of the bottom of the bed.
imi: mouth, opening, clearance.
imiri(i) imaran: wall.
innayr(yennayr): January.
istidkhal: juridical substitution.
istir^{c}a: act of reservations.
istih'fâd': act of safeguard.
itqqi: clay.
izm(y) izma^{w}n: lion, in the plural: powers (of a saint).
jihâz, jjihaj, ljihaz: contribution of the bride's own goods in the community.
jjrit jjraydat, ljarida ljaridat: list of parcels, patrimonial inventory.
ktuber: October.
lah'bas: pious foundation, agnatic sequestration, ar. /Arabic/ h'ubûs.
l^{c}açr: hour of prayer (4:00 P.M.)
l^{c}arbûn: earnest /deposit/.
lbit, lbyut: individual residence (in the tigemmi).
leuh': pisé.
l^{c}inçert: seasonal feast of summer.
l^{c}orf: local law.
lfaqir lfuqara: minister of a saint.
lfiyd': cultivation by scattering (= angyun).

/459 cont./

104 lghimer lghwamer: dependency of an estate.
lh'achit: reserved part in the patrimony.
lh'awza, lh'awzat: at the seizure (taking possession).
lh'izb leh'zaib: section in the psalmody of the Koran.
lh'urum lh'urumat: place of refuge.
lid'ilab: ceremony of asking in marriage.
lifda (or tefdiyyt or liftida): resiliation.
linçaf: decreed penalty, penal codification.
liqâla, lqilult: clause of resiliation.
listighfâr: act of repentance.
lkhrif: period of the year that goes from the end of the threshing to the first cold weather.
lmaqam lmaqamat, id-lmaqam: sanctuary of a saint.
lma^{c}ruf lma^{c}rayf: ritual feasting.
lmekçur: nuts in a pulp.
lmeqqeddem lmeqqaddmin: officer in charge, petty chief inferior to the amghar.
lmirath: act of distribution of inheritance, genealogy.
/460/
lmord'i lmord'iyin: accepted coswearer.
lmuslem lemwaslem: patronal fair.
lmud'a^{c} lamwad'i^{c}: agglomeration.
lmunh'is lmunh'isin: period or people of bad augury.
lmulazim lmulazimin: one attached to a sanctuary.
lqaleb: a certain period of the year.
lqubbt lqubbat: cupola.
luçit luçiyat: testament.
lud'a: plain, flat country (cf. azaghar).
lulyuz: July.
lqendil lqnadil: oil lamp.
luqft luqfat: proceeding accompanied by gift.
luzi^{c}t luzi^{c}at: collective slaughtering.
mars: March.
mayyu: May.
mendeq, menteq: farina of roasted barley.
muchu^{c}, lmucha^{c}: collective land.

/460 cont./

104 nunyuh: June.

nuwanbir: November.

qqen: to close, to be closed, to harness, to attach, to be attached.

rd'a: to acquiesce to an act or a juridical state.

rra^{c}da: storm, summer rain.

rras l-mal: estate of a saint, capital.

rrhen larhinat: sale with power of redemption.

ssaqra (syn. of querri afella): to produce acts for application to the places of the litigation.

sslukt sslaki: feast of closure of the psalmody of the Koran.

ta^{c}addu(ta): transgression.

tafaska(t) tifaskiwin: sacrifice of the ^{c}îd al-Kabîr.

taferdit(t) tiferday: unit, fraction of a turn (of irrigation).

tagant(ta) tigina: forest.

taghamut(t) tighuma: intake of a secondary ditch.

tagellat(t) tigellatin: turnip.

tag^{w}lla(t) tig^{w}lliwin: porridge of maize or of barley.

takat(t) takatin: foyer, conjugal family.

takchchut'(t) tikchchud'in: piece of wood, stick of dry wood; hence, drawing lots.

takherrubt(t) tikherrubin: measure of grain.

tak^{w}mmart(t): cheese.

talekhcha(t) tilekhchiwin: porridge of beans or of other pulses.

taldran(ta): good season.

talkast(ta) talkasin: earthen pot used to measure oil; measure.

tamakhirt(t) timakhirin: good season, rural summering of livestock in the mountains.

tameghra(t) timeghriwin: nuptial ceremony.

tamuzunt(t) timuzunin: obole constituting earnest for the repurchase of a piece of land.

tanuri(t) tinuriwin: inundated crop.

tanut(ta) tuna: small well, shallow basin fashioned at the foot of a tree.

taqbilt(t) tiqbilin: political unit, group.

taqwim(te), tiquwim: estimation.

tarad'i: mutual agreement.

/460 cont./

104 targa(te) tiregg^{w}in: channel, ditch.

tarrbi^{c}t(ta): trunk placed to collect the offerings.

tarrut': pile of stones or rocky area with ritual significance.

tarwa l-le^{c}mm: cousins, relatives.

taryalt(ta) tiryal: basket, hamper.

tarzzift(t) tirezzifin: processional leading of the bride to the bridegroom.

tasafut(t), diminutive of asafu: firebrand.

tasarut(t) tisura: key. In the plural: benefice (of a saint).

tatemnit(t) titamniyin: measure (equal to the talkast).

tauqit(t) tiwqiyn: once /ounce/, earnest.

tawz'ut(t) tiwz'a: corner, recess, quarter.

tazet'at'(t) tizet'at'in: contractual safeguard (of a traveler).

tifawt(ti) tifawin: light, proof.

tigellatin: turnips.

tigemmi(t) tigumma: house.

tighersi(t) tighersiwin: sacrifice to a saint, victim.

tigh^{w}mert(le) tigh^{w}mrin: corner, redan, salient in dry stones.

tiktit(le) tiktatin: limit.

tillirin(t): kind of river plant.

timezgida(t) timezgadiwin: mosque.

/461/

tinubga: feast at which two groups meet.

tisemt(t) tismawin: name

tisirit(t) tisariyn, tisaratin: planche /land between furrows/ of irrigation.

tiwilt(ti): agape accompanied by palaver between groups.

tizzla(ti): portion of acquests accruing to the wife or to any other of the familial society.

trama: to usurp (= ak^{w}i).

t't'aleb(ta) t'olba: clerk /learned person/.

tefrik: successive psalmody of sections of the Koran.

ttkerbil: second dressing /in agric./. Cf. ammend'al(u).

tummit(tu) tummatin: semolina of roasted barley seasoned with butter or oil.

/461 cont./

104 tunya, thunyâ: sale with power of redemption (another name for the rehn).

uggug(w) uggugen: diversion dam, collecting water.

uluf(w) ulufen: divorce, repudiation.

urti(w) urtan: orchard.

uzun(w) uzunen: square of irrigation.

z'i, intens. ttz'i: to dispute.

zuggez: to install, to put in place.

/Page 462 is blank; pp. 463-464 contain an index of the Maghrebi groups mentioned in the text. The index is followed by Plates I-XV./

1: Berque--644 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa]

Pl. I

342
361

Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers

J. BERQUE

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

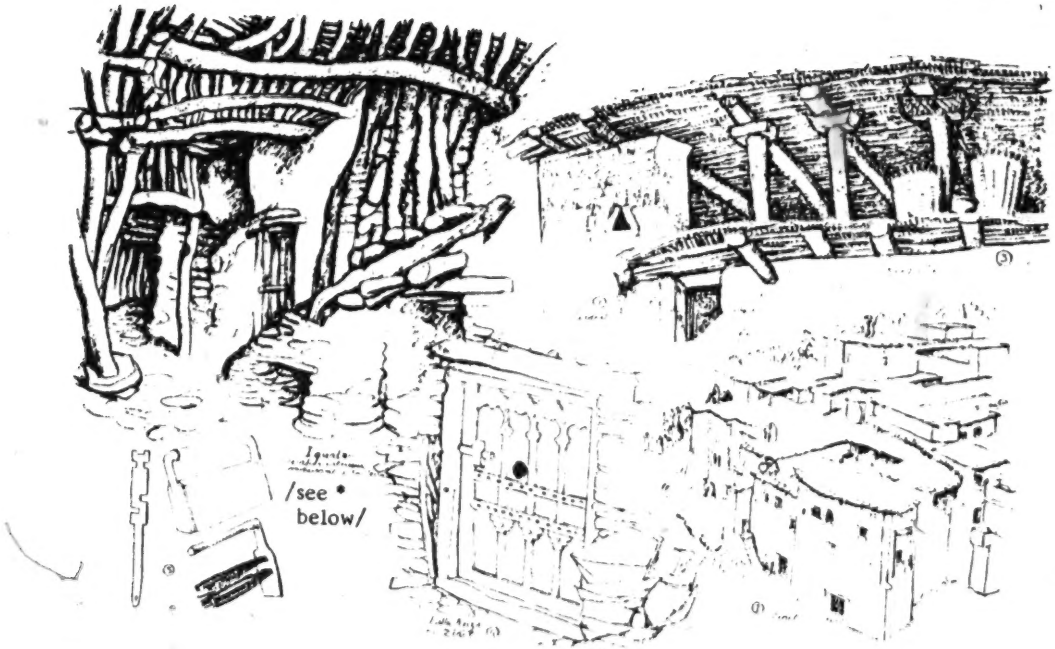
/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

341
342
343
353
361
414

Pl. III



/*Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

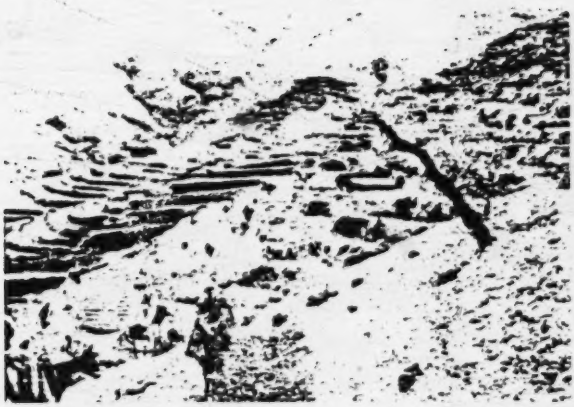
142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--653 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. VII

133
241
312

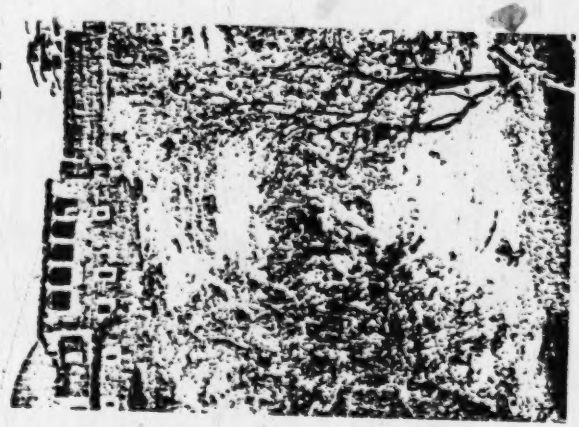


Terraces at Tasa

The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

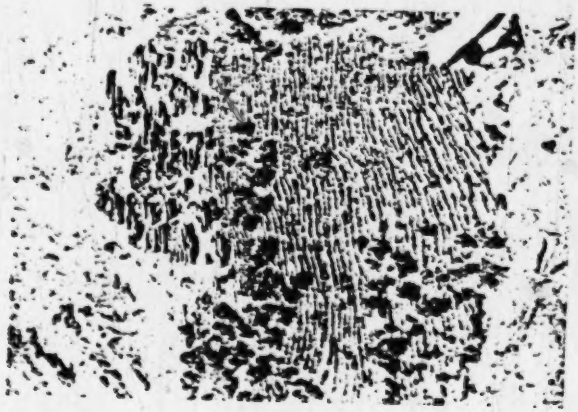
1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
346
695



The Uwines timezgida (a. Ih'sen)

133
361



Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

J. BERQUE

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
776

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

1: Berque--657 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

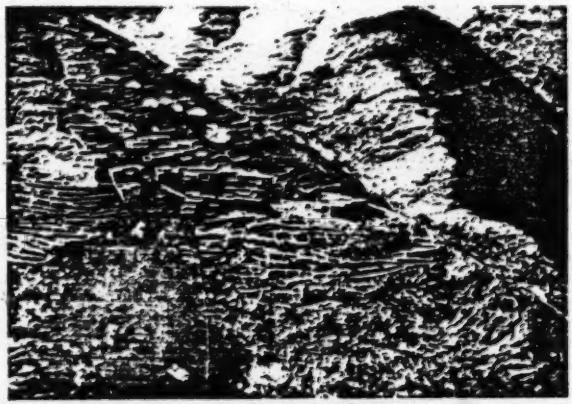
133
291
533

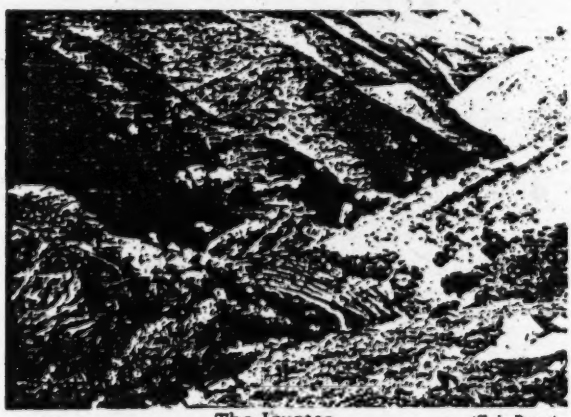
Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[172]
[712]
[343]
[487]

1: Berque--660 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

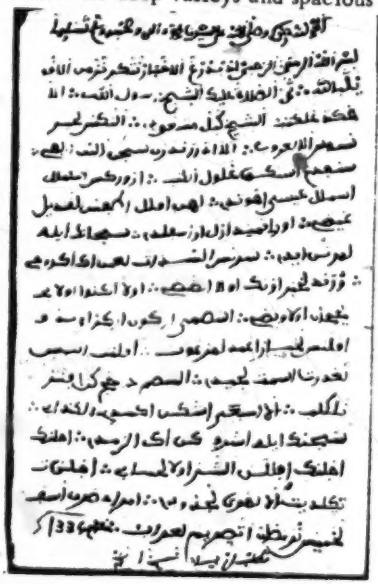
Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwitan, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787

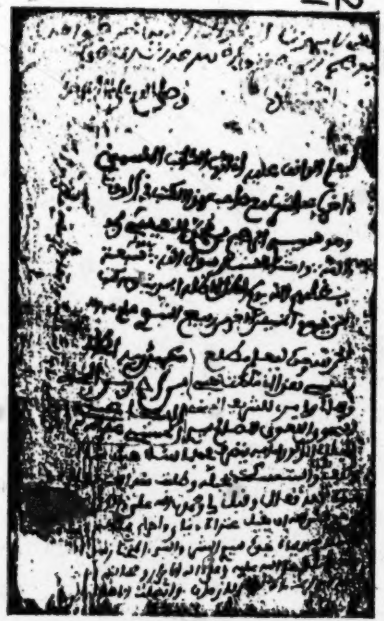


Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

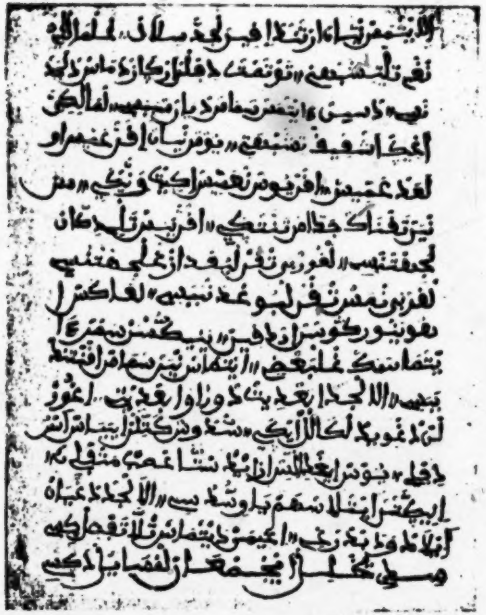
212
695

From the plural oath to the notarial act, "laffif"
Act of 899 Heg. = 1494, collected in Idaw Geryun

Pl. XV



Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik, dating from 1194 Heg. 1780, made at the zâwîya of Takerkuzt, and collected on the margin of a book of the zâwîya of the Mez'ud'a.



Juridical text of the Awzal genre

The first line reads: wala aytma-sn-yan ur ten-d iqqin ljad silad gh-lmalikiyya, "no longer that the brothers of someone are excluded (from his succession) by (the existence of) the ancestor except in Malékism."

1: Berque--663 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

000 /465/

Table of Illustrations

In-text Figures

		Pages
Fig. 1.	-- The Seksawa in the Mediterranean basin . . .	6
-- 2.	-- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa	15-16
-- 3.	-- Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map.	24
-- 4.	-- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble	56
-- 5.	-- Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa	117
-- 6.	-- Plain-mountain liaisons.	138
-- 7.	-- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground	210
-- 8.	-- Parceling of the ground of the Aît Mh'nd . . .	261-262
-- 9.	-- The basin of Tabratjut (Ait Musa ufella) . . .	282
-- 10.	-- Act by which the Jemâa of the Iwulla promises to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u'Ali . .	390

Inset Plates

Plate I. -- Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers.
-- II. -- Panorama of Z'init'.
-- III. -- The house.
-- IV. -- Faces of Seksawa men.
-- V. -- Seksawa women.
-- VI. -- The ground of Agersili.
-- VII. -- Terraces at Tasa.
-- VIII. -- On the left: Benches at Usikis (Idma).
On the right: The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
-- IX. -- Above: Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
Below: Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
-- X. -- Above: Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza.
Below: Invocation to Lalla Aziza.

000 /466/

Plate XI. -- Above: Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen.
Below: Chorus on the Tichka.

-- XII. -- The Iguntar.

-- XIII. -- Above: The a. Lh'sen high country.
Below: Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid.

-- XIV. -- From the plural oath to the notarial act, "lafff."

-- XV. -- On the left: Juridical text of the Awzal genre.
On the right: Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik.

1: Berque--665 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/467/ Table of Contents

000

Page

Foreword 1

First Part

First Approach to the Country
and The People

I. -- The country. 6
The name, 6. -- First co-ordinates of the country, 12. -- Limitation of the Seksawa world, 20. -- Measure of this space, 22. -- Survey of the structure of the country, 25.

II. -- A rural landscape 30
Vegetation levels, 30. -- A constructed landscape, 36.

III. -- Concerning the men 41
The house, 41. -- The bourgs, 45. -- The family, viewed from the outside, 48.

IV. -- Cantonal personalities 58
Descent from the Tichka: the end of the world, 58. -- The ait H'adduyws: "king's sons," 60. -- "Cantons" par excellence, 62. -- Conquests by force: the Idma domain, 64. The domain of the ait Lh'sen, 67. -- On both sides of the sanctuary. Cursed lands: the Imt'ddan, 70. -- The parvis of the temple: the plain of Tabratjut, 73. -- Descent to the Styx: Z'init', 75. -- The conciergerie of the mountains: the ait Abdella, 76.

V. -- Historical backgrounds 80
Characteristics of the past of the Seksawa, 80. -- Internal sources: a) Morphology of the groups, 82; b) Familial

1: Berque--666 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

000

/467 cont./

archives, 84; c) Chronicle, 85. -- Refection of the montagnard groups by the S. The false authochthony, 85. -- A vestige of the ancient Seksawa: the ait D'alh'a, 94. -- Import of the immigration from the S., 97. -- Fossil populations, 100. -- Legitimist conquerors. The achievement of the Idma, 104. -- The ordeals of the vassal, 111. -- Attempt at reconstitution of the land history of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, 115. -- The achievement of the Ait Lh'sen, 121. -- The stage of arrival. Intermittences /468/ of personal power, 125. -- First French knowledge, 130. -- Inductions from the present? 132.

Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

I. -- Organization of the Seksawa space 136
The plain-mountain relation, 137. -- Solidarities for the water, 146. -- Pastoral movements, 150.

II. -- Matter and outlines of peasant work 169
The field and its personality, 169. -- Divisions and organs of the field, 176. -- Magic or technique? 179. -- The agricultural calendar, 184. -- Division of the agrarian functions, 189.

III. -- Compartments and levels of a rural system 198
Routines or techniques? 198. -- Creation of soils, collection of water, 220. -- Use of the water, 209. -- A distributor

000 /468 cont./

genius, 214. -- The order of irrigation as document, 219. -- Modes and manurings, 223. -- Livestock breeding and arboriculture, 230. -- Crop variety, 237. -- Adaptation to the country, 239.

IV. -- Some analyses of grounds 248

a) Montagnard classicism: the a. Mh'nd, 248; b) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili, 264; c) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init', 277; d) The basin of Tabratjut, 280. -- Albur country: e) the Ibuban, 289; f) Imt'ddan, 293; -- g) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system, 295.

V. -- Consistency, limits and import of an agrarian order. . 305

A research hypothesis, 305. -- Exterior cross-checkings: Demsira, 307. -- The "parcellary orchestration," 317. -- The coefficient of breadth, 320. -- The coefficient of value, 324. -- "The earth and human evolution," 326.

Third Part

Institutions and Values

a) Common aspects and problems of the religious life and of the juridical life

I. -- Local foundation and oriental contribution 328

A religious and juridical personality, 328. -- Ritual coloration of the valley, 329. -- Situation /469/ of Seksawa law in relation to its neighbors, 332. -- Presence of Islam in the law, 334. -- Islam and individual belief, 341. -- General order of this research, 343.

1: Berque--668 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/469 cont./

000 II. -- Nonfigurative sacred and "prelaw" 345
The sacred and the rural order, 345. -- A ritual personality, the a. Lh'sen, 352. -- Figurative sacred and anonymous sacred, 356. -- The immediate law, 364. -- The rite of the stone of the boundary, 366. -- Other juridical gestures, 369.

III. -- Patronages of saints, natural periodicity and juricial obligation 374
Another stage of rites: the dues to the saints, 374. -- Directions, areas and cycles, 381. -- Seasonal rites, collective pacts, individual contracts, 387. -- Critique of these first data, 391.

b) Developments of the religious life

I. -- Great ritual personifications. A national saint, Lalla Aziza 393
Archeological landmarks, 393. -- The fisc of the holiness, 399. -- The legend, 405. -- The rite, 408. -- The history, 413.

II. -- Unfortunate rivals of the holiness 420
The cycle of the founder, 421. -- An "intellectual," 426. -- A classic, 428.

III. -- Individual depassments 433
God among the Seksawa, 433. -- Stages of the sacred, 435. -- The ig^{w}rramen, 438. -- Men of God, 441. -- The holiness, 446.

c) A juridical system

I. -- Techniques of settlement 452
Judgment or arbitration? 453. -- Two

1: Berque--669 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

000 /469 cont./

procedural forces: the writing, 460. -- The oath, 463. -- A document on the historical relations between the plural oath and the lafif testimony, 469. -- Notarial role of the t't'aleb, 472.

II. -- Familial law 473

Agnatic family or conjugal family? 473. -- Morphology of marriage in Seksawa, 478. -- Comparison with orthodox marriage, 483. -- Indications concerning the anterior state, 487. -- The family in time, 492.

III. -- Land law 499

Double character of this law, 499. -- Patrimonial legitimacy versus possession, 502. -- A former form poorly normalized, the rrahn, 506. -- /470/ The ruse-sale, 509. -- Agnatic sequestration, 513. -- General view of the familial and landed-property law, 518.

IV. -- Communal law 520

Pecuniary composition and penal law, 521. -- The public law of the taqbilt, 528. -- The community as organ of juridical creation, 540.

d) Group reactions, individual ethics

Attempt at reconstitution, 542. -- Divergences between the evolution of the religion and that of the law, 548. -- A suppressed culture, 550. -- Ideals and comportments, 553.

1: Berque--670 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

000 /470 cont./

Fourth Part

Attempt at Interpretation

I. -- Limits and range of the Seksawa type 557
Position of the Seksawa in the ensemble of the North African sedentary peoples, 557. -- Elements offered by the type to the social morphology of the Maghreb, 570.

II. -- Narrow formations 571
Levels of the agrarian organization, 571. -- Levels of the social organization, 575. -- A third element of the analysis: the name, 579. -- The taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas: a pole of explication, 581. -- Local breakup of the type, 585.

III. -- Broad formations. 589
The leff solidarity: related and concurrent forms, 589. -- The leff in Seksawa, 595. -- Examples of variations, 603. -- Morphological thresholds, 609.

IV. -- Conclusion 613
Discordance of the material and social aspects, 613. -- Recourse to the external and to the transcendent, 616. -- The Maghreb, continuous tissue, 618. -- Original characteristics of the Chleuh /Shluh/ system, 621.

Bibliography 629

Glossary of local terms cited in the text 635

Index of the Maghrebi groups mentioned /not included in the translation; see the foreign text/.

Table of illustrations 663

631
634

Shluh MW11

[For information on the amazzal (water administrators) and the imchchurd'a (guardians), see Category 624.

[For further information on oaths when used in informal settlements of disputes, see Category 627; when used in formal judicial proceedings, see Category 695.]

[For information on the secular activities of the talebs (t't'olba) or scribes, see Category 212.]

[For further information on the moqaddem as the president of a village council see Category 623; as the president of a canton council see Category 634; as the head of a community of marabouts see Category 792; and as the caretaker of a mosque see Category 794.]

[For further information on oaths in formal judicial proceedings, see Category 695; as used in a religious context, see Category 782.]

[For information on the non-secular activities of the talebs (t't'olba) or scribes as functionaries in the mosques, see Category 794.]

[For further information on oaths when used for informal settlement of disputes, see Category 627; as used in a religious context, see Category 782.]

[For information on the sherif (shorfa) nobles who are descendants of the Prophet, see Category 554.]

[For information on "saints", see Category 776.]

431
425
428

Shluh MW11

[For information on habous endowments of land and other property to religious institutions for the glorification of Allah, see Categories 794 and 423.]

Berque

MW11 Shluh MW11

619

[Since the Shluh interpret the term taqbilt as both district and tribe, additional information on the tribal composition each of these territorial areas may also be found in Category 634.]

623

Shluh MW11

[For further information on the moqaddem as the president of a village council, see Category 622; as the president of a canton council, see Category 634; as the head of a community of marabouts, see Category 792; and as the caretaker of a mosque, see Category 794.]

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P. ii]
[P. i is blank]

CENTRE NATIONAL
DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE

CENTRE
D'ÉTUDES SOCIOLOGIQUES

COMITÉ DE DIRECTION :

Georges DAVY
Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris

Georges FRIEDMANN
Conservatoire national des Arts et Métiers

Georges GURVITCH
Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris

Gabriel LE BRAS
Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris

Henri LÉVY-BRUHL
Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris

Maximilien SORRE
Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[p. iii]

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE SOCIOLOGIE CONTEMPORAINE
SÉRIE B
TRAVAUX DU CENTRE D'ÉTUDES SOCIOLOGIQUES

STRUCTURES SOCIALES DU HAUT-ATLAS

PAR

JACQUES BERQUE
Docteur ès Lettres
Directeur d'Études a l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines

OUVRAGE HONORÉ D'UNE SOUSCRIPTION
DE L'INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES MAROCAINES

PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE
108, Boulevard Saint-Germain, PARIS
—
1955

[Title Page)

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[p. iv]

DU MÊME AUTEUR

Les pacles pastoraux Beni Meskine, contribution à l'étude des contrats nord-africains (La Typo-litho et J. Carbonel, Alger, 1936).

Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine (Éditions internationales, Tanger, 1938).

Les Nawâzil al-muzâra'a du Mi'yâr al-Wazzânî, étude et traduction de l'arabe (Moncho, Rabat, 1940).

Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine (Rabat, 1944).

Aperçu sur l'histoire de l'École de Fès, tiré à part de la *Revue historique de Droit* (Sirey, Paris, 1949).

Al-Ma'dânî, Tad'min aç-Çunnâ', étude et traduction de l'arabe (Bibliothèque arabe-française, J. Carbonel, Alger, 1949).

En collaboration avec G.-H. Bousquet

Recueil de Zaïd b. 'Alî, traduction de l'arabe (Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales, Faculté des Lettres, Maison des Livres, Alger, 1941).

DÉPOT LÉGAL
1re édition .. .. .. 2e trimestre 1955

TOUS DROITS
de traduction, de reproduction et d'adaptation réservés pour tous pays
COPYRIGHT
by *Presses Universitaires de France*, 1955

Nkd77
954Bb

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[p.v]

AVERTISSEMENT

J'ai écrit ce livre en collaboration avec les tribus du Haut-Atlas occidental, et surtout les Seksawa. Rien de plus farouche, de mieux préservé que ces fils du schiste noir. La pente vertigineuse qui monte à l'un de leurs hauts lieux, le Tichka, porte un arbre isolé qu'ils appellent *tasghart wawal*, quelque chose comme « l'arbre de la parole ». Ils administrent ses feuilles en infusion aux enfants lents à parler. J'ai mis bien du temps moi-même à délier la langue des Seksawa.

Abandonnant la méthode suspecte de l' « informateur » et des questionnaires, je laissais venir à moi les problèmes et les faits. Un an s'écoula avant que j'atteignisse au niveau des notices composées, vers 1925, à Imintanout par le lieutenant de La Chapelle. Le meilleur de ma provende, je le recueillais presque au hasard, à la faveur de tournées dans la montagne, de longues causeries sur les chemins, de débats judiciaires, de fêtes, de veillées. Ainsi s'approfondissaient simultanément l'amitié et la connaissance.

A l'une comme à l'autre, j'ai eu la joie d'associer maints visiteurs. Ils se reconnaîtront ici. Peut-être évoqueront-ils, en lisant telle ou telle page, l'heure rapide et brûlante, l'irremplaçable morceau de vie qui nous unirent passagèrement à l'histoire de l'Atlas.

***

Ce livre a donc été écrit dans la communication. Bien qu'il ne revendique l'autorité d'aucun de ceux qui l'ont lu en manuscrit, par fragments ou en totalité, il a largement bénéficié de leurs remarques. Toutes lui furent précieuses. Mais je ne saurais dire s'il en a toujours fait son profit autant qu'il l'aurait dû. Je ne puis donc ni hiérarchiser la gratitude, ni donner par là à entendre que je m'autorise de tel ou tel des maîtres qui ont bien voulu me conseiller. Les imperfections de mon travail seront seules, hélas, à affronter de trop justes critiques. J'avoue pourtant ma dette à l'égard de MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne,

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

J. Célérier, J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam. L'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines m'a apporté l'aide la plus substantielle. M. L. Galand a contrôlé des graphies berbères, dont les leçons de M. A. Basset m'avaient fait pressentir l'exigeante délicatesse. Je suis redevable à Lucie Berque de ses dessins, à M. Leloup de sa cartographie, à M. J. Van den Hove de son attentive révision. A tous, merci. Et merci à tous mes collaborateurs d'Imintanout, petits et grands, français et marocains, qui ont participé à la recherche ou à sa mise en œuvre. Bien des noms se pressent ici sous ma plume, que je ne puis citer, faute de place, et que je dois laisser dans l'anonymat de l'amitié.

***

Entre tous, c'est aux Seksawa que va ma gratitude. Mêlé plusieurs années à leur vie, j'ai progressé, lentement, dans leur connaissance, et peut-être dans leur confiance. Bien entendu, je n'ai été jusqu'au bout de l'une, ni de l'autre. Il aurait fallu, pour aller plus loin, un séjour plus durable encore, et à vrai dire une naturalisation définitive, analogue à celle qui, au cours des siècles, a introduit tant de fils lointains dans le petit peuple de Lalla Aziza.

Tout était bien ainsi. Si grandes que soient ses ambitions, l'analyse s'arrête devant des intimités qu'elle ne saurait enfreindre, et qui ne se révéleront que quand elles le pourront, quand elles le voudront, s'il en est temps encore. L'avenir, dans l'Atlas comme ailleurs, fera peut-être parler les silencieux. Laissons-lui la tâche de compléter notre recherche, si elle en vaut la peine, le jour où les Seksawa auront goûté à l'arbre de la parole.

Le Caire, 1er octobre 1954.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[p. vii]

NOTE SUR LES TRANSCRIPTIONS SIGLES ET ABRÉVIATIONS

A) *TRANSCRIPTIONS*

Bien que s'appuyant sur une masse de noms de lieux et de groupes, cette recherche n'avait pas de visées linguistiques. Elle s'est donc résignée à un système sommaire de transcriptions, celui qu'utilisent par exemple la « Bibliotheca arabica » de l'Université d'Alger, la revue *Ibla* de Tunis, etc. Certes les sons propres au chleuh ne sont ainsi rendus que très grossièrement. On a considéré qu'en règle générale le parler local négligeait les voyelles longues et que, d'autre part, la fricative laryngale, caractéristique de l'arabe (où nous la rendons par l'esprit rude ᶜ), était si peu appuyée qu'on pouvait la transcrire, comme E. Laoust dans certains de ses travaux, par un *d*.

Pour modestes qu'elles soient, ces ambitions ne laissent pas de se heurter à certaines difficultés, dès lors qu'on veut noter de façon distinctive le parler berbère des Seksawa, l'arabe vernaculaire qu'ils emploient sporadiquement (et dont nous faisons précéder les citations du sigle *ar*), et leur langage notarial à tour technologique et prétentions classiques. Et ces distinctions se font jour parfois pour le même mot, qu'il faut donc transcrire différemment à quelques lignes de distance.

Le vrai est qu'une contradiction résidait entre l'importance conférée par notre enquête au matériel linguistique, et l'impossibilité où nous nous trouvions de rendre rigoureusement tous ces noms et tous ces mots, faute de moyens typographiques, et surtout de spécialisation.

Enfin les circonstances qui m'ont éloigné de l'Atlas et du Maroc, au moment de l'impression du livre, m'ont interdit les ultimes vérifications et m'ont empêché de tirer des contrôles dévoués de M. L. Galand tout le profit qu'on eût attendu d'une contribution aussi valable.

B) *SIGLES*

a.	ait
ar.	arabe
arch. ..	archives
art. ...	article
b.	ibn
B. N. .	Bibliothèque Nationale
chl. ...	chleuh
c. r. ..	compte rendu
éd. ...	édition
I. A. A.	Institut Agricole d'Algérie
I.	Idaw
Im. ...	Imintanout
in.	inédit
R.	revue
t.	tome
tr.	traduction
Ud. ...	Awlâd
vol. ...	volume

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

C) *ABRÉVIATIONS*

Elles renvoient aux collections et périodiques suivants :

Afr. fr. « l'Afrique française » (1891...), Paris.

A. M. ou Arch. mar. « Archives marocaines », Paris (1904-1936), puis Rabat.

Ann. géo. « Annales de géographie » (1891...), Paris.

Ann. hist. soc. « Annales d'histoire économique et sociale » (1930-1939), puis « Annales d'histoire sociale » (1939-41 et 1945), « Mélanges d'histoire sociale » (1942-1944) devenues en 1946 « Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations) », cette dernière série étant parfois précisée « Ann. E. S. C. », Paris.

Ann. soc. « L'Année sociologique » (1re série 1923-24, 2e série 1939-40 « Annales sociologiques », 3e série 1948-49), Paris.

Bull. E. P. M. « Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc », Rabat.

CHEAM « Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane », Paris.

Hesp. « Hesperis », archives berbères et bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I : 1924...), Paris.

R. afr. « Revue africaine » (T. I : 1856), Alger.

R. al. « Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence » (1886...) (fait suite à « Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence » 1885), Alger.

Rens. col. « Renseignements coloniaux », annexe au bulletin de l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I. « Revue des Études islamiques » (T. I : 1927), Paris.

R. J. C. « Revue de jurisprudence coutumière », périodique inédit de la direction des Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in. « Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc », Paris (suivi d'initiales et de chiffres indiquant la série et le pays considérés).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P. 1]
[P. 2 is blank]

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

PREMIÈRE APPROCHE DU PAYS ET DES HOMMES

[P. 3]

I

LE PAYS

UN NOM

L'existence de Seksawa, ou Iseksawan, est attestée depuis huit siècles au moins dans la même vallée du Haut Atlas. A ce nom, maintenant, se reconnaissent entre elles, et se distinguent d'autrui une dizaine de petites communautés, groupées dans le même bassin fluvial. Ces syllabes évoquent une multitude de traits de caractère, de tradition, d'institutions : donc une personnalité. Mais point de synthèse généalogique pour en rendre compte. Bien que la légende Seksawa n'ignore pas le thème du héros, ou même de l'ancêtre éponyme, nulle explication de cet ordre n'est alléguée pour l'ensemble. La diversité d'ascendance, une hétérogénéité proclamée sont inséparables de la profession de Seksawa.

Le nom ne sous-entend donc ici aucun statut de parenté. Il se réduit à une simple notation verbale au contenu à la fois limité et

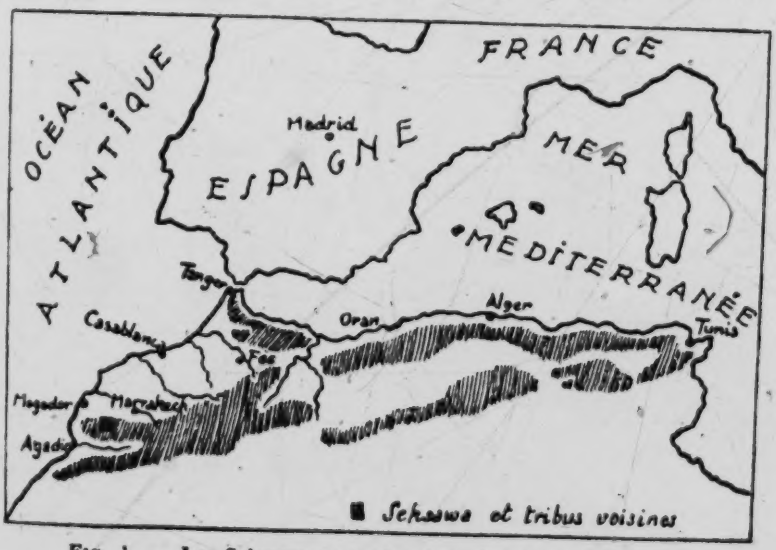


FIG. 1. — Les Seksawa par rapport au bassin méditerranéen

1: Berqúe MW11 Shluh

fuyant. *Signifiant* sans *signifié*, dirions-nous, si nous osions recourir à une terminologie commode. Mais ces syllabes, en revanche, portent d'exactes correspondances topographiques. Le périmètre de terres qu'elles recouvrent est resté à peu près fixe depuis le XIIe siècle, date des plus anciens témoignages écrits : et ce n'est pas là, sans doute, un commencement. Dans les désordres de cette histoire en plein mouvement, histoire de nomades, de transferts de races et de conquérants ethniques, voici, dans un coin de l'Atlas, un peuple qui vraisemblablement n'a pas bougé, dont l'existence est attestée à la même place depuis presque un millénaire. Et cela ne lui est pas particulier. La même chose ou presque pourrait être dite de ses cousins Maçmûda. Nous savions certes que nous étions dans une société de sédentaires, qu'il s'agissait même là des plus vieux sédentaires du Maghreb. Mais où la chose se complique, c'est que si le nom, lui, est resté immuable et localisé, cette immutabilité ne fut que formelle.

Aussi certainement que les Seksawa se conservent ici, en tant que tels, depuis l'épopée almohade, qui les trouve et les laisse à la même place, ils ne sont plus aujourd'hui, à 90 % peut-être, ou plus encore, que des allogènes. Il ne s'agit pas là de ces transformations insensibles, inhérentes à la vie d'un peuple, et qui font qu'il n'y a pas de races pures, au sens biologique du terme. Il s'agit de remplacements, catalogués dans la mémoire populaire, et qui, sur les quatre siècles embrassés par les traditions locales, s'affirment comme le fait le plus irrécusable, et presque comme une donnée de base de cette personnalité.

C'est un grand débat que de chercher, pour un peuplement donné, quel a été le facteur déterminant, du groupe ou du territoire (1). Un berbérisant a émis l'hypothèse que des appellations telles que Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., auraient un contenu surtout topographique (2). Une grosse part des sédentaires du Haut-Atlas se trouve là mise en cause. Ces populations sont les seules du Maghreb, peut-être, dont on puisse affirmer la permanence d'habitat sur un laps aussi étendu : les seules donc qui offrent quelque garantie à ce genre de supposition.

(1) A. Moret et G. Davy, *Des clans aux empires*, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

(2) E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas, *R. E. I.*, 1939, III-IV, et 1940, I-II, tiré à part, p. 150. Déjà, Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 1888, pp. 90 sq., avait judicieusement distingué 3 sortes de groupes : la tribu, le village et le district. De cette dernière notion, il fait un large usage, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, *Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc*, tr. H. Simon, p. 131, note qu'entre H'âh'a et Ntifa « habitent des tribus qui portent toutes les mêmes noms que leurs principaux établissements ».

Ainsi posé, le problème est insoluble. Pour l'éclairer, il faut recourir à des unités bien plus modestes que ces noms de peuples, seuls connus de la chronique. Il faut recourir, sur le plan topographique, au nom du terroir ; sur le plan humain, à celui du groupe agnatique. Ce sont là deux réalités conductrices. Elles ne cesseront pas de nous guider dans toute cette recherche. Et déjà, la toute première analyse d'un terme comme celui de Seksawa fait sentir la combinaison qu'il opère entre une valeur géographique et une valeur historique.

Le nom peut livrer plus. Il est aujourd'hui consacré dans sa forme actuelle. Celle-ci semble régner depuis les Sâadiens. Des textes antérieurs, celui d'Ibn Khaldûn par exemple, donnent Sakstwa, où le vocalisme de la deuxième syllabe est celui de noms contigus, comme Damstra, Ganfisa, Gadmtwa (1). Mais le système berbère paraît trop éloigné, du moins à présent, de la voyelle longue, pour que nous puissions rien fonder là-dessus. De toutes façons, on n'entend maintenant que Seksawa, doublet du nom usité par les intéressés mêmes : Iseksawan (avec parfois redoublement de la sifflante). Le sing. *Iseksiwi* semble refait sur l'arabe. On attendrait plutôt un Aseksu, comme on a ailleurs un Admu, un Aglawu. Or, non seulement cet ethnique ne s'entend pas des membres du groupe ici étudié, mais il existe paradoxalement ailleurs comme nom juif, et même juif d'Oranie (2).

Ce qu'il y a de remarquable, ce n'est pas que des Juifs portent le même nom qu'un groupement berbère. C'est, d'une part, que l'ethnique singulier ait été perdu par les intéressés eux-mêmes, et, d'autre part et surtout, que le nom des Seksawa soit isolé dans l'anthroponymie des groupes maghrébins (3).

(1) C'est l'orthographe que donne de Slane, sur la foi des mss qu'il a utilisés, par exemple le ms. 1521 de la Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 *v*, 1-2 *de fine* sq. Un arbre généalogique, que le traducteur n'a pas gardé dans son édition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), donne même un éponyme Sakstw b. Ganfis b. Maçmûd. Le ms. de Rabat, D, 14, 98, *Uns al-faqîr* d'Ibn Qunfûdh connaît de même des Sakstwa, p. 41 *a*, l. 2 sq. En revanche al-Baydhâq écrit Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 1928, p. 65, et texte arabe, p. 43.

(2) Renseignements fournis par L. Brunot, qui a bien voulu consulter pour moi des rabbins marocains. Cf. aussi, I. Hamet, *Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique*, 1928, p. 57 ; dictionnaire de M. Eisenbeth, *Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1936, p. 174. Au Mellah d'Imintanout, une famille israélite provenant d'Ilutjan, en Seksawa, porte le nom curieux de Elkeslasi, prononcé Lkslasi, nom à rapprocher de celui du lieu-dit Amskslan en Mtugga-Ud Bessebâ'.

(3) Qu'on le compare par exemple à la véritable grappe de noms analogues que fournit l'ensemble : Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Pourtant, on trouve parmi les noms anciens de l'Occident musulman des Sakâsik, Saksâkl. Un ancêtre légendaire des Berbères s'appelle ainsi. Ibn H'azm, *Jamhara*, éd. Lévi-Provençal, p. 462, l. 21. On le retrouve, désigné comme ancêtre des Howwâra, par Ibn Khaldûn, tr. *Histoire des Berbères*, 1925, t. I, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 *v*, l. 11. Cela orienterait vers

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

PREMIÈRES COORDONNÉES DU PAYS

Un certain pays, voilà ce qu'en fin de compte suggère, tant par l'étymologie que dans l'usage commun, le nom des Seksawa. De ce pays, l'essentiel est et a toujours été, selon une loi montagnarde qui se lit par exemple dans le compartimentage historique des Pyrénées, le bassin d'un torrent, asif i-yseksawan, ou Lwâd Sseksawa. Ce bassin est circonscrit par une arête de hautes montagnes qui sur trois côtés l'enclôt (fig. 2). Le Dir, puis la plaine dite aujourd'hui Bujmâda forment déversoir. Le torrent y perd son nom. Déjà il est devenu, de la petite plaine de Tuz'z'umt jusqu'à

une racine S. K., à redoublement. Mais on peut aussi penser à une racine S. W. où le redoublement aurait différencié le deuxième élément. Cette hypothèse tirerait non pas une vraisemblance, mais quelque appui d'une rencontre de sons : celle d'Iseksawan et d'Ichefchawan, c'est-à-dire Chichâwa. On sait qu'il s'agit là du même cours d'eau, ou du même système d'irrigations, l'un en aval de l'autre, et que l'extension du domaine Seksawa à la plaine, au cours du Moyen Age et jusqu'aux temps mérinides offre une certaine probabilité.

A. Basset veut bien m'indiquer qu'il n'y a pas d'impossibilité linguistique à ce que ces deux noms Iseksawan et (I)chefchawan remontent à une racine bilitère avec redoublement complet, et passage respectif de *w* à *k* et de *w* à *f*. Mais il précise qu'il faudrait pouvoir justifier la présence de ces différents traitements dans le mot voulu et au lieu voulu.

Dans un domaine bien lointain, mais dont les curieux chassés-croisés linguistiques de l'Afrique du Nord ne rendent pas le rappel tellement invraisemblable, je veux dire chez les Touareg, on relève, parmi les toponymes employés dans le sens de « vallée, système de points d'eau », toute une gamme de formes où l'imagination pourrait retrouver des étapes intermédiaires entre Seksawa et Chichâwa : Sesau, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. DE FOUCAULD, *Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres*, éd. A. Basset, 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Notons aussi l'existence de Chuchawa dans l'Ouarsenis, et aussi, bien entendu, l'existence d'une Chefchawen dans les Jebâla.

Pour E. Laoust, Seksawa pourrait se ramener au factitif d'une racine *k. s.* « paître ». Mais « aucun document, en dehors de l'examen de la forme de l'ethnique, ne confirme une telle conclusion », *op. laud.*, p. 148. Je signalerai pourtant l'existence de populations résiduelles dans le même domaine, dont le nom pourrait remonter à cette même racine : Ikessan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa même. On pense aussi à l'Wâd Siksû, du Moyen Atlas.

M. L. Galand m'écrit : « Dans sg. *Iseksiwi* pl. *Iseksawan*, l'opposition de singulier à pluriel appartient à un type connu en berbère ; le *w* apparaît ici comme un élément radical. Dans sg. *Agdem* (aussi *Igedm*) / pl. *Igedmiwen*, a-t-on affaire à un *w* radical qui aurait été perdu au singulier, comme dans *ameksa* / *imeksawen* (cf. aussi *inebgi* / *inebgiwen*) ? Cette hypothèse ne trouve aucun appui dans les formes actuelles du nom : *Agdem*, sans voyelle finale, répond mal aux exemples précédents, et surtout, pour le féminin généralement plus conservateur, on ne m'a donné que *Tagdemt* en face de *tameksawt* (cf. aussi *tinebgiwt*). En attendant une recherche plus poussée, j'hésite donc à voir dans le *w* de *Igedmiwen* autre chose qu'un élément suffixal.

Dès lors, la différence de structure qui sépare *Iseksawan* de *Igedmiwen* rend suspect le trop beau parallélisme des formes arabes *Sakstwa* et *Gadmtwa*. Le pluriel des noms de tribus est plus usité que le singulier ; c'est lui qu'apprend d'abord un étranger : les Arabes ont-ils senti que dans *Gadmtwa* ils englobaient un suffixe et que dans *Sakstwa*, peut-être sous l'influence de *Gadmtwa*, *Damstra*, etc., ils maltraitaient le vocalisme berbère qu'ils avaient respecté dans *Saksâwa* ? On peut en douter. »

Bu^e^anfir, en Ud Bessebâ^e^, Lwâd n-Qihra ou Wâd Lqthra. Les limites, de ce côté, ont tout le flou d'un passé qui nous renseigne mal sur la limitation de l'aventure Seksawa vers le Nord.

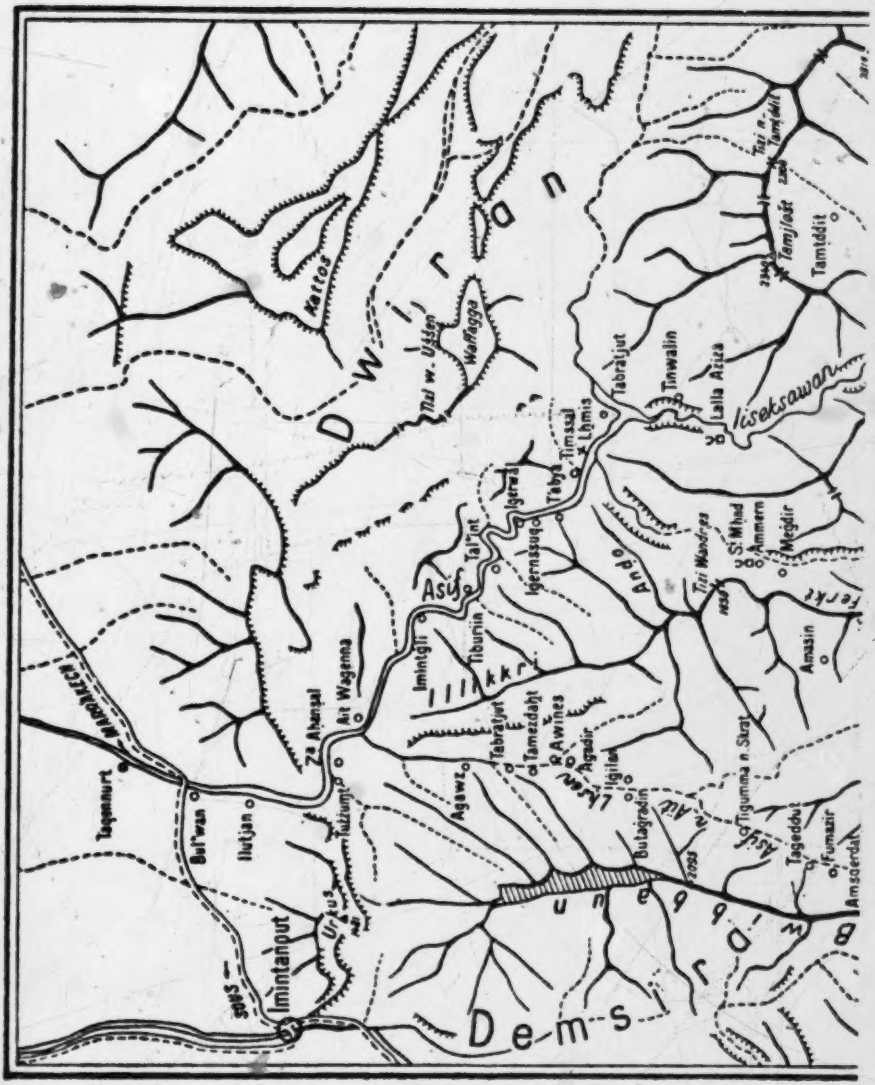
Voici donc un pays s'identifiant partiellement sans doute, mais sûrement à un bassin fluvial. Cette identification toute classique se poursuivra, jusque dans le détail, par la division du bassin en cantons, lesquels correspondront à la fois à une personnalité secondaire et à l'unité d'une ravine affluente. Cette vallée forme la dernière échancrure de la grande chaîne vers l'O. Elle interrompt cette façade montagneuse que sa dénomination indigène de Dir qualifie à merveille en évoquant la courroie de poitrail du cheval harnaché (1). D'ailleurs le terme manque de précision. Il traduit indistinctement la côte et son piémont. Dans le paysage, cette côte n'est ni continue, ni unique. Quand on regarde l'Atlas de la route de Mogador à Marrakech, un peu après Chichaoua, ou mieux encore, lorsqu'on l'observe des pâquis à chameaux du Lmjjùn, en Ud Bessebâ^e^, on aperçoit une première ride courant en avant-garde : c'est, dans le cas présent, celle de Talamenzu. Cette défense par boulevard préliminaire s'accentue à mesure qu'on va vers l'E. Elle est frappante de plusieurs points de la route impériale longtemps avant et longtemps après Marrakech. A hauteur des Seksawa, au contraire, de Chichaoua à Bul^e^wân, pas de dénivellation. C'est ce que traduit la descente S.-N. du thalweg du fleuve, lequel est escorté, sur sa droite comme sur sa gauche, par des séguias divergentes, certaines communes aux Seksawa, aux Dwiran et aux Ud Bessebâ^e^. Cette solidarité, ou cette continuité, ne sont pas sans incidences. Le même plan de terres remontera, un peu plus à l'O., vers une autre « bouche », celle d'Imi n-Tanut, commandant l'accès du Sous par le Tizi Umachchô et le Bwibaun. La vieille route sultanienne l'emprunte après avoir rasé, d'E. en O., le Dir (2).

Imaginons le voyageur musulman du XIIIe siècle venu de Fès ou d'Andalousie, et que l'appât du négoce ou la queste de science

(1) Le déchiffrement du pays est grandement facilité par le « Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz » au 1/100.000, dressé initialement par J. Dresch (en couleurs), et par la série de cartes au 1/200.000 annexée à ses *Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas*, 1941. Cette documentation, que nous avons gardée toujours présente dans nos tournées, et que nous avons surtout complétée quant à la toponymie, et réinterprétée à l'aide de la couverture aérienne exécutée depuis 1950, est à la base de notre propre investigation et de toute la cartographie de cette étude.

(2) On peut trouver sur cet itinéraire une masse d'informations déjà considérable dans E. Renou, *Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc*, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, qui condense un grand nombre de récits de voyages.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh



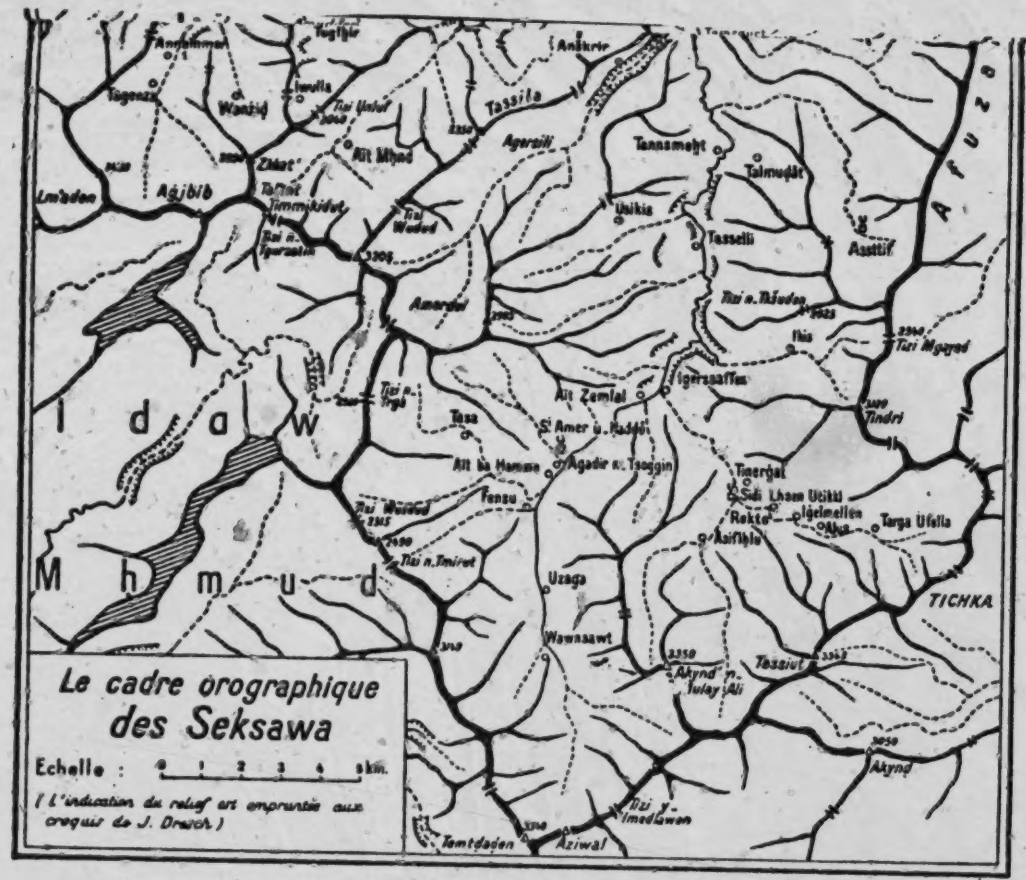


Fig. 2. — Le cadre orographique des Seksawa

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

promènent sur toute la face du monde connu. Ces « bouches », bâillant sur un arrière-pays mystérieux, lui causeront mille émois. Peut-être, au passage du Seksawa, a-t-il été rançonné. Il pense, avec une horreur dévote, aux vieilles pratiques inexpugnables : adoration du bélier (1), liberté sexuelle (2), que l'on récite des montagnards. Mais l'achat d'amandes, d'olives et de noix, fût-ce sur ce fond d'illicite, l'espèce de panique qui le saisit devant le foisonnement des peuplades embusquées sur les hauteurs, animeront son passage, comme plus tard ses souvenirs, sa *Rih'la*, dont il cultive déjà la pompeuse ordonnance, non pas de dédain mais d'inquiétude et de convoitise.

Il ne sera pas inutile d'avoir situé ainsi, dans l'optique de l'orthodoxie, c'est-à-dire somme toute jusqu'ici de l'authenticité — puisque nos seules sources historiques accessibles sont arabes — le pays Seksawa. Il s'ouvre, comme la dernière impasse sur la main gauche, à celui qui, de Marrakech, gagne le Sous. Auparavant se sont pareillement ouvertes les vallées du Nffis et de l'asif el-Mâl. Tout de suite après, ayant gravi le seuil d'Imintanout (900 m.), notre voyageur pourra se reposer dans un bourg à prône hebdomadaire, c'est-à-dire dans une *madina*. Il y savourera ces auxiliaires de la prière que sont l'étuve et le commerce des pieuses gens. Simultanément, il s'adonnera à quelque négoce avec de sévères personnages, qu'il nommera des *chuyûkh*, sans trop analyser le caractère légal de leur investiture, et qui prêteront à la commandite et aux achats en vert le secours de leur bilinguisme. Quelques Israélites, usuriers débonnaires, cultivent de discrets courtages. Ayant ainsi refait ses forces, le croyant s'enfoncera vers le S. Le voici bifurquant en direction du col des Bwibaun, maintenant détrôné dans notre nomenclature par le Tizi Umachchô (3). Et de là vers le Sous, par la vallée de l'Issen. Au loin, les délices savantes d'une capitale, Taroudant.

Mais laissons-là ce périple imaginaire : on ne s'est amusé à l'esquisser que pour mieux faire sentir peut-être le démenti que va lui apporter l'histoire. Ce voyageur musulman est intemporel : on n'est pas sûr que son Imintanout ait existé avant le XVIe et la

(1) G. Germain est conduit par divers indices, dont la présence actuelle d'Idaw i-yzimmer, à situer dans notre région ces hérétiques dénoncés par al-Bakri au XIIe siècle, Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord, *Hesp.*, 1948, p. 113.

(2) On sait que ce thème, à la fois juridique et polémique, n'a pas encore été abandonné.

(3) Telle est en effet la prononciation locale, qui est mise en rapport avec les grès rouges stéphanotriasiques du col : on les nomme *amachchô* « roche de chat » (allusion à la couleur). Mais la dénominaton des roches dans la région manque absolument de rigueur. Je cite les explications qui m'ont été données.

décadence des Maçmûda. Quant aux amandiers et aux oliviers, dans quelle mesure ont-ils survécu, ou au contraire succédé à la forêt d'arganiers qui peut-être s'étendait jusqu'à l'asif el-Mâl au xve siècle, c'est ce qu'il est difficile de préciser. Et que penser d'éléments aussi caractéristiques d'un paysage qu'ont pu l'être, dans ce piémont aujourd'hui déboisé, le thuya, le gommier, ou les associations de l'*oléolentiscetum* ?

Revenons donc à la carte, encore qu'imparfaite. Ces vallées, ces trouées, le Nffis, l'asif el-Mâl, le Seksawa, divergent toutes d'un même château d'eau, le massif du Tichka (1), lieu historique important, et qui, de son énorme môle granitique, fait butoir au pays Seksawa vers le S. Avec les cimes proches, montant à 3.000 et 3.400 m., un ressaut d'un millier de m. environ fait surgir le massif ancien au-dessus de la dépression permotriasique et de la zone subtabulaire de l'O. C'est la première barrière face aux vents de l'Atlantique, d'où forte condensation des nuages arrivant en général du S.-O. C'est aussi, lorsqu'on vient de l'E., la dernière affirmation de haute montagne. Après, on ne trouvera plus que les causses, les collines Mtugga et H'âh'a.

Le Seksawa, le Nffis, l'asif el-Mâl, et deux des affluents les plus importants de l'Issen proviennent directement du Tichka. Les autres affluents de l'Issen, plusieurs affluents du Sous sourdent du versant Sud de la chaîne axiale. Toutes ces sources ponctuent une distance de moins de 30 km. Il y a donc là un important foyer hydrogéographique, donc de culture sédentaire, donc de constance historique. Ce rôle du Tichka, ou plus exactement de la crête qu'il flanque, a été perçu par les auteurs musulmans. Ibn Khaldûn le marque en un passage dont les précises correspondances sauvent le métaphorisme. Le marabout de Tasaft est encore plus formel. Il compare ces bassins fluviaux, suspendus à la crête, à des outres dont les hauts cantons sont les pattes. Le Tichka, dit-il, est « la balance des eaux », *mîzân al-miyâh*, le réservoir de la montagne (2). Réservoir de bien d'autres choses encore, comme on sait.

(1) Cf. notre étude sur les Antiquités Seksawa, *Hesp.*, 1953, p. 363. Le premier à avoir souligné l'importance de ce môle d'histoire, d'économie pastorale, et de sociologie tribale, est R. Montagne, L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas, *Hesp.*, 1927, p. 16.

(2) Justinard, *La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft*, 1940, p. 91.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

LIMITATION DU MONDE SEKSAWA

On comprend que cette crête ait frappé les imaginations. Pour qui remonte le fleuve, elle constitue vers le S., l'E., et l'O. un rempart continu.

Qu'on se figure deux murs, orientés N.-S. Ce sont le Bwibaun à l'O., côté Demsira, l'Afuzar à l'E., côté Gedmiwa. Entre les deux, la vallée du Seksawa, remontant vers le S., en bissectrice, jusqu'à l'angle d'un V concave dont la pointe, dirigée vers le Sous, serait le Temt'daden (3.340 m.). L'une des branches du V part vers le N.-O. La chaîne continue (3.000 m.) est ébréchée de quelques cols : le Tizi n-Tmirût, le T. Uzdud et surtout le T. n-Trga, qu'a franchi Brives, et qui est d'une grande importance historique, car c'est par lui qu'arrivèrent les immigrants du Sous. Là, décrochement vers le N. : voici le Tabgurt (3.210 m.), pivot des paysages Seksawa. Du Tabgurt, la chaîne fléchit franchement vers l'O. : elle se soudera, vers le Wagrarat, au prolongement méridional du mur d'O. L'autre jambage du V rejoint les hauts niveaux très complexes du Tichka, où s'enracine le mur d'E. Sur ce parcours, l'anticlinal culmine au dôme géométrique du Ras Mulay Ali (3.400 m.). Avec l'Ikis, en « bosse de chameau » ou en « crête de coq », selon les observateurs (3.180 m.), et le Tabgurt, le *Ras*, « la tête » (ou mieux l'*Akyud'* « la tresse »), Mulay Ali, s'offre constamment aux regards de très loin en plaine. Et de toutes les hautes surfaces séparant les vallées, se découvrent à la fois, à l'E. comme à l'O., ces « longs murs » du paysage Seksawa que sont le Bwibaun et l'Afuzar. Sur tout ce contour, clos au S. par de formidables masses, la barrière ne descend jamais au-dessous des 2.000 m. : caisson bien délimité qu'achève de bloquer, au S. d'Imintanout, l'Urkus. C'est seulement vers le N.-E., après le massif du Tamejlocht, du côté du Dwiran, que les plateaux de l'Imlilen viennent battre une falaise aux entablements calcaires, le Waffagga. Sur cette face, l'accès est facile aux cuvettes du haut Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. On est ici dans des confins.

Quelle impression tirer de cette délimitation du pays Seksawa ? D'abord celle de son orientation du N. au S., orthogonique par rapport à la chaîne de l'Atlas. D'où l'importance de la pente. Niveaux orographiques, horizons végétaux, degrés d'éloignement de la plaine et du pouvoir central, progression du particularisme montagnard : tout cela concourt à une gradation simple à partir du débouché de Bul'wân (740 m. au gué de la route de Marrakech), jusqu'aux plus hauts villages (1.900 m. à Wawnsawt). Cette fermeté de contours autorisera, l'événement aidant, une vie

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'ensemble bien défendue du dehors. Mais à aucun titre elle ne formera limite naturelle vers le S. : c'est de là qu'est venu tout l'être moderne des Seksawa. Et certes, il sera superflu de dire ici que jamais ces crêtes, coupées de cols, ne font obstacle, entre montagnards, même aux relations hebdomadaires d'un souq : c'est ce qu'on voit bien de nos jours à la fréquentation, par des Idaw Geryun, du marché des Imedlawen. Au surplus, une part importante de l'activité de ces populations réside précisément dans le courtage des cols et dans une circulation intense, bien que dure, dangereuse et impliquant tout un contexte d'accords entre groupes, et presque d'initiation individuelle. La muraille est un obstacle conventionnel. Pour les autres, jamais pour soi, et seulement quand on le veut.

Il est vrai qu'à plusieurs reprises dans leur histoire, et pour de longues périodes, les Seksawa ont voulu cet isolement.

MESURE DE CET ESPACE

Rien ne serait plus faux que d'apprécier la masse du pays d'après notre système métrique. La réelle unité, celle qui est la mesure même de l'homme, y est la durée de l'effort du marcheur agile ou du notable juché sur la mule au trot vif. Encore faudrait-il que cette durée fût appréciable quantitativement. Elle ne l'est naturellement pas en heures et en minutes. Tout au plus l'intervalle des prières, elles-mêmes marquées par les positions du soleil, pourrait-il servir d'étalon. Mais on ne prie guère. A vrai dire, ce sont des mesures encore plus lâches : matin, méridienne, soir *ççbah'*, *zziwal*, *içfirar*, qui seront le plus sensibles au cœur. Mais nous ne répèterons pas ici les réflexions de Lucien Febvre sur le « temps flottant », le « temps dormant » des sociétés de type « médiéval » (1). Aussi bien, s'agissant de temps mécanique, j'entends très précisément de temps servant à mesurer ou sectionner un effort très précis, et de durée constante, c'est bien d'heures que nous allons nous servir pour mesurer l'espace Seksawa, comme l'ont fait les officiers de la pénétration.

Négligeons les immenses confins qui, au delà des villages, du côté de Tichka comme de celui du Ras Mulay Ali, se prolongent encore bien loin. La vie Seksawa, la vie de fond de vallée, qui est la vie municipale, la vie dense, à plein potentiel, est mesurée par de

(1) L. Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle*, 1942, pp. 426 à 434, et G. Friedmann, L'homme et le milieu naturel, *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

bien faibles durées. Nous le verrons, en effet : à d'autres rythmes correspondent les espaces intercalaires, entablements séparant les vallées, sommets arrondis et, à plus forte raison, pâquis intertribaux. La mesure du pasteur n'est pas celle de l'horticulteur de village : elle n'est presque pas celle du citoyen. Si l'on voulait subtiliser, on opposerait aussi à cette mesure des honnêtes gens, qui est celle des chemins muletiers, celle de l'expédition guerrière. Celle-ci néglige les sentiers battus, survient de façon foudroyante, ayant franchi forêts et escarpements. Dans la période récente, un grand guerrier, le Caïd Lmokhtar des a. Lh'sen, sera l'homme de ces imprévus, de ces éclairs topographiques, dirait-on. Mesure du pasteur, mesure du guerrier : ces variantes, l'une élargissant, l'autre ramassant à l'excès l'espace Seksawa, ont leur valeur d'indices sur la psychologie individuelle et les rythmes sociaux : on peut les éliminer pourtant dans une analyse soucieuse de tabler sur une certaine constance civique.

La rosace de distances figurant sur le croquis ci-dessous (fig. 3) et dont le cœur est Lalla Aziza, suggère diverses réflexions qui ne seront pas inutiles à l'intelligence du milieu. Ces durées, calculées en temps de cheminement sur le sentier qui suit le lit, reflètent certes différents facteurs tels que la difficulté du terrain, les méandres, la multiplicité des gués, etc. Mais plus encore elles traduisent, et fort exactement, la notion que les Seksawa de tous les temps purent se faire de l'ampleur des cantons. Et par là nous sont rendues au plus vrai les dimensions d'une histoire. Ce qui éclate, c'est la disproportion entre les tiges supérieures et la partie inférieure de la rosace. Une vision fondée sur les concepts de la plaine — et, prenons-y garde, sur quoi d'autres se fondèrent, d'Ibn Khaldûn à nous, les observateurs ? — insiste, que ce soit dans la connaissance ou l'action, sur les secteurs les plus proches. L'homme de la plaine perd son zèle à comprendre ou à intervenir dans la mesure même où la distance s'accroît et où son regard se lasse sur les arrière-plans neigeux. Mais une vision authentique, celle qu'a d'elle-même cette société, situe au contraire l'essentiel tout en haut, dans le repaire inviolé, le mieux défendu en tout cas du renseignement » par le relief, la légende et une incertitude devenue graduellement opaque. La basse vallée ne sera plus qu'un couloir, un débouché, un appendice, ou tout autre équivalence métaphorique qu'on en voudra donner.

Combien ne s'éclairent pas, dès lors, et l'histoire du XIVe siècle qui nous montre l'expansion venant des hautes terres, et l'histoire plus récente, qui a reconstitué sur ces mêmes altitudes, grâce à l'afflux conquérant des gens du Sud, de nouvelles bases d'expan-

sion ! De même, la vraie vie Seksawa ne gardera sa justesse, dans un espace à sa mesure et selon son cœur, loin des contaminations et des mesquineries de la plaine, qu'en deçà de ce rayon de deux à trois heures de marche en amont de Lalla Aziza. Tout ce qui est au

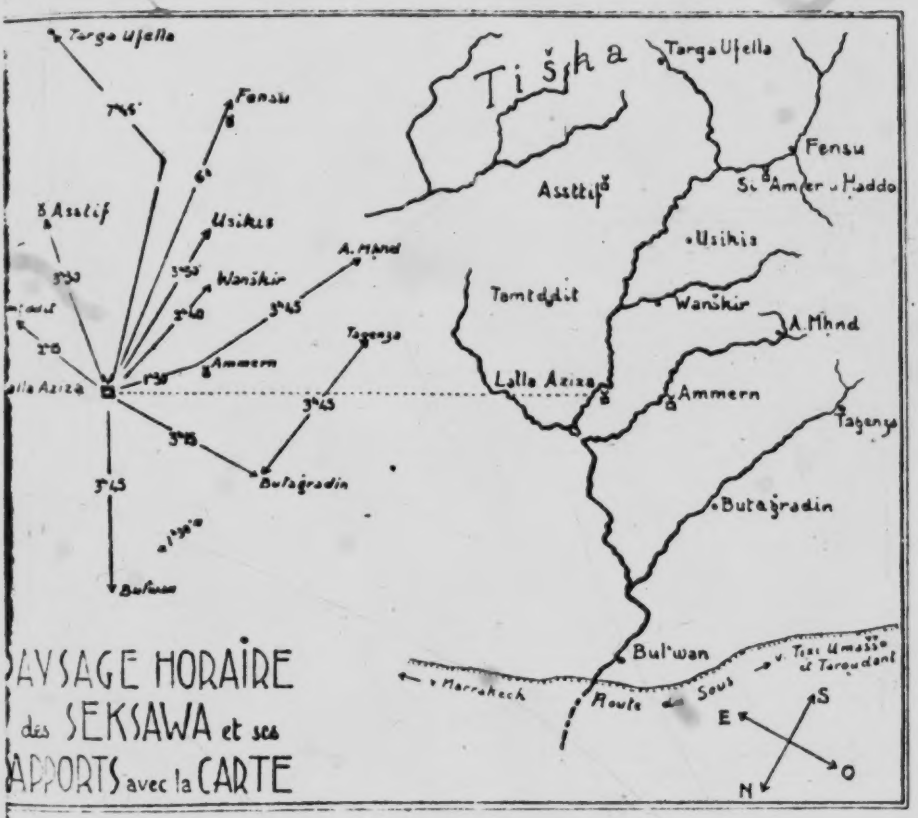


FIG. 3

delà, c'est-à-dire tout l'aval, sera soumis à l'influence des pouvoirs et des meneurs d'en bas. Donc, zone d'aventure, d'hésitation, de mélanges. Plus loin encore, dans la plaine, peuvent s'étaler d'autres ensembles, sujets à d'autres mesures : ce qui compte ici, c'est la traite du cavalier, de bivouac en bivouac. Mais que cette optique de l'homme de cheval, c'est-à-dire, en l'espèce, et depuis cinq cents ans, de l'Arabe, nous éloigne du monde montagnard, ce monde tellement plus concentré, plus nerveux ! Un jour de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

marche, et l'on remonte la vallée de part en part. Le domaine Idma, de la zaouia d'Ammern à celle d'Assttif, couvre, sur sa plus grande diagonale, cinq heures. A peu près autant d'Iguntar au Seksawa : les conquêtes du Caïd Lmokhtar s'inscrivent aussi sur cinq heures de diagonale. Et guère plus de l'Amerdul à la base du Tichka : tout le règne des a. H'adduyws.

Monde d'une densité toute méditerranéenne.

APERÇU SUR LA STRUCTURE DU PAYS (1)

Le voyageur qui, des hauteurs dominant le Tizi Umachchô, contemple le panorama Nord, remarque qu'il se partage en trois sections de couleur différente : un pays blanc, un pays rouge, un pays noir.

Des calcaires clairs, jurassiques et surtout crétacés, épandent vers le N.-O. les causses pierreux du Mtugga. Jurassique également, sur l'O., le long cylindre du Lemgo. Et la couche se prolonge vers l'E. pour constituer des éléments qui, de ce belvédère, n'apparaissent pas encore, mais que nous retrouverons plus tard : le dôme de l'Urkus, écrasant à ses pieds le centre d'Imintanout, la basse vallée du Seksawa, et les entablements du haut Dwiran, qui s'échelonnent jusqu'au palier élevé de l'Azzeg, commun aux troupeaux de Dwiran, Mez'ûd'a et Gedmiwa. Immédiatement sous nos yeux, voici une nappe rougeoyante. C'est le stephano-trias, découvert entre les roches primaires et secondaires et, qui, mince en deçà du col, s'épanouit largement au delà vers Bigud'in. Au N. et à l'E., partout, un pays noir de schistes cambriens et ordoviciens. Leur masse trapue constitue la presque totalité du haut Seksawa, si l'on en excepte les calcaires axiaux et les granites du Tichka, que l'on n'aperçoit pas d'ici. Ces schistes luisent au soleil, sur pentes et arêtes, au point de donner à distance l'illusion d'un suintement, d'une cascade. De près, on voit qu'ils se délitent, éclatent, se divisent en feuilles et en aiguilles. Mais de loin leur relief est puissant et lourd : masse morose et sans grâce, où rien ne décèle les vallées bucoliques dont elle est entaillée.

Transportons-nous sur un autre belvédère, en plein pays Seksawa cette fois, au revers N. des croupes du Mzawt. De là l'œil suit toujours les trois teintes dans le paysage. La vue dévale sur le bassin des a.Musa, pour remonter ensuite vers le rebord tabulaire du pays Dwiran : Wawmright, Waffagga, et plus loin

(1) Tout ce paragraphe doit beaucoup à J. Dresch, *Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous*, 1941.

encore, Kattos. A mi-hauteur de ces couches blanches ou dorées, apparaît la roche rouge *tafzza*, qui se déverse ensuite sur les marnes de l'Imlilen. A 1.000 m. en contrebas, le fleuve, largement étalé parmi les tamaris de la petite plaine (940 m.), retrouve, aussitôt passé l'ancien Suq Lkhmis, vers T'abya, les mêmes hautes et sombres falaises qu'en amont.

L'analyse tectonique explique plusieurs des traits actuels par le remaniement qu'opéra, au tertiaire, le plissement de l'Atlas sur un relief hercynien. Mais il ne lui est pas toujours facile de déterminer dans les structures actuelles la part contributive des deux phases, bien que leur style respectif soit fort différent. En effet, l'intervention de cassures, perpendiculaires à l'axe des plis, peut entraîner d'autant plus de confusions de lecture, que la direction générale des deux mouvements s'avère grossièrement orthogonique : méridienne pour le socle, O.S.O.-E.N.E. pour le remaniement.

Au modelé hercynien ressortissent une série parallèle de trois anticlinaux et surtout l'action de cycles d'érosion qui ont dénudé les terres rouges du permo-trias et aplani l'avant-pays crétacé. La subsistance de ce dernier, plus largement que dans le reste du Dir, est en effet un trait important. Cette formation dessine même une ample échancrure vers le haut Dwiran et Mez'ûd'a.

La tectonique atlasique est « brutale et simple... Architecture austère de blocs rigides qui montent par étages successifs au N., plus brutalement au S., jusqu'aux hautes crêtes massives ». On la reconnaît aujourd'hui, en Seksawa, à « une série de blocs, plus ou moins basculés et séparés par des accidents brutaux [et s'élevant] vers une haute chaîne vigoureusement plissée » (1). D'une façon générale, on est frappé du contraste entre la lourdeur de ces hauts reliefs et la jeunesse mordante des versants et des vallées. A 1.500 m., puis à 2.000, et encore à 2.500, un regard panoramique ne découvre guère que des niveaux, des dômes très aplatis, des crêtes mûres et tassées. Dans un large morceau du pays, en gros tout le moyen Seksawa, c'est presque une surface homogène, malgré l'interruption des vallées, qui étale sa perspective autour des 2.000 m. : Azur, Tassila, Amudder, Ibuban. Surface d'aplanissement antécrétacée, dont le rôle important sur les formes de la vie est encore lisible et avec laquelle tranche paradoxalement le délié d'une crête axiale la surplombant de plus de 1.000 m. avec ses calcaires durs et aigus.

La morphologie touche ici directement à l'humain. Capital a été le rôle de ces surfaces de moindre pente, quelle qu'en soit

(1) Id., *op. laud.*, p. 67.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

l'origine : plateaux structuraux crétacés, d'ailleurs aujourd'hui presque entièrement hors du domaine Seksawa ; surfaces en cours d'érosion conservées : bien plus bas, terrasses fluviales ; entre les deux, paliers constitués sur une déclivité par une inégale résistance des roches affleurantes. Ces plans ou « replats » ont été un facteur essentiel dans la constitution d'un système de vie et d'un paysage rural. Autre élément structural à grand retentissement : le mûrissement des vallées par degrés successifs, évolution qui semble avoir marqué des pauses et des réveils, et, se combinant avec l'inégale dureté des couches franchies, les avoir découpées en tronçons. L'orientation générale du fleuve, conforme à celle de l'asif el-Mâl et du Niffis, épouse en gros la direction du modelé hercynien : elle s'est donc faite, ou maintenue, à contre-sens du plissement atlasique. Là où la roche est dure, comme entre Z'init' et Tamezgurt, entre Tasselli et Igerssafen, entre Sekrat et Iguntar, s'encaissent des gorges vertigineuses, aux parois abruptes. Ailleurs, l'existence de schistes tendres, ou la rencontre avec un synclinal, comme à plusieurs endroits de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen, élargissent la vallée, voire créent, comme en bas a.Musa, un chapelet de petits bassins. Une autre conséquence de cette direction contrariée, c'est qu'elle conspire avec le plan de surrection lui-même, pour fractionner le pays à angles droits. Tout concourt dès lors à un partage cantonal, d'autant plus net parfois que l'érosion fluviale n'a pas encore harmonisé son profil et que celui-ci se détache souvent en paliers. Profil à saccades, si j'ose dire. Des tronçons relativement mûris s'étalent parfois largement — ainsi en a. H'adduyws, à Tuz'z'umt — mais sont vivement séparés les uns des autres. Enfin, cet étalement s'opérant sur certaines sections du lit, tandis que l'érosion amollit les hauteurs, une frappante correspondance finit par s'établir : auges profondes en contrebas ; sommets aplanis en surplomb. D'où des couples caractéristiques de formes : *chaif* « bombement » de l'Illikkri, au-dessus du bassin des a. Mh'and ; *chaif* d'Azur au-dessus de celui des a.Musa. Ces ensembles sont favorables à une vie pastorale et agricole. Ils contrastent généreusement avec des formes plus inhospitalières, comme celle de la ravine abrupte héroïquement entaillée de gradins d'Usikis, ou même répugnant à toute utilisation. L'ambition des sociétés de montagne sera toujours de tenir à la fois le petit delta fluvial et les hautes croupes à pâquis, à bois et à seigles. Il arrive même que ces épanouissements du lit soient assez simples pour révéler, comme en aval de Tuz'z'umt ou dans l'asif n-a. Lh'sen, la succession de plusieurs niveaux parallèles en longueur. Ce sont, comme dit J. Dresch, « des banquettes naturelles » : et il

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

est bien remarquable que là aussi la géologie ait, de sa large écriture, tracé comme un modèle au travail de l'homme.

On a peut-être trop poussé cette enquête — encore que sommaire, et d'une technicité d'emprunt — sur la structure du pays Seksawa. Mais; pour notre propre recherche, d'importantes données s'en dégagent. D'abord, la nette démarcation d'un pays, sorte d'impasse à porte entr'ouverte sur la plaine et sur le N. Puis sa matière simple, procédant, du N. au S., dans un sens qui est celui d'une coupe géologique. Cet approfondissement progressif sera aussi celui de l'originalité des institutions et de la conservation d'une authenticité. En particulier, l'âge des sols, croissant en raison inverse de la force des derniers aménagements tectoniques, mène à un môle d'archaïsme géologique, et aussi de signification sociologique, le Tichka. Et encore ce cloisonnement à angle droit, résultant des directions croisées des modelés hercynien et atlasique. D'où une structure cantonale qu'avive la coexistence de paliers mûrs et d'engorgements abrupts. Enfin toute une horizontalité de moyenne montagne, offrant des relais en hauteurs, et comme un classement préétabli à une vie qui, d'étage en étage, parmi la dureté qui de toutes parts la presse, trouve des pentes où s'accrocher, et même des surfaces où s'épanouir.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P. 20]

II

UN PAYSAGE RURAL

PALIERS VÉGÉTAUX

Cet étagement se confirme lorsqu'on examine les végétaux qui s'échelonnent depuis les 740 m. du gué de Tagoyyamt, jusqu'aux 3.400 m. du Ras Mulay Ali (1).

L'exposition joue, entre ces différences d'altitude, un rôle d'autant plus décisif que l'habitat et l'irrigation se blottissent au fond des vallées, et que l'orientation méridienne de l'axe principal accentue les effets de l'insolation. Comme dans toutes les sociétés de montagne, on retrouve jusque dans la toponymie la distinction de l'adret et de l'ubac, *annammer* et *amalu*. Autre influence du relief : il n'est pas indifférent que malgré la lourdeur toute saharienne de ces croupes, le Haut-Atlas, du point de vue botanique, soit « une péninsule méditerranéenne en pays steppique et désertique » (2). Ce caractère de la flore se retrouve-t-il au même degré dans les techniques et les autres formes sociales ? Contentons-nous pour le moment, et sans rien préjuger, de noter un caractère qui se traduit visuellement et suggère certains genres de vie. Or, ici, à beaucoup d'égards, le rappel méditerranéen est archaïsme. Dans la civilisation de steppes, imposée par le climat aux basses plaines alentour, et parmi la généralisation de formes de vie instables à tout le Maghreb depuis le bas Moyen-Age, l'Atlas a érigé un bastion conservateur. Il a concentré des modes que nous dirions européens. Ces qualificatifs, vagues et littéraires lorsqu'il s'agit de sociétés, tirent du langage du botaniste une tout

(1) Note de L. Emberger sur La végétation du massif des Seksawa, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, séance du 5-11-1934. En dehors des explorations (en cours) de MM. Sauvage et Quézel, c'est la seule information propre aux Seksawa. Sur le plan général, toutefois, j'ai consulté avec profit L. Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, 1938 ; Ch. Sauvage, La richesse de la flore marocaine, *Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc*, n° 216, 1952 ; sur un domaine voisin, R. Maire, *Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains*, 1924. Enfin mes propres — et bien inexpertes — tentatives d'herborisation ont été grandement secourues par les identifications botaniques de MM. Sauvage, Vindt et Nègre, qui voudront bien trouver ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

(2) R. Maire, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

autre précision. D'autre part, l'exposition océanique de ces dernières hautes montagnes de l'Atlas vers l'O. entraîne, comme l'observe L. Emberger, une relative douceur, qui les oppose aux secteurs contigus à l'E., par exemple aux Gedmiwa, pour les rapprocher, quant à la flore, des hauts sommets calcaires du Haut Atlas oriental et même du Moyen-Atlas. Gros facteur d'originalité pour le domaine Seksawa, par rapport à ses voisins immédiats.

En bas, l'arbre cultivé caractéristique est l'olivier, qui couvre de ses plaques alternativement sombres ou cendrées, selon les sautes de vent, le fond des vallées jusqu'à Z'init' et Meghdir (1.100 m.). L'amandier, dont les peuplements vert tendre contrastent avec l'olivaie, par masses égales, superposées l'une à l'autre, à Tuz'z'umt par exemple, grimpe beaucoup plus haut : jusqu'à plus de 1.800 m., à Targa Ufella, au pied de la montée du Tichka. Mais la limite de l'olivier n'est pas extrêmement nette. Le spécialiste devra déterminer les raisons de cas sporadiques trouvés beaucoup plus haut que la limite des 1.100 m. comme à Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Des conditions locales permettent là encore à l'olivier de croître vigoureusement, mais sans donner de fruits. Inversement, le noyer est solidaire des hautes vallées où, à partir de juin, il masse son froid et odorant feuillage. Il aime l'axe des ravines. Il le souligne, vu d'en haut, par une dense et étroite traînée de frondaison, formant rue couverte. Ainsi à Iguntar. Ainsi encore d'Ad'er'ur à a.Mh'nd, ou dans le bucolique hallier que domine a. Zemlal. Certes, il y a du noyer partout, même à Tuz'z'umt, mais à l'état isolé. Son véritable domaine s'affirme à partir de 1.400 m. Encore rare à Tannsmekht, il s'étale par peuplements de plus de 500 à la fois à Tasselli, et surtout Usikis ; par milliers en a. H'adduyws et I. Geryun. Il monte alors jusqu'à 2.350 m.

Un autre trait immédiatement lisible est l'existence d'une steppe alfatière qui couvre entre 800 et 1.600 m. le plateau à sols rouges de l'Imlilen. Ce vaste morceau de terres, formant confins entre Seksawa et Dwiran, est sans analogue dans le reste du pays que nous étudions. Vide d'habitat humain, il contient quelques cultures clairsemées. Il est surtout utilisé par les troupeaux des Idma, à qui est ainsi épargnée la descente d'hiver. Pâquis varié et odorant mais fécond en épineux (1). En un point, la végétation

(1) Plantes caractéristiques de cet horizon : *Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba.* L'*auri* n'est pas en réalité de l'alfa. C'est le sparte, *Lygeum spartum.*

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

buissonneuse se hausse à l'arbre : un peuplement clairsemé de gommiers campe ses feuillages piquants à cosses caractéristiques, sur des affleurements calcaires qui dominent les marnes. C'est une forêt résiduelle. La plante souveraine est ici l'alfa, sous deux types distingués par le nom : *tanalt* et *auri*. Seul l'*auri* gravira les paliers supérieurs : on le trouvera à toutes les altitudes, jusqu'au col du Tabgurt où, tout rabougri lui-même, il est escorté d'autres graminées plus mesquines, telles qu'*izggri* ou *targha* (1).

A 500 m. au-dessus du plateau de l'Imlilen, surplombant le fond de Z'init' d'une rampe d'un millier de mètres, commence la forêt du Mzawt (2). Elle règne sans interruption sur l'énorme dôme de terres qui sépare la vallée principale de celle d'Ammern : entresol préalable au Tabgurt. La montée verticale au-dessus de Z'init' permet de repérer successivement l'amanderaie, puis une végétation de jujubier sauvage atteignant la forme arborescente. Puis des genévriers oxycèdres, particulièrement denses sur la face Nord des plis. A partir de 1.400 m., le chêne vert, que le genévrier ne parsème plus que de loin en loin. Au Mzawt fait pendant, de l'autre côté du Seksawa, le pâté montagneux de l'Azur, beaucoup plus déboisé. Les deux forêts sont fort dégradées, jusqu'à 1.500 ou 1.600 m., puis raffermissent leur caractère à mesure qu'on approche de la cote 2.000. Mais de ci de là, elles sont interrompues de clairières culturales, qui semblent rechercher les plus hautes croupes, comme au-dessus de Lalla Aziza. D'en bas, le vert rugueux de la forêt paraît troué de ces aires comme polies au doigt. L'étage est essentiellement celui du chêne vert *Quercus ilex*, chl. *tasaft*, recherché pour son bois et son fruit. C'est l'arbre classique par excellence : véritable « fond de teint » forestier de la montagne. Vers le Tabgurt il monte jusqu'à 2.800 m. et y constitue, fait unique au Maroc, la limite supérieure de la forêt. Autre arbre caractéristique, le genévrier, *tiqqi*. C'est l'oxycèdre qui est représenté. Son piqueté sombre, jamais dense, parsème la chênaie. Ailleurs, le thurifère atteint 3.150 m. En Seksawa il ne joue pas ce rôle de marge supérieure d'altitude.

La grande masse des arbres s'arrête court au-dessus d'Inraren Z'dinin par une lisière de visible déboisement, dont le genévrier thurifère semble avoir fait les frais. Plus au S., les revers Nord des plis dominant les vallées d'Wanchkrir et d'Usikis d'une part,

(1) A cet horizon : *Bupleurum, Euphorbia, Ononis atlantica, Alyssum spinosum, Stipa retorta, Isatis tinctoria, Astragalus Ibrahimianus, Erinacea Anthyllis, Descurainia sophia.*

(2) A cet horizon : *Tragopogon porrifolius, Roemeria hybrida, Leucanthemum maroccanum, Silene Cucubalus, Hypochaeris radicata, Scorzonera laciniata.*

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'Assttif de l'autre (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offrent des boisements encore importants, mais isolés. La dénudation des pentes du Tabgurt est frappante. Tout cet étage est celui du pâquis. Les facteurs qui ont joué ici sont contradictoires. D'une part, influence desséchante de la ventilation et d'une insolation accrues ; d'autre part, concentration par places de l'humidité provenant d'un enneigement abondant : les mares, les suintements, les prés humides *az'mu* sont fréquents. L'*az'mu* le plus remarquable se trouve au sommet du Tichka (2.600 m.). C'est un pâquis célèbre. La tonalité générale des fleurs de ces hautes terres en leur printemps tardif (mai, juin) est jaune : *aghozzir*, *uchfud*, *anâghud*, *amaler*, *aloggo*, dont plusieurs sont des genêts. C'est à peine si les touffes spongieuses de l'*ifessi waghad'* laissent percer un violet de pervenche (1). L'étage subalpin, qu'il est facile d'étudier au Tizi n-Tbgurt (2.600 m.), se caractérise par une végétation rasant le sol. Chaque plante devient un buisson en miniature, pour se mieux protéger du froid et du vent. Les plantes, pour ainsi dire, font le gros dos contre les conditions inclémentes. Elles affrontent l'extérieur par petits paquets de feutrage bombé et épineux.

Tels sont les principaux étages phytogéographiques du pays Seksawa. Mais une telle description, pour sommaire qu'elle soit, serait inexacte si, reprenant nos considérations initiales, nous ne marquions à présent combien la flore de fond de vallée échappe en fait, et par une écologie différente, et par la contagion de l'homme, à un étagement simpliste. Non seulement elle est nuancée, complexe et parfois paradoxale — en matière d'arbres fruitiers notamment —, mais encore elle ne reflète les conditionnements de l'altitude que pour encore accentuer ses différences avec la flore de pentes ou de sommets. A propos de la vallée de l'Urika, R. Maire a énuméré les associations ripicoles pressées sur les berges des torrents et qui, conjugant leur effet fixateur des graviers du lit avec l'incidence des cultures de berge, parviennent dans certains cas à constituer un sous-bois de tamaris ou de peupliers. Le taillis ombrage des prairies à fauche : autre type d'*az'mu* différant profondément et par l'origine, et par l'utilisation, de l'*az'mu* montagnard.

Ces influences proprement botaniques, et celles de l'abri, développent, à chaque confluent *imi* d'une ravine avec la vallée principale, des halliers ayant chacun sa physionomie : forêt vierge de lauriers géants à l'Imi w-Usstif ; vallon virgilien de l'Imi y-Ikis, avec ses figuiers, ses grenadiers, ses ronces de mûres et

(1) *Alyssum spinosum.*

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ses eaux murmurantes. On trouve là une petite fleur violâtre à l'odeur sucrée, fort recherchée pour le thé, *aferl*^{w}*kk*^{w}*el* (1). On se sent ici dans un « vallon d'Arcadie ». Dût cette comparaison n'être que fort peu exacte, surtout dans ces hautes terres qu'ombragent solennellement les noyers, elle n'en parle pas moins à l'imagination, et lui suggère à tout le moins une idée juste : celle de la profonde personnalité de ces recoins de montagne, et de leur charme immémorial.

UN PAYSAGE CONSTRUIT (2)

Mais c'est là le domaine des groupements végétaux dont l'homme est l'agent majeur. Un degré de plus dans son action, et nous voilà aux plantes cultivées, avec leurs marges adventives ou subspontanées, que nous avons étudiées ailleurs (3). A vrai dire, cette considération de l'homme, de ses mouvements, de ses nourritures ne doit nulle part faire défaut. Bien des traits, dans ce petit développement sur la couverture végétale, menaient à l'homme.

D'abord le cachet méditerranéen de cette flore ; l'opposition entre les fonds de vallées et leurs parois supérieures ou les sommets ; étagement qui, dans les grandes lignes, explique, s'il ne la motive entièrement, une vie pastorale du type pyrénéen. Enfin cette absence de la couche supérieure de la forêt, ce manque de 5 à 600 mètres de genévrier thurifère, qui s'observent ailleurs au même étage, et ont ici disparu (4). Une telle lacune, traduisant la décadence du cadre végétal, suggère peut-être des époques lointaines où le haut Seksawa, plus boisé à cette altitude, pouvait aussi nourrir une vie plus puissante : celle précisément qu'il a nourrie au XIVe siècle. Et nous voilà subitement plongés, par une simple remarque sur le paysage, au plus profond de l'histoire.

Ces pays de l'Atlas sont les plus « construits » des pays du Maghreb. La marque de l'homme, répétons-le, y ressort tout naturellement d'un examen même sommaire des horizons végétaux.

(1) *Salvia tarazacifolia*. Autres plantes : *Marrubium vulgare*, *Globularia Alypum*, *Rumex papilio*, *Satureja Hochreutineri*, *Catananche coerulea*, *Arrhenatherum elatius*.

(2) J. Célérier, Le paysage rural au Maroc, *Hesp.*, 1943, pp. 152 sq., étude pleine des notations des plus pénétrantes, à l'égard desquelles notre dette est grande.

(3) A propos d'un Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle), *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 357 sq., nous avons étudié en détail le cadre biogéographique du champ, les plantes cultivées, et donné la liste de près d'une quarantaine d'espèces subspontanées qu'utilise accessoirement l'alimentation humaine (pp. 379 et 380).

(4) L. Emberger, *Les arbres du Maroc*, 1938, p. 68.

L: Berque MW11 Shluh

Elle est profonde, en effet. Amandiers, oliviers, céréales, et, à un moindre degré, noyers témoignent de son ouvrage. L'usure de la forêt, la richesse des pâquis en variétés comestibles ou au contraire en épineux, la densité des associations en espèces subspontanées : tout cela encore le postule.

Réciproquement, ce qui frappe en lui, c'est, si l'on peut dire, son adhérence géologique. Non qu'il faille parler à son propos de réussite particulière dans l'adaptation. Maintes discordances entre les conditions naturelles, ses techniques, l'usage qu'il en fait, et sa conception même de la vie, ressortiront çà et là de l'exposé. Mais ce dont il est impossible de ne pas être frappé, à première vision de l'habitant, c'est la rigueur avec laquelle il colle à son rocher. Cela au propre. Un déterminisme structural, dirait-on, a modelé la forme même de sa vie. Les terrassements qui entaillent les rives ne font qu'utiliser, façonner et prolonger dans bien des cas les paliers successifs qu'a commencé à sculpter l'érosion dans le lit du fleuve. A Bul'wân, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a.Wagenna, Tabratjut même, l'étagement des cultures par niveaux reproduit ce schéma naturel. Vus d'en haut, les villages, dont les terrasses, par séries longues et étroites, s'échelonnent le long de la pente, rappellent exactement, avec leur couleur rugueuse et jaunâtre, les terrasses de culture qui les avoisinent. L'illusion est complète au moment des labours. Le toit de terre battue n'est pas traité autrement qu'un sol. La technique qui le soude au sol pour mieux résister à la pluie, à la neige et au vent, est une technique de remblai, de blocage. Le village s'apparente à la roche. Mais le terroir lui-même est architecture.

LE TERROIR

Cultures sur le toit, cultures au balcon, cultures à même la rue : ces trois métaphores, se référant au pays Seksawa considéré comme une cité, ne seront démenties ni par la réalité des choses, ni par la vision qu'en a le génie coutumier.

Le toit, ce sont les vastes plans qui couronnent les moyens et même les hauts reliefs, et perchent autour de 2.000 m., dans le silence de l'alpage et de la forêt, les labours de l'homme. Voilà une forme caractéristique de cette partie de l'Atlas. Sa molle horizontalité tranche avec l'énergie du plissement alentour. Qu'elle résulte d'érosions antérieures au mouvement tertiaire, ou au contraire de remaniements plus tardifs, c'est de quoi discutent les géologues. La chose n'en est pas moins là, avec tous ses effets géographiques et sociaux. Ces plans sont utilisés par le pacage et

la culture. Celui-là succède à celle-ci dès l'enlèvement des récoltes, ou bien s'approprie de vastes domaines. Les hautes emblavures sont appelées *lbur*, terme arabe qui revient souvent dans la toponymie (et aussi les formes *albur*, *ilburan*, *talburt*, *talburin*, etc.). Au-dessus de 2.000 m., et de plus en plus haut, règne le seigle. Pour reprendre le mot de nos montagnards, c'est là le *plâ* pyrénéen ou le *replat* alpin. Une série de mots chleuhs, *tasila*, *agoni*, *aggᵘmi*, *agodal* éveillent, peut-être sémantiquement, la même idée et correspondent à la même réalité surtout pastorale. Mais le mouvement pastoral est collectif, tandis que l'agriculture sur les hautes terres est l'affaire de quelques-uns. Elle implique des transports, des déplacements amples, dont le riche est seul capable. Ce n'est donc pas pour tous qu'elle comportera cette « remue » incessante si caractéristique de nos paysans de montagne. Là-haut, seul le notable, apte aux conflits à longue portée, se répandra. La démocratie agricole règne plus bas, tout contre le village, où elle s'acharne à son horticulture de balcons. Le riche, par son associé, ou ses cousins pauvres, ou ses bergers, surveille les confins entre cantons. Au droit de fond de vallée, étroitement municipal, se substituent, sur ces hauteurs, les accords, les drames et les trêves d'un droit international. Là naissent, de la contemplation des vastes perspectives, nécessaires au troupeau, des stratégies d'expansion d'autant plus ressenties et soutenues par le groupe, qu'avec les cultures du chef, c'est la possession des alpages et l'*impluvium* des torrents qu'elles mettent en jeu.

Tout autre style dans les fonds de vallée. D'en haut, on dirait d'un dessin patient, tout en courbes de niveaux. A la couleur fauve des parois s'opposent, selon les saisons, l'ocre vif des labours, le vert des jeunes pousses ou l'or des moissons. Tout ce monde de teintes vives et de minutieuses géométries, damiers de parcelles, parallèles de terrasses, se casse brusquement vers le haut, à la rainure d'une séguia. Au delà, et à l'infini, c'est la roche schisteuse, la forêt, le pâquis. En deçà bouillonne une vie persévérante et cloîtrée. Le village est, dans cette île que forme la montagne au sein de la steppe, lui-même une île. C'est l'île de l'île. D'extraordinaires valeurs de synthèse, de concentration s'y font jour.

Le mot français de balcon éveille tout naturellement l'idée de ces cultures que nous disons aussi en banquettes, ou en terrasses, ou en gradins. Il exprime bien ces encoches sur la paroi dévalante où un peu de végétation est juchée sur un peu de terre, à grand renfort de peine de l'homme. Il s'agit de transformer en ligne brisée, à degrés horizontaux, si ténus soient-ils, la droite déclive

que constitue la pente. Par là, simultanément la maîtrise des sols et la distribution de l'eau d'irrigation seront possibles, et par là seulement l'eau et la terre naîtront simultanément du labeur. Le géographe est assez familiarisé avec ce genre de cultures, dont des exemples classiques peuvent être trouvés aussi bien en Orient qu'en Europe. Cela éveille toujours une idée de vertus rustiques, de courage et de travail. Incessant ouvrage pour s'opposer à la descente des sols, à la chute de l'eau, lentes remontées, couffin à l'épaule, attentif aménagement à la houe et aux « petits outils », art des murs en pierres sèches : tout cela sur guère plus d'espace qu'un pot de fleurs, ou qu'un caisson de terreau à la fenêtre d'un building ! La surprise est ici que tant de peine n'aboutisse qu'à une poignée d'orge ou du maïs. Ces « grandes cultures », au scandale de l'économiste, jurent paradoxalement avec un cadre aussi minutieux, aussi coûteux. N'y a-t-il pas là subversion économique ?

Descendons encore. La rue, c'est le torrent. Ses parois, dans les meilleurs cas, s'étagent en paliers successifs, en terrasses naturelles. Il y a aussi des plaines et des bassins suspendus parfois assez spacieux : à Sidi Âmer u H'addô, à Tuz'z'umt. Ailleurs aussi, plus pauvrement. Mais parfois le fond du couloir se réduit au lit actuel du fleuve. Et l'on s'avise alors que ce lit lui-même n'est pas négligé. Des murs de pierre perpendiculaires au courant s'érigent. Vienne la crue : là où ils ne tiennent pas, tout est emporté. Ainsi en Sekrat. Ailleurs, des cheminements de rigoles tâchent de profiter d'une déclivité générale, sans souci de l'orage qui prendra tout. Ainsi en Imt'ddan.

Peine infinie, art presque gratuit, imprévoyance totale, dirions-nous. Toute une agriculture de lit de torrent édifie et réédifie des défenses, chaque année plusieurs fois vaincues. La pierre est si familière : on la déplace, on la replace avec une telle légèreté ! Propension cyclopéenne, gaspillage d'ouvrage humain. Et l'on croit, d'une foi aveugle, au bienfait de l'eau. On fera donc de l'orge et du maïs avec de la pierre et de l'eau. Le fleuve grossit, arrache le tout. Mais on aura parfois l'aubaine d'une récolte : orge forcé sur le galet, véritable explosion végétale. Et le montagnard de braver le torrent : *ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni*, « il passe et nous demeurons » (1). Forte maxime d'un abus de courage. Par là la vie s'exalte, peine, et de temps à autre, misérablement festoie.

(1) Adage des a.Lh'sen qui sont ceux en effet qui ont le mieux colonisé leur *asif*.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Car cette vie si dure a ses jaillissements. Une alacrité vigilante l'anime. Ici pas de nonchalance, pas de cette langueur des plaines atlantiques, doublement influencée par la mollesse de l'air et les fatalités bédouines. Tout, dans cette montagne, est dur, contrasté, nerveux. De toutes parts, des coins et des recoins finement affouillés, des fonds de vallée ciselés par la houe, un pays découpé en vallons et cantons. Autant de signes de l'homme, d'un génie aux passions fortes, aux non moins fortes patiences. L'Atlas est, on l'a vu, botaniquement une île méditerranéenne, isolée et anachronique. Ce ne sera pas préjuger de la suite de cette étude, que de dire déjà qu'avec cet aspect du pays, une certaine histoire et certaines structures sociales conspirèrent, pour que fût assumé, dans l'encerclement du Sud, un destin à part.

[p.29]

III

DES HOMMES

LA MAISON (1)

Pays de bourgs. Malgré l'identité de la teinte et des matériaux avec la roche alentour, la maison, par sa verticalité audacieuse, son entassement géométrique de cubes et de terrasses, oppose un vif contraste à la nature environnante. Ce paysan, si proche de son support géologique, affirme ainsi une initiative qui proclame l'énergie de la communauté.

Environ 80 agglomérations, groupant actuellement une douzaine de mille habitants, s'égrènent dans les fonds de vallée. Elles y profitent d'une sorte d'inversion qui tourne ici en avantages les tares habituelles de l'économie montagnarde. La basse latitude, qui fait fructifier l'olivier jusqu'à Ad'erd'ur en moyenne vallée, remédie aux rigueurs de l'altitude. L'abri sous parois escarpées, au lieu d'effets répulsifs par le froid et l'ombre, offre une protection contre l'insolation estivale. D'autres causes encore ont fait de cette partie du Maroc, prise entre les steppes, un refuge plutôt qu'un repoussoir. De là la densité de la vie qui tend, d'emblée, par les formes mêmes de l'habitat et de l'architecture, au système urbain.

Le village étale des terrasses presque continues. A peine si d'étroites ruelles, parfois ouvertes en tunnel, les séparent. Une légende de Tinmel illustre l'antiquité d'un tel style. Un bélier échappé put, dit-on, y sauter une journée entière de terrasse en terrasse (2). Hyperbole, sans doute, mais instructive.

Dès lors l'incertitude est grande quant aux limites de la

(1) Sur la maison du Haut-Atlas, R. MONTAGNE, L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas, *Hesp.*, 1927, p. 4 sq., *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc*, 1930, pp. 41 sq. ; planches et légendes dans *Villages et kasbahs berbères*, 1930, pp. 5 sq. ; J. DRESCH et J. DE LEPINAY, *Le guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal*, 1938, p. 73 sq. Dans un autre domaine chleuh, où la réalité technique et linguistique paraît plus riche que celle du Haut-Atlas, A. ADAM, *La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Enfin, on ne peut pas ne pas citer, dans un domaine géographique très différent, E. LAOUST, *L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central*, 1935.

(2) JUSTINARD, *La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft*, 1940, p. 119.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

« maison ». Ce sont entre autres des nécessités de défense qui ont inspiré cette architecture de masses et de blocs. Mais prenons garde que le mot *tigemmi*, s'il désigne bien l'agrégat matériel de cubes maçonnés, de cours, de baies horizontales, de terrasses percées d'un trou carré, s'entend aussi, de façon plus étroite, de la « demeure » qui n'en est qu'une fraction, et qui se décompose parfois encore elle-même en « appartements » *lbyut*. Cette demeure est une. C'est l' « ouverture » *tiflut*, ou même *imi* « dégagement, débouché », qui la définit et la rend autonome de celles avec lesquelles elle est agglomérée. Il n'y a donc pas à proprement parler en Seksawa de maisons d'*ikhs*, bien qu'il puisse y avoir, comme par exemple aux a. Mh'nd, des blocs plus ou moins compacts pressant les demeures d'un même *ikhs*. Mais c'est là un cas privilégié et à peu près unique. D'une façon générale, une partie seulement de l'*ikhs* s'agglomère. Et le contraste est frappant entre une architecture qui, à certains égards, reste agnatique, et l'habitat divis à l'échelon de la famille conjugale.

Non seulement les Seksawa bâtissent des maisons, mais ces maisons sont de pierres et à étages : beau sujet d'étonnement pour les premiers observateurs venus de ce « Maroc utile » que désole la hutte. Un examen plus attentif permettra de nuancer cette appréciation. Jusqu'à mi-vallée, s'observe l'architecture de pisé (1) du Sud. C'est le *löh'h'*, constitué par coffrage et « damage ». Le village de Bul°wân, par exemple, orgueilleusement dominé par la maison d'un *amghar*, ne serait pas déplacé plus bas dans la plaine. Un crépissage extérieur à la chaux a même été ici pratiqué. Fait exceptionnel, parce que seigneurial. Mais l'architecture de pisé se raréfie à mesure qu'on remonte le fleuve. Encore en a. Musa, elle prédomine de beaucoup : environ deux tiers des maisons. Mais elle devient fort rare (un dixième environ) à Z'init' et en Imt'ddan. Inexistante en Idma et plus haut. Ce n'est pas que la terre manque : elle sert encore ici à un crépissage intérieur, et parfois extérieur : mais l'architecture de pierre règne de plus en plus absolument à mesure qu'on monte.

Ce n'est pas seulement les matériaux qui changent. Mais naturellement aussi la forme de la maison. C'est maintenant une maison dressée : à deux ou trois étages. La première qui frappe l'œil, c'est, à la limite dirait-on des techniques proprement monta-

(1) E. Laoust, dans le travail cité ci-dessus examine, pp. 295 et 296, le problème que pose cette technique du pisé, familière au Maghreb et à l'Espagne. H. Terrasse, *Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis*, 1938, pp. 48 sq., voit dans le pisé, « le fourrier d'une autre civilisation », en l'espèce des influences urbaines (p. 79).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

gnardes, mais avec une perfection toute classique, l'agglomération de Tigemmi y-Iggiz : assemblage en ruche d'alvéoles qui sont des demeures individuelles : 7 foyers y vivent. Peu à peu se dégage un type monumental, qui compte déjà de beaux exemplaires, d'allure presque urbaine à Z'init', et culmine en a. H'adduyws aux cinq étages du palais de l'ancien *amghar* Umulid. Normalement, le rez-de-chaussée, *agrur*, sert d'étable et de chauffage central. Au-dessus, des appartements *lbyul*, *linwalin* ; au-dessus, facultativement, la *lameçril*, pièce de réception ou de vie masculine ; enfin, l'*asqqif*, grenier-véranda, pittoresquement ouvert sur l'une de ses faces, avec des piliers de bois parfois s'ajustant à la bordure de la terrasse par une sorte de dorique. La maison à *asqqif* apparaît en a.Musa, où elle constitue environ un tiers des types. Dans la haute vallée, elle est générale. L'ouverture de toutes les vérandas bâille sur la même orientation. Rien de plus frappant que ces villages étagés et architecturés, aux longues baies parallèles trouant la façade : tel apparaît Fensu à celui qui descend d'Uzaga.

Tout cela est noir et triste. C'est bâti en pierre schisteuse, aux cassures longitudinales, aux plans lustrés, et lié de terre grasse. Le toit, dont R. Montagne pour l'Aghbar, J. Dresch pour le Tubkal ont décrit la composition feuilletée, n'est au fond qu'un sol. Il fait chaussée. Les maisons, s'accumulant dans un système jointif, où chaque nouveau participant autonome loge son propre apport de pièces, s'ordonnent volontiers en quartiers, séparés par des ruelles ou des tunnels. Un bel exemple du genre à Igerssaffen, où le chemin muletier suivant la vallée doit emprunter un passage couvert.

Ces demeures sont bien fermées. Les portes, conformes au type homérique, ne tournent pas sur des gonds encastrés dans un montant immobile : mais leur axe tourne lui-même mobile sur des crapaudines. C'est du dedans que la serrure fonctionne. Système au maniement compliqué, consistant en pennes de bois ou de fer. Un trou pour la main permet de l'ouvrir du dehors. Et l'on se rappelle, sans vouloir faire de rapprochement, cette anecdote de l'Africain Apulée, sur la mésaventure d'un voleur : il introduit la main, mais une vieille, guettant derrière la porte, lui enfonce une alène dans le poignet, de sorte que, pour ne pas rester pris, il est obligé de se trancher lui-même le bras.

LES BOURGS

La forme de l'habitat est celle du « hameau » *Imud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomération est parfois importante : ainsi les

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

a.Mh'nd (600 hab.). Elle peut aussi ne consister qu'en un « écart » de deux ou trois maisons. Ainsi à Ighilan, face à Buteghradin : une vaste portion de pente est occupée par une série de petits quartiers, chacun se ramassant à part des autres. Naturellement, les préoccupations de défense ont prévalu sur les commodités. Même sur celle de l'approvisionnement en eau. Amsgerdat reste perchée au sommet d'une invraisemblable falaise. Ailleurs, comme à Tasselli, survit la formule préhistorique dite de « l'éperon barré ». Mais la stratégie n'a pas seule conditionné l'installation. Parfois même elle est négligée. Un bourg comme Tuz'z'umt s'étale sans crainte. Et, presque partout, c'est la colline au bord du fleuve, le premier ressaut de la paroi, et non l'escarpement, que l'on choisit pour bâtir. Plus encore que la sécurité, on recherche la publicité. Il faut au citoyen une situation d'où il embrasse le périmètre des cultures, et puisse suivre les déplacements de chacun. Malheur à l'homme seul : c'est un méchant. Tout dans cette vie rurale doit se passer au grand jour, affronter le débat. A cette préoccupation répondent deux organes importants du village : l'emplacement pour la célébration de certains rites, *az'allo*, et celui où se pressent les aires à dépiquer, *inraren*. Des bourgs importants ont aussi leur forum, siège des réunions et des danses : c'est l'*asaïs* ou *asarag*. Par contre jamais ne se rencontre, sauf rarissime exception, la maison isolée, la villa patriarcalement entourée de ses fonds qui s'instaure à la limite des H'âh'a et des Mtugga.

Le chleuh ne distingue pas le hameau du bourg déjà presque urbain. Il emploie toujours le mot *lmud'a* « localité », exotique apport arabe, d'un vague tout suspect. En règle générale, nulle coïncidence entre l'unité politique, la *laqbill*, et l'unité d'habitat aggloméré. (On n'en trouve, dans notre secteur, qu'un cas isolé, celui des a. Mh'nd). Ni avec l'unité sociale, l'*ikhs*. Pourtant il arrive parfois que des éléments de tout un *ikhs* habitent à part, ou plus fréquemment que le village se décompose en quartiers, comme à T'abya. Mais ce qui compte, c'est plutôt l'indifférence de l'habitat quant aux structures sociales et à l'ordre agraire. L'enchevêtrement des *ikhs*-s entre hameaux du même canton, et de leurs terres dans les différents quartiers, sans autre correspondance avec les divisions de l'habitat que cette complexité même, est bien plutôt la règle.

Pourtant, l'agglomération comme telle peut revêtir une signification : c'est quand les proportions excessives de la *laqbill* font éclater ses *ikhs*-s en tronçons, lesquels mèneront une vie de plus en plus indépendante dans chacun des villages où ils s'installent,

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

combinés avec d'autres éléments. Ainsi du partage des Iseqqalen entre plusieurs villages du pays Idma. Il est vrai que cette dispersion ne va pas très loin. Il existe pourtant une solidarité de village, dont le signe le plus complet est celui de l'existence d'une *timezgida* : lieu de culte, si l'on veut, encore que d'une orthodoxie au goût singulier, mais aussi cercle municipal. L'unité *timezgida* est celle qui, à de rares anomalies près, pourra le mieux renseigner sur la quotité moyenne des agglomérations dans les divers cantons. Ainsi en a. H'adduyws, 21 mosquées donnent une moyenne de 125 habitants groupés. Encore ce résultat est-il sensiblement faussé par l'existence de deux bourgs, Tasa et Fensu, de 3 à 400 habitants chacun. En Idma, 13 agglomérations, dont un bourg de près de 500 habitants, Usikis ; la moyenne fait 160 habitants. L'unique bourg des a. Mh'nd a quelque 600 habitants : mais c'est à lui seul une *laqbill*. Les Imt'ddan et les a. Musa n'atteignent pas la centaine d'habitants agglomérés en moyenne. D'une façon générale, on le voit, ces unités sont très petites. On reviendra sur les problèmes de structure que cela pose. Tenons-nous en pour le moment à deux impressions qui peuvent tirer, de la comparaison avec d'autres milieux, une certaine vivacité.

Une association d'idées invincible lie, pour nous, la notion d'architecture en pierres à celle de durée, et aussi de magnificence (1). Il n'en est rien ici. Toutes les circonvallations de pierres qui défendent les gradins de culture sont sujettes à révision incessante. Dans la maison, d'autre part, fût-elle de dalles schisteuses dressées au cordeau, rien qui sente le seigneur. Celui-ci, plus loin au S., habite sa *qaçba* de pisé. Dans cette partie du Maroc, le palais est de boue, et la bicoque de pierre. Rien de plus déconcertant pour nous que la facilité avec laquelle le montagnard abandonne la masure, prélèvement fait des seules boiseries, et se met à bâtir ailleurs. De là tant de ruines éparses : tels villages antiques, avec leurs banquettes et leurs murailles, sont abandonnés. A quoi il y a plusieurs raisons, dont l'une est sans doute morale : horreur des ruines, auxquelles s'attachent des forces vengeresses, et l'autre économique : cette immense débauche de main-d'œuvre qui, par ses réalisations magistrales parfois, mais saccadées, dispense l'action humaine de persévérance.

Autre idée à réviser, celle que nous nous faisons souvent d'un habitat aussi morcelé. Pour le géographe européen, ce sera le

(1) Cf. réflexions de VIDAL DE LA BLACHE, *Principes de géographie humaine*, 1922, sur l'architecture de terre *(adobe)*, p. 150, et de pierre, pp. 150 et 154 sq. Il voit dans la connexion des cultures en terrasses et de l'architecture de pierre une chose essentiellement méditerranéenne (p. 156).

F. Berque MW11 Shluh

signe d'un particularisme anarchique, d'une défaillance des structures sociales. Or c'est ici tout le contraire. Rien n'est plus étroitement uni que ces ensembles d'écarts ou de hameaux *lmud'a*, jetés comme au hasard dans la vallée, et n'obéissant qu'aux exigences d'une capricieuse stratégie, ou de l'humeur. La cité chleuhe se casse en petits morceaux : mais elle est cité. Elle s'émiette sur tout le canton. C'est que, par l'effet combiné d'un milieu inhospitalier et de l'énergie des hommes, d'immenses pans de nature sauvage, de parcs et de jardins, sont maintenus entre les pâtés de maisons.

LA FAMILLE, VUE DU DEHORS

« Ce qu'on trouve, dans ces montagnes, c'est la famille-souche selon Le Play. La personne individuelle s'y absorbe, sous l'autorité patriarcale de l'ancien. De village en village, ces petits foyers sociaux et politiques s'affrontent en deux ligues, à la mesure de toute l'étendue des provinces. »

S'agit-il de l'Atlas, de ses « familles patriarcales » et de ses *leff*-s ? Non point, mais des Basques (1) et de la dualité qui les oppose en *onacinos* et *gamboinos* aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Mais laissons cette comparaison, qui n'est qu'une amusette. Attachons-nous à deviner sous des faits et des images simples les rapports de l'individu et de la famille dans cette partie de l'Atlas. Avouons tout de suite que ce chapitre ne saurait conclure : d'abord parce qu'à cette place, il ne vise qu'à décrire, sans préjuger des analyses économiques et juridiques qui seules permettront de prolonger la description en l'interprétant. Et aussi et surtout parce qu'en l'état actuel des études psychologiques au Maghreb, on ne saurait ici prétendre qu'apporter quelques matériaux aux enquêtes à venir.

Les Seksawa sont monogames. Il n'y a pas actuellement chez eux un centième d'individus ayant deux ou trois épouses. Encore s'agit-il de personnages hors du commun. Une étude plus poussée révélerait entre *laqbill*-s, quant au rôle de la polygamie, quant à la nuptialité et quant à la proportion des divorces, d'instructives diversités. En gros la force du lien matrimonial s'affirme à mesure

(1) J. Caro Baroja, *Los pueblos de España*, Barcelone, 1946, p. 274. Cf. dans *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1951, pp. 497 sq., le compte rendu d'ouvrages de ce spécialiste. Dans le *Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España*, Barcelone, 1902, t. II, J. Costa donne une remarquable étude sur les différents types de famille dans le N. de l'Espagne, pp. 234 sq. Ce ne sera pas là la seule fois que, dans un but non pas de comparatisme, mais d'analogie géographique, nous ferons appel à une documentation espagnole.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

qu'on remonte la vallée. Mais un contraste autrement vigoureux oppose les Seksawa en bloc, comme d'ailleurs tous leurs voisins du Dir d'Imintanout, aux tribus arabes de la plaine, comme les Ud Bessebâ°, essentiellement polygames. Une enquête récente a de même révélé dans ces montagnes un fait incontestable : la fréquence du célibat. Soit, par rapport aux gens mariés, et en comprenant adolescents nubiles, veufs et divorcés, un tiers de célibataires pour les hommes, une moitié pour les femmes. De tels chiffres, à défaut d'investigation spécialisée, ne sauraient rien fonder. Ils n'en doivent pas moins être notés ici pour le démenti qu'ils infligent d'emblée à certaines idées préconçues.

Toutes les femmes Seksawa ont les clefs de la resserre. Elles les exigent. Qui les leur refuse les voit abandonner la vie conjugale, ce qui est, pour le mari frustré, ridicule et coûteux. L'opinion publique attribue ce trait à un caractère enclin aux disputes domestiques, mais qu'elles savent compenser par d'autres talents : celui de sorcière par exemple, ou de championne habile aux procès, ou encore, comme le dit l'adage, de beauté nocturne apte à fournir, le jour, un travail de bête de somme ! Enfin, c'est une *Tasseksiwil* : et cela suffit. La tribu commente avec une indulgence amusée et secrètement admirative ces traits, qui, pense-t-elle, la différencient de tous ses voisins : des Gedmiwa ou de ceux d'outre-Tichka. Par exemple des Idaw Kais, ou des a. Tkssit chez qui, dit-on, dix à quinze foyers peuvent cohabiter sans querelle, ou de ces Idaw Mh'mud où fleurit l'institution masculine de l'*agadir* (1). Dans l'*agadir*, en effet, c'est l'homme, exclusivement, qui garde la clef de la logette à grain ; et encore sa gérance s'exerce-t-elle dans un concert communal qui en accentue le caractère extra-domestique. Ailleurs, en Nfifa, en Mez'ud'a, *a fortiori* chez les arabes Ud Bessebâ°, c'est « le chef de famille » qui administre la réserve. Celle-ci est d'ailleurs souvent ensilée hors de la demeure. Ce chef de famille est en général l'ancien de la maison. Il distribue périodiquement aux couples qui coexistent dans la *ligemmi* des provisions qui, dans la plupart des cas, seront individuellement apprêtées.

En Mtugga, on évalue à une moitié des familles celles qui pratiquaient, avant le Protectorat, la communauté simultanée

(1) Il n'y a qu'un *agadir* à fonctionner en Seksawa, celui d'Ikis. Restes d'un *agadir* ruiné à Iguntar. Cf. lieut. P. Dupas, Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental, *Hesp.*, 1929, pp. 303 sq. La richesse des I. Mh'mûd en *agadir*-s contraste avec la quasi-absence de ceux-ci en Seksawa, où il y en aurait peut-être eu, si l'on en croit la toponymie, mais à une époque extrêmement ancienne. Ce qui est donc caractéristique des Seksawa, ce n'est pas l'existence, mais la non-existence de l'*agadir*, au moins pour l'époque moderne.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'habitat et de cuisine. Mais une évolution s'est fait jour. Si l'ancien tient toujours la clef des réserves, un dixième seulement des familles reste fidèle à la table unique. D'autre part, la grande maison tombe en défaveur. Les foyers essaiment tout autour, et bâtissent pour leur compte un logement qui leur soit propre. Enfin, dans des tribus voisines, comme les I. Buzia, c'est le père qui abandonne aux fils la maison commune, bâtit à part, et, souvent alors, prend une jeune femme. Cette division de régime et d'habitat met donc en cause des phénomènes complexes : les rapports de bon ton entre le barbon et ses fils adultes, l'intervention du « démon de midi » qui, ici, disperse la tablée commune, et, ailleurs, oriente l'homme vieillissant vers les affiliations secrètes.

Il n'y a pas, on le voit, forcément coïncidence entre la gestion des réserves et la distribution des aliments. Dans les tribus de plaine, en effet, si la première incombe le plus souvent à un seul mâle, la seconde se fait foyer par foyer, c'est-à-dire par familles conjugales au sens étroit. Encore subsiste-t-il quelques maisons, grandes maisons, vieilles maisons — car la tradition enregistre ici une décadence — où le patriarche dispensateur des grains préside aussi à un communisme alimentaire. Deux tablées sont organisées : celle des femmes, et celle des hommes. La cuisine est faite à tour de rôle par les épouses dans un local unique : *aârich* en Mtugga, *kechchina* dans la plaine, *anual* dans la montagne. Mais la proportion de ces survivances, ou du moins considérées comme telles en plaine, ne dépasse pas le dixième, ou tout au plus le cinquième.

Il n'en est pas autrement en Seksawa. Mais là, la dispersion des cuisines entre foyers, mode majoritaire, mode normal, n'est nullement donnée comme consécutive à une évolution quelconque. Bien plutôt l'irascibilité des femmes, vantée comme une qualité nationale, ou presque, fournit l'immédiate explication d'un mode de vie qu'un fort contraste oppose donc à la forme de l'habitat, cette *tigemmi*, véritable ruche, où les pièces s'agglomèrent parfois par dizaines, et comportant même, dans les cas les plus développés, plusieurs cours internes et plusieurs loggias. Même quand la commensalité subsiste, chacun, à part soi dans sa chambre, apprête sur un réchaud des mets d'appoint. Une évolution du régime alimentaire est ici décelable. Elle a fourni à cette subsistance, complémentaire de la fade potée commune, une matière commode : le thé sucré (1). Et ce n'est pas là seulement un

(1) Le thé a été, dans les milieux ruraux marocains, un prolongement modern-style, si j'ose dire, de ce type de « nourritures aqueuses », encore repré-

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

« dessert », encore que sa généralisation en somme récente, les ustensiles qu'il requiert, sa provenance citadine et exotique l'apparentent à un ordre de choses qui n'est pas celui de la vie cantonale, mais à certains égards, celui de la rêverie, du jeu et de l'évasion. C'est aussi un véritable aliment, qui « fait passer » à merveille le pain et vous stimule au delà de sa valeur réelle en calories. Et, bien qu'il soit devenu ici, comme dans le reste du Maroc, l'auxiliaire obligé de toute vie de société, il est encore, dans la mesure où il s'oppose au brouet ancestral, le signe d'un affranchissement individuel.

Le pécule rapporté du travail en ville fait le plus souvent les frais du régal. Mais, on l'a vu, les provisions de grain sont aussi, le plus souvent, individuelles. Si dans la *ligemmi* coexistent deux et même trois générations, et parfois des ensembles plus vastes de collatéraux, ce n'est pas le communisme, mais un coopératisme fort exact qui anime l'économie rurale. Le troupeau, il est vrai, reste en général commun. L'entretien du berger est assuré à tour de rôle. Une répartition assez compliquée peut aussi s'exercer quant à l'entretien des valets *akheddam*, plur. *ikheddamen*, s'il y en a plusieurs. Mais, si la division du fonds est rare, du moins tant que le père vit avec ses fils adultes, la récolte est intégralement partagée soit au moment du dépôt des javelles : c'est le système *ddu ladla* — soit après le dépiquage et sur l'aire : c'est le système *s-triall*, « au couffin ». La femme, naturellement, entre parmi ces ayants-droit. Sa part s'absorbe avec celle de l'époux dans une communauté qui ne se résoudra qu'en cas de divorce. Mais, on le voit, le champ de cette communauté se réduit au couple conjugal. Et encore est-elle justiciable de précises arithmétiques en cas de dissolution.

Ainsi, même quand le traditionalisme de l'ensemble, ou le prestige de l'un des membres établissent, à l'échelon de toute la *ligemmi*, l'unité du mode d'existence, manifestée par la pitance commune, subsiste la personnalité économique du couple. Ce n'a pas été l'une des moindres surprises des enquêteurs du recensement de 1952 dans cette région que de constater que le mot « foyer »

senté ici par toutes sortes de bouillies, et où VARAGNAC et MAURISIO voient un stade culinaire extrêmement ancien. P.-E. BACHE, Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador, *Revue maritime et coloniale*, 1861, p. 87, attribue l'origine de la diffusion du thé au Maroc à un présent fait par les Anglais au Sultan en 1820. Lors du séjour de Bache à Mogador (1859), cette boisson est déjà très répandue. P. CHATINIÈRES, *Dans le Grand Atlas marocain*, en 1917, constate la consommation de thé en Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. LEMPRIÈRE, dont le voyage est de 1790-91, *Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès*, 1801, note déjà la cérémonie du thé, mais chez les riches seulement, p. 250.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

lakal, ar : *kânûn*, utilisé dans le formulaire, était uniquement compris comme correspondant à la famille conjugale au sens strict : ce qui fait que son effectif moyen n'était que de 3 en général, parfois de 4, mais très rarement de 5 personnes, comme on l'avait cru jusque-là. Ce caractère économique s'est renforcé évidemment d'évolutions récentes : celle du régime alimentaire, par exemple, ou celle des possibilités d'émigration ouvrière.

Ainsi donc, et bien qu'il faille noter que les montagnards n'attribuent à nulle décadence, à nul changement des mœurs l'actuel morcellement des foyers, cette observation appelle quelques correctifs. Le domaine des a. H'adduyws, de même qu'il se caractérise par une pratique plus rare du divorce — moitié moins que chez les Idma, par exemple — semble être resté plus fidèle à une tradition antique d'agrégats familiaux.

Il est un autre point où une évolution récente a influencé le comportement. Nous aurons à parler en détail d'une importante pratique patrimoniale, que paraît avoir raréfiée le nouveau régime notarial. Il s'agit de la disposition, par le père, de tout ou partie de ses immeubles au profit de tels ou tels de ses héritiers, en général des mâles. L'institution, aujourd'hui assez imprécise, s'appelle, selon le cas, *waçiyya*, *ççadaqa*, ou même *lh'obus*. Ce serait une étude bien intéressante que de déterminer quelle pouvait être la fréquence de ces partages successoraux anticipés, si j'ose dire, par lesquels le père, de son propre gré, se mettait à égalité avec ses fils quant à la propriété des champs ancestraux. On n'a pas entrepris cette recherche d'archives. Mais si l'état de choses présent ne peut apporter là-dessus de précisions suffisantes, car l'institution est très oblitérée, les actes de ce genre sont nombreux dans le passé, et semblent révéler une tendance très forte des mœurs.

Une telle égalisation entre père et fils va à l'encontre de tout ce que l'on pourrait imaginer d'une culture patriarcale. Mais c'est à cette impression que conduirait déjà la grande initiative individuelle qu'une telle société laisse aux jeunes gens dans le choix du conjoint. Les accordailles sont libres. Elles se font peut-être parfois dans une atmosphère — d'ailleurs aujourd'hui bien pâlie — de groupes d'âge et de fête communale. Jamais elles ne procèdent des parents. Ceux-ci sont en général requis par le jeune homme ou la jeune fille de prêter à l'accord leur seule entremise, nécessaire à une consécration juridique, et partie intégrante du contexte cérémoniel.

Si la désinvolture de l'adolescent est telle à l'égard de son père, si l'autonomie du couple tranche si vivement dans l'agrégat de la *ligemmi*, que sera-ce des rapports de ces familles conjugales avec

l'ensemble agnatique plus vaste de l'*ikhs*, défini par un sobriquet ou un nom d'ancêtre ? L'impression est que ces rapports ne sont — aujourd'hui en tout cas — conçus que sous l'angle du droit public. Nulle loi, nulle morale, et même nul bon ton ne forcent le citoyen autonome, le *rrami*, à prendre conseil de ses collatéraux. Cette société est même sur ce point étrangement irrespectueuse de

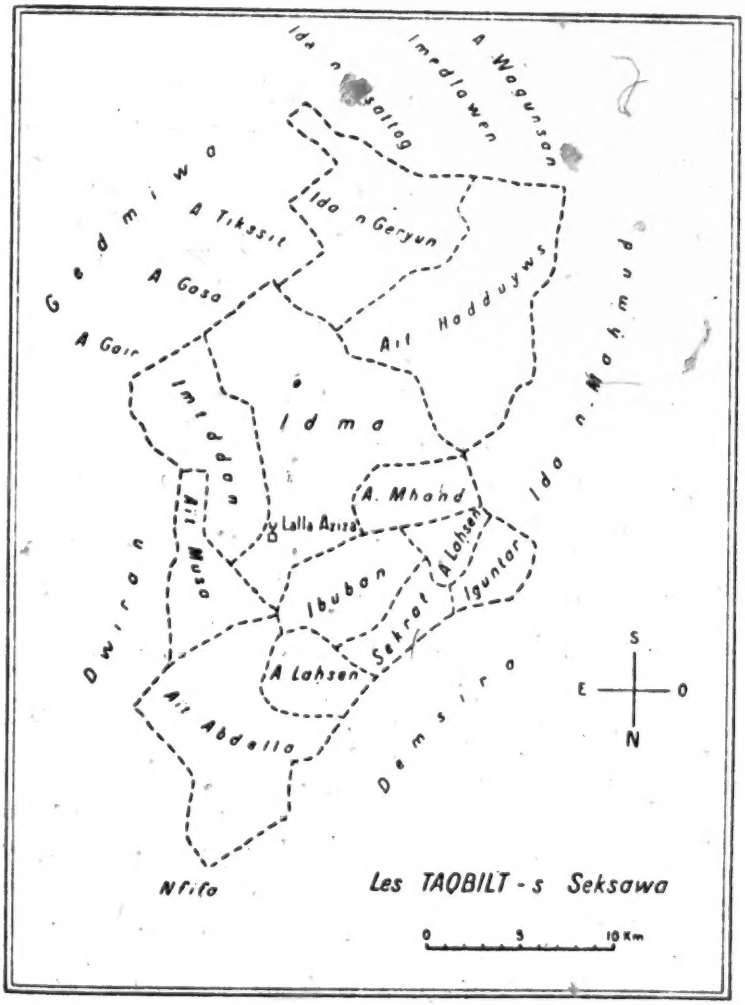


FIG. 4. — Les *Taqbilt-s*, division cantonale de l'ensemble Seksawa

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

la vieillesse, dont nous lui prêterions le culte. Car le collatéral, en l'espèce, c'est souvent l'usurpateur ou le créancier, acharné à remembrer « sur sa tête » le patrimoine gentilice.

Or l'individu n'a guère de nom, si l'on peut dire. Les anthroponymes sont incontestablement ici plus pauvres, moins variés qu'en pays arabe. Plus monotones, et aussi plus légers à ouïr. Ils ne consistent en général qu'en brèves syllabes, dont l'assemblage est rarement original. Il n'est pas de village si modeste qu'il n'ait plusieurs Bihi u Âli, plusieurs Âddi u Bella. Les combinaisons de ces binomes, où la grandeur des noms sémitiques, théophores déchoit en abréviations familières, tout en voyelles rustiques, sont pauvres de gamme. Il est vrai, que, contrairement au pays arabe, l'*ikhs*, lui, a toujours sa désignation. Ce gentilice est en général évocateur et sonore. Sa richesse et sa solidité contrastent avec cette banalité du *praenomen*, à peu près comme dans le système latin, mais avec cette différence que le surnom, si fréquent en pays arabe, *laqab*, est ici très rare.

Selon le milieu où se meuvent, l'ordre d'idées auquel se réfèrent les interlocuteurs, des cercles concentriques de plus en plus larges, si j'ose dire, d'identification sont émus. Tout ce que l'on peut affirmer, c'est que le nom de l'*ikhs*, lui, échappe à toute ambiguïté, et ne se réfère, pour être intelligible, à rien d'autre qu'à l'unité politique, la *laqbill*. Dès le premier pas, donc, de cette enquête, la force de l'*ikhs* éclate. Et, simultanément, d'autres faits d'évidence, d'ordre juridique ou ressortissant aux gestes de la vie quotidienne : cuisine, agriculture, allées et venues de chacun, établissent tout aussi irrécusablement que la personne individuelle affirme un jeu totalement indépendant, au moins dans la vie civile. Peut-être le stade actuel a-t-il refoulé dans une ombre pudique des solidarités anciennes tirant leur raison d'être de la guerre et de la rapine. L'ancienne organisation des *patres* ou « ait Arbâin » fait aussi partie des choses dont on n'aime plus parler. Mais l'impression ne s'en impose pas moins que si l'*ikhs* est un cadre essentiel à l'intelligence de cette civilisation, de son histoire, de ses structures foncières, de ses substrats magico-religieux, de sa continuité dans tous les domaines, il le cède, dans les mœurs, à l'autonomie de la famille conjugale, à l'agressive vitalité de l'individu.

[P.41]

IV

PERSONNALITÉS CANTONALES

DESCENTE DU TICHKA : LE BOUT DU MONDE

Il existe dans la montagne d'Amizmiz un « bout du monde » *Imi n-ddunit*. Bien que le nom ne se retrouve pas ici, c'est bien au bout du monde que l'étranger se sent, lorsqu'il est parvenu au dernier palier de la dernière impasse, au flanc même du Tichka. Mais ce qui est aboutissement, ultime effort pour le visiteur venu de la plaine, explorateur, conquérant, prosélyte, sera pour nous, plus justement, un point de départ.

Commençons donc à descendre du fond de la vallée des « fils de Géryon », Idaw Geryun, à partir de leur bourg nommé Targa Ufella « la séguia suprême ». Derrière nous, plus rien que le Tizi Uzdim, dont l'escarpement, entaillé dans le granit du vieux massif, vous mène en plein ciel, aux pâquis silencieux du Tichka. Six mois de l'année, de novembre à mars, la neige les couvre. Et, à partir du 10 mars, une mise en défense impérieusement « nouée » *aggʷmi iqqan*, sauvegarde les herbages jusqu'à ce que les I. Geryun la « délient ». Alors y affluent, outre les troupeaux Seksawa, ceux des tribus environnantes : Imedlaun, Idaw-Mçat't'og, Tigguga, a. Tkssit et même a. Ughbar. Pendant cette longue interdiction, les troupeaux du haut Seksawa ont transhumé en plaine chez les arabes Ud Bessebâᵉ. Outre le mouton, la richesse de ces vallées est le noyer, dont les feuillages odorants, à partir de mai, font de chaque ravine un couloir de verte pénombre, en contraste violent avec les reliefs d'alentour, puissants, tristes, dévorés de soleil ou de frimas.

En effet, le pays des I. Geryun est de tous côtés enserré de montagnes. Le Tanddri, dominant l'archaïque bourg d'Ikis et souvent appelé Ikis lui-même par nos cartes, s'élance en cône aigu, d'une rectitude presque géométrique, aux échappées de la rive droite. Sur la gauche, un autre cône, le Ras Mulay Âli, point culminant de cette partie de la chaîne, dont sa pyramide élancée défie l'habituelle lourdeur. Son sommet (3.310 m.) est une minuscule plate-forme, partout entourée de pentes à 80 % et entièrement occupée par les ruines de bâtisses en pierre sèche, dites

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

timezgida « sanctuaire » d'un Mulay Âli, personnage non identifié. Un trou creusé au milieu des ruines traduit les préoccupations, fréquentes au Maghreb, des chercheurs de trésors. Une humidité abondante en sourd. Sur le versant Nord même, à 300 m. environ du sommet, une source glacée débite un faible filet. De ce belvédère, le panorama est immense : Taroudant d'un côté, la plaine de Chichaoua de l'autre, une profonde perspective E.-O. sur la chaîne axiale. Entre les deux pyramides du Tanddri et du Ras Mulay Ali, la vallée se ferme sur un mur : le rebord du Tichka, dominé par le Tassyut et le Mssddat. Mais continuons à suivre la pente, à partir de Targa Ufella.

Immédiatement au bas de la descente, le terroir de Tamgonsi, d'Igezwan à Rekto, échelonne ses cultures ombreuses, sur des méplats du lit assez larges, surtout devant Alus. Un hallier bucolique, Azerwal, s'enfonce sous les lourds feuillages des noyers. Puis, un sanctuaire, celui de Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi « Monsieur du genévrier ». De là s'ouvre en direction du Ras Mulay Âli, l'asif Lh'lu, que les vieux documents nomment *Wâdi'l-tuffâh* « la rivière des pommiers ». Ces arbres sont introuvables maintenant. Mais leur espèce était, dit-on, tellement fournie, il y a une génération seulement, que la vente des fruits suffisait au canton pour se procurer de l'orge. Il en reste des rejetons assauvagis. De même, des merisiers, *asemlal*, dénoncent peut-être d'anciens cerisiers. On n'exploite plus aujourd'hui que le pêcher, l'abricotier et le prunier. Le tout dans une luxuriance de fleurs et d'arbustes, parmi lesquels l' « églantier » *likhfert*. Régal de fraîcheur, de couleur et de variété.

La branche principale de la vallée descend vers le Seksawa. Ses flancs sont parsemés de peuplements d' « opuntia » *âknari*, toujours ici associés à d'anciens habitats humains. Il y en a plusieurs d'abandonnés. Notons au passage des noms instructifs : la mosquée du Vizir, et le « marabout » *Sidi Jâmâ* « Monsieur-Mosquée », entre Rekto et Ighelmellen. La vallée s'ouvre en creux de plus en plus large sur un « Entre-deux torrents », le village d'Igersafen. Là commence un autre pays, celui des a. H'adduyws.

Les I. Geryun, avec la vallée d'Uzaga, abritent l'un des rameaux de la plus authentique lignée Seksawa : les propres descendants des rois que mentionnait, au XIVe siècle, Ibn Khaldûn : les a. D'alh'a, dont les archives de famille fourniront une information importante à cette recherche.

AIT H'ADDUYWS : DES « FILS DE ROI »

On remonte le Seksawa par un vertigineux sentier de rive droite. Après Tasselli, on longe des à-pic de 2 à 300 m. On redescend ensuite, au confluent de l'Imi y-Ikis, à hauteur duquel la séguia des Idma se détache du lit du fleuve. La prise en est déjà chez les a. H'adduyws : d'où une menace permanente et bien des guerres du temps jadis. Le sentier remonte ensuite. De la crête une fois atteinte, le Tizi n-Kennas, se découvre d'un coup le panorama de la chaîne, formant l'horizon au S. Il est colossal. Les moindres de ces sommets : Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, dépassent les 3.000 m. Aux pieds du voyageur, le village d'Igersafen « entre deux rivières » forme comme le centre d'un croissant fertile. Là convergent, en effet, deux vallées : celle des I. Geryun, dévalant du Tichka, dont on aperçoit à l'E. la grandiose dentelure ; celle de la branche principale du Seksawa, qui s'enfonce au S. et où notre visiteur va s'engager.

Le sombre paysage de schiste s'éclaire. On est à présent dans des calcaires tendant au rosâtre et au bleuté. La vallée s'épanouit en esplanades plus amples qu'on n'en rencontrera dans tout le reste de la vallée. Au centre, une coupole, celle d'un saint éponyme, ou plutôt celle du fils de l'éponyme, ce H'addû u Yûsuf dont descendrait la *laqbill*. Le snobisme orthographique a réagi, en effet, sur la prononciation. Celle-ci tient à imposer un a. H'addô u Yûsuf, qu'elle déforme couramment en paroxyton. Yûsuf serait le propre fils d'Ibn Tachfin l'almoravide. Belle invraisemblance. Une orthodoxie prudente, mais de basse époque, a camouflé, en l'antidatant d'un siècle, par référence aux bons almoravides, l'histoire almohade de cette partie de la montagne. Le culte de cet éponyme est aujourd'hui bien modeste, et sa descendance bien dispersée. Ses propres documents généalogiques se réfèrent à un cycle qui déborde les Seksawa pour pénétrer en Idaw Mh'mud, et jusqu'en Mentaga. Dans cette décadence, il y a toute l'histoire des Seksawa, ou plutôt leur chute de la grande histoire du XIVe siècle à l'humble intrigue montagnarde de basse époque.

Le cirque est vaste. Il commence à 1.600 m. d'altitude, au débouché d'Igersafen vers le S. Mais l'habitat monte jusqu'aux 1.950 m. d'altitude de Wawnsawt, la plus haute agglomération des Seksawa. Sur toute cette section, le lit s'évase en larges méplats où s'échelonnent les cultures, de part et d'autre d'une rue de noyers. Cette disposition dure jusqu'au cul-de-sac de Wawnsawt. De là, plus qu'un mur, mais dont on voit à présent le détail et qui forme caisson. Une tache claire l'échancre : le Tizi

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

y-Imedlawen. Accès bien précaire : par là, pourtant, des marcheurs intrépides fréquentent le souq des Tigguga, et même les a. Tamment, où est le sanctuaire de sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. Le saint est séparé par un jour de marche de Wawnsawt, village ultime des Seksawa : guère plus que de ce village à Imintanout.

Dans la plaine des « fils de roi », et malgré son ampleur et sa richesse relatives, la race antique n'a guère subsisté. Il est venu beaucoup d'hommes nouveaux, Idaw Semlal pour la plupart. Mais l'immigration a été ici sans doute progressive. Sans violence au moins qu'ait enregistré le souvenir. L'agrégat ainsi constitué est lui-même devenu conquérant. Au bourg de Tasa subsiste l'immense maison rectangulaire du dernier *amghar* indépendant, Ah'med Umulid. Plus bas, à Fensu, à la racine même de l'Aziwal, règne un riche-homme montagnard, chef des temps présents : la vieille vie patriarcale et ardente vire à la prospérité dans l'achat de noix en vert et la commandite de l'élevage. La majesté du lieu ne nourrit plus qu'un capitalisme aux sagaces fructifications. Il se combine toutefois avec l'esprit des hautes vallées dans un mélange de forte teneur archéologique. Les familles issues du grand ancêtre, les a. D'alh'a, occupent plusieurs villages, et ne contribuent pas peu à revêtir le pays, dans l'optique indigène, d'une teinte discrète, secrète, mais réelle, d'authenticité. Elles restent, vestiges du passé, le support d'une légitimité selon les Seksawa, dont les autres souches en bénéficient peu ou prou. Lignée authentique et allogènes, tous sont aujourd'hui fils de H'addô. Des facteurs immatériels, dont il ne faut pas minimiser l'action sur ces montagnards, ont ici imposé leur trêve : peut-être la force attachée à ce saint pourtant déserté du rite, presque oublié, et qui n'en est pas moins « le grand ancêtre ».

C'est une toute autre impression que recueille le voyageur qui, sortant de la vallée, gravit le Tizi n-Tbgurt (2.650 m.). A sa droite le Tizi n-Trga ouvre un passage difficile, mais indispensable, vers le Sous. C'est cette voie qu'empruntèrent, au cours des derniers siècles, les envahisseurs venus de l'Anti-Atlas relayer les vieilles populations agonisantes. Et c'est de là qu'ils s'épandirent vers le N. Des flancs du Tabgurt, plusieurs avenues s'étoilent en effet vers la plaine ; elles sont restées l'habitat des hommes nouveaux : a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Vers le N. et le N.-O. bombent les hauts terrains séparant les vallées constitutives de l'asif n.-a. Lh'sen. L'œil suit leurs profils jusqu'à la barre du Bwibaun ; dans l'axe, au loin, apparaît, à la faveur d'une échancrure, le relief tabulaire des Dwiran. Vers le N.-E. dévalent les terrasses d'Agersili. Le paysage, de là, bifurque, dirait-on, en patte d'oie,

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

C'est dans ces directions divergentes que s'est étalée l'histoire des peuplements venus du Sous. On peut ainsi se demander si l'axe politique qui coïncide maintenant avec la vallée ne s'est pas déplacé au cours des âges.

« CANTONS » PAR EXCELLENCE

Nous voici aux confins claquemurés du monde Seksawa. Et même, ces gens-ci ne sont plus des Seksawa. Ce sont des Demsira vassalisés. Dernier reste des empiètements qu'à une époque inconnue leur peuple commit sur tout le bas Seksawa, jusqu'au moment où des hommes nouveaux et braves, venus de l'extrême Sous, libérèrent le vieux terroir avec le secours de ses saints.

Une descente vertigineuse, des hauteurs boisées de l'Wagrarat, mène à un fond de puits. Le torrent des Iguntar passe ici. Ils ont leurs deux villages : Tagenza et Tannammert, « le fronton et l'adret », campés à mi-falaise. A Tagenza, ruines d'un agadir, « grenier-citadelle », le seul du pays avec celui d'Ikis. L'arête atlasique se soude au dernier contrefort du Bwibaun, ce long mur hercynien qui clôture à l'O. le monde Seksawa. L'Arjbib, le Zkkat' ont de 2.400 à 2.890 m. C'est l'impasse. De l'autre côté de la crête habitent bien les Idaw Meh'mud : mais c'est l'autre côté du monde. Même si les pâturages de crête sont communs, une opposition radicale régit la vie de part et d'autre. On se tourne le dos de chaque côté du mur.

Les véritables parents des Iguntar sont ailleurs, dans le reste des Demsira. Les vieux actes de cette tribu les montrent réglant de leurs délibérations des intérêts plus ou moins mêlés avec ceux des Irohalen, débordant donc largement vers le Tizi Umachchô. Leur légende mentionne un héros fondateur et de grands ancêtres qui ont bâti les pays *bnan timizar*, expression d'une substantielle exactitude. Leurs neuf séguias et leurs cinq *ikhs*-s entrelacent droits et possibilités, dans un système de répartition hydraulique et foncière. Il nous reste des procès-verbaux d'un allotissement qui fut jadis effectué et suivi de bombance collective.

La même vie archaïque et enfouie, la même vie arcadienne, aux sagesses ancestrales, la même énergique soumission aux lois du paysage et de l'économie, vous frappent aussi dans une autre *taqbilt* de la haute montagne : les a. Mh'nd. Entre Iguntar et a. Mh'nd, pareillement adossés à la haute crête axiale, sont tapis d'autres cantons, anciennement conquis ou reconquis par les Seksawa sur les Demsira : Wanz'id' et Iwulla. Mais ceux-ci sont attirés vers l'aval par leur solidarité avec leurs frères du rameau conquérant des a. Lh'sen.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Les a. Mh'nd sont, comme les Iguntar, des isolés. Ils s'adossent à l'énorme masse de ce que nous appelons le Tabgurt mais qui, en réalité, correspond chez l'indigène à d'autres appellations : Timezgida Wager Wadaden et Awrir u Ginnus, pour les deux sommets du massif que nos cartes dénomment « Tabgourt » et évaluent à 3.200 m. d'altitude. Selon l'interprétation locale, *Tabgurt* est un haut terroir, dominant la plaine des a. H'adduyws, d'une part, les a. Dris de l'autre. De ce côté s'ouvre le Tizi n-Trga. Sur l'O. un autre col, le Tizi n-Tgurzatin. Après quoi règne l'Awrir n-Zkkat'.

C'est au pied de ces reliefs que les a. Mh'nd mènent leur vie d'anciens conquérants chus dans une honnête aisance, et absorbés par leurs terres, leurs troupeaux, leurs noyers. Alliés de leurs voisins Idma, ils se sont abstenus d'extensions. D'ailleurs ils étaient barrés vers l'aval par leurs suzerains d'Ad'erd'ur. La coïncidence de l'habitat de bourg avec la cellule politique et l'ordre agraire est ici totale. Nous étudierons plus loin en détail le parcellaire de leurs champs, irrigués par deux sources, et où joue un assolement impliquant d'impérieuses ententes collectives.

Ces ententes se manifestent, en fête de couleurs et de chants, les jours de chœur *ah'wach*, sur la superbe pelouse qu'ombrage tout l'été le feuillage glacial de noyers géants. Le plan du village, par une nouvelle rencontre avec les autres ordres de phénomènes où se traduit la profonde harmonie sociale de ce groupe, révèle une répartition encore sensible entre *ikhs*-s. Important par la population comme par l'architecture, composé d'épais quartiers de maisons jointives avec rues sous tunnel, il frappe par un caractère urbain. Et cette liaison entre une vie agricole richement équilibrée, une liberté municipale et une sorte de finalité citadine, n'est pas le trait le moins significatif de la vie des hauts cantons.

CONQUÊTES DE HAUTE LUTTE : LE DOMAINE IDMA

C'est un domaine, non un pays. Il fut constitué par les armes, à partir du XVIe siècle. Les petits hommes malingres, énergiques et sournois qui le tiennent sont venus de l'Anti-Atlas et sont restés fidèles, jusqu'à leurs derniers *amghar*-s indépendants, à une tradition tortueuse et violente. Leur type s'est sauvegardé. Il frappe par une étrange matité de peau, presque bleue parfois, et qui semble bien refléter l'emprisonnement entre ces hautes et terribles parois. « Gaigneurs et picoreurs », comme le chroniqueur pyrénéen le dit de telle autre population de montagne, élargissant le sens de la rapine jusqu'aux vastes conceptions politiques, les

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Idma se sont étendus en direction de Z'init', sur un vaste tronçon du fleuve et jusqu'à la barre de l'Afuzar à l'E. ; sur une vallée affluente, celle d'Ammern à l'O. ; et sur toutes les hautes terres de l'entre-deux. Pour comprendre selon quelle dynamique a pu se faire cette réunion de terroirs, il faut gravir les contreforts du Tabgurt. Postons-nous à un point d'observation sis à 2.300 m., juste sous le petit filet de source appelé Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

On découvre devant soi, en contre-bas, le terroir d'Agersili, au pied d'une crête accidentée, qui pointe à l'Awrir Waluggu. C'est un vaste ensemble de vallées suspendues, aux flancs prodigieusement entaillés de terrasses. Nous sommes en mai. Le vert des orges non encore en épi — car l'année est ici tardive, et la neige a persisté plusieurs mois sur les labours — s'organise avec l'ocre clair, soigneusement quadrillé et rebordé en nids d'abeilles, des préparés de maïs. Agersili, avec le terroir des a. Mh'nd, est le seul endroit de notre montagne assez ample pour qu'un assolement régulier d'orge, maïs, navet y régisse la vie agricole. Une séguia d'une dizaine de kilomètres l'irrigue. Elle vient des hauts méplats de l'Amerdul, communs aux Idma et aux a. H'adduyws. Cette séguia dessert, outre Agersili, les terroirs d'Ad'erd'ur et de Wanchkrir. Le premier bourg, « le muet », s'érige dans l'abrupte vallée d'Ammern. Le second, plus ancien, au nom maintenant inintelligible, n'est pas entièrement Idma. L'eau de colature d'Agersili y tombe en cascade, dans une ravine qui finira par rejoindre la vallée principale par suite d'une capture. Deux masses de hautes terres, le Tassila et Inraren Z'dinin, « les aires jointes », surplombent, à plus de 2.000 m., les deux bourgs, dont elles constituent le périmètre de cultures en sec. Mêmes caractéristiques : parois souvent à pic, sommet aplani. Ces hautes terres forment réplique aux secteurs exigus, accidentés, nerveux de fond de vallée. Ce contraste est, on l'a vu, caractéristique du Haut Atlas occidental.

Si l'on franchit la crête qui domine Agersili, l'Adrar Awselli, on tombe verticalement sur Usikis, la métropole des Idma, la première qui fut fondée par ces conquérants du Sous. Le site est rocheux. Tout y est rugueux, ingrat, inhospitalier. Mais que d'énergie ! Une centaine de gradins de culture dévalent vers le fleuve. Il appartient aux Idma sur toute une section, depuis un peu plus bas qu'Igersafen, premier village a. H'adduyws, jusqu'à Tamzgurt où se jette le ravin de Wanchkrir. Les bourgs Idma de Tasselli et Tannsmekht jalonnent ce parcours. Tasselli est bâtie sur un croissant rocheux, selon la formule archaïque d'habitat de vallée, dite de « l'éperon barré ». La circulation est,

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'amont en aval, difficile. Des abrupts de 300 m. bordent le lit, qui est à une altitude de 1.500 m. Soit 100 m. de chute depuis Igersafen. A Tannsmekht, il ne sera plus qu'à 1.400 m. Des séguias, de part et d'autre du courant, captent la dénivellation et étalent le débit sur le maximum de superficies. Mais, vu le rapprochement des falaises, l'irrigué des deux villages ne donne, tout compris, qu'une cinquantaine d'hectares. C'est peu, sur un tronçon de quelque 10 km. Évaluons donc à une largeur moyenne de 25 m. la terre disponible de chaque côté du fleuve. Ce calcul, pour déformer la réalité, puisqu'il y a de longs tronçons absolument encaissés, et au contraire des méplats relativement larges comme à Tannsmekht ou à Jjgit, donne une idée des limitations topographiques de cette vie.

Sur la droite, des vallées affluentes remontent jusqu'à la barre hercynienne de l'Afuzar qui borne les Seksawa du côté du haut Gedmiwa. La sévérité de ces pentes, leur nudité jaunâtre frappent le regard. C'est un adret absolument désolé, sans doute parce que de hauts reliefs lui dérobent les vents d'O. Le peuplement y est rare : à peine un village, Talmud'àt, et une zaouia, Assttif, qui a peut-être recherché un « désert ».

Le domaine des Idma embrasse donc les trois sanctuaires les plus importants du haut Seksawa : Ammern à l'E., dans le prolongement du ravin d'Ad'erd'ur, Assttif à l'O., Lalla Aziza sur la bissectrice. Cinq heures de marche séparent les deux sanctuaires extrêmes. Il faut, d'autre part, longitudinalement, compter quatre heures entre Lalla Aziza et Igersafen. Ce domaine s'étend donc sur un espace que nous pouvons évaluer à la valeur d'une journée complète de marche pour être fouillé en tous sens. C'est beaucoup pour un petit état montagnard.

Les Idma sont en effet des vainqueurs. « Nous n'avions que 700 hommes d'armes », disent-ils, « quand les a. Gasa étaient le double. Mais nous les avons vaincus, avec l'aide de Lalla Aziza. » Dans les temps modernes, une lignée régulière de chefs, alternant entre deux ou trois familles, put combiner le principe de la cooptation d'assemblée, les grandes assemblées d'Inraren z'dinin, avec l'essor de l'individu. De ces alternances, la chronique nous est restée. Maîtres aujourd'hui du territoire des trois zaouias, ayant su s'insérer sans à-coup dans la paix française, obstinés, fiers, avares, les Idma continuent leur tenace aspiration à l'existence de groupe, et somme toute, leur prise en charge de l'ancien destin des Seksawa.

LE DOMAINE DES AIT LH'SEN

Comme les Idma, ce sont des conquérants. Eux aussi semblent être arrivés du Sous par le Tizi n-Trga, et, de là, avoir obliqué vers le N. et le N.-O. jusqu'à rencontrer la haute barre du Bwibaun, limite des Seksawa vers l'O., symétrique de celle de l'Afuzar vers l'E.

Ils comprennent au S., le long de la chaîne axiale, deux cantons tout pareils aux Iguntar et aux a. Mh'nd, entre lesquels ils s'intercalent. Ce sont Iwulla et Wanz'id', adossés au mur qui, des 3.000 m. du Zkkat', sépare les Seksawa des I.u Mh'mud. Qui, du flanc du Zkkat', regarde vers le N., distingue trois vallées aux formes encore jeunes et que séparent deux bombements de terrains : l'un aboutissant à l'Amudder, l'autre constituant le môle de pleine terre des Ibuban. Ceux-là, sujets politiques des a. Lh'sen, ont gardé leur originalité agricole : celle d'être exclusivement des cultivateurs en sec. Chose curieuse, les cultures en sec et l'élevage rangent certains de ces dispersés et de ces vaincus, restes de populations hétéroclites, parmi les plus riches des Seksawa. C'est là une sorte de démenti à l'optique d'irrigateurs qui est bien entendu celle des conquérants. Le centre économique et la chefferie de ces derniers se sont fixés dans la moyenne vallée du torrent, jonction une fois faite des diverses ravines descendant d'Iguntar par Sekrat, de Wanz'id' et d'Iwulla.

La vallée de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen traverse d'effroyables à-pic de basalte pour entrer dans le canton des Sekrat, population hétérogène rattachée par la conquête. Que ce soit au bas du nid d'aigle d'Amsgerdat, ou dans le vaste hallier que ponctuent, de part et d'autre du torrent, les autres villages Sekrat, même impression : le lit est assez large pour que sur ses glacis caillouteux se casent des cultures. Les blocs charriés par le courant ou dévalant de la rive gauche, qui est abrupte, ont été utilisés en boulevards pour la défense d'oliviers, d'amandiers, de pruniers, de pêchers. A cette variété du verger, on reconnaît une paysannerie vivace. Au pied des arbres, tomates, piments doux, aubergines, et, depuis peu, pommes de terre alternent avec les prairies de fauche *az'mu* et les classiques emblavures d'orge ou de maïs. Le torrent bruit dans une rainure profonde, capricieusement taillée par lui-même dans son vaste lit. Un étage de submersion permanente, selon la technique dite du *tanuri*, et qui est surtout celui du fourrage, du lin comestible et plus rarement de l'orge, est dominé par l'étage des plates-bandes céréalières et du verger. Une masse énorme de terre arable exhibe sa tranche sur la rive droite, à

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

Tigumma n-Skrat par exemple. En levant les yeux, fort haut car tout ce monde est formidablement encaissé, on s'avise que les plus hautes pentes elles-mêmes ont, grâce à leurs arbustes, tels l'*urzigh*, l'*aloggo*, et leur plus grande densité forestière, sauvé leurs terres du dévalement. En bas, une profusion de ronces de mûres couvre les murettes. Les vignes s'élancent sur le tronc d'immenses noyers et de là plongent en lianes, mêlées çà et là au chèvrefeuille et aux églantiers. L'impression est celle d'un hallier aux plantureuses verdures.

En aval des Sekrat, le paysage, devenu plus sévère, rappelle que, sur la droite, les secs glacis d'Ibuban étalent leurs schistes à lentisques et opuntia, sans générosité pour l'homme. Mais l'impression redevient riante lorsqu'on retrouve les a. Lh'sen « d'en bas », et leur centre, la « pierreuse » Buteghradin.

Ce tronçon, longeant de Tuz'z'umt à Awines des quartzites très durs, ne s'adapte que plus malaisément en amont à la tectonique hercynienne. Roches dures, crêtes appalachiennes, érosion puissante font un paysage jeune et tourmenté. Là encore, les sols, d'une façon générale, sont moins décadents que dans la vallée principale. Rien n'y sent la dévastation. Le pays paraît neuf au regard de ce Moyen Seksawa que d'autres conquérants, les Idma, ont laissé couvert des ruines de leurs prédécesseurs, et que désole la décadence des arbres et la dérive des terres arables. Ici, une végétation forestière énergique couronne les dômes, une architecture obstinée de terrasses dit les solidarités collectives. A l'aboutissement, un pays à riche substance, aux méplats bien cultivés. Les jardins portent ici une variété de plantes ailleurs abandonnée. Un sentiment de prospérité communale s'y fait jour.

Toute la vallée est marquée de souvenirs. Certains, néfastes, remémorent les tueries des temps passés. Ainsi à Ukhriben, entre Tabratjut et Agadir. C'est là que demeurait une ancienne population, les Ih'erdach. Les a. Lh'sen la détruisirent par surprise, le jour même où naissait un saint : Sidi Abderrah'man u Messâud u Ali. Sa mère dut s'enfuir par un passage entre les opuntia que l'on y voit encore. Elle se réfugia sur un sommet en face d'Agawz, là même où subsiste le mausolée du saint, près du fortin d'un pouvoir inconnu : Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Quel Makhzen ?

L'habitant, de caractère guerrier et ouvert, offre une richesse de coutumes, une chaleur légendaire, une fierté de ses traditions qui ne se sont pas repliées, comme chez les Idma, en sournoises et avares défenses. Et cette terre nous fournit, avec le souvenir d'une longue succession d'héroïques coups de main, celui, tout récent encore, d'une grande figure politique et belliqueuse, le « caïd »

Lmokhtar, aïeul du chef actuel. Divisés, par leurs vassaux Sekrat et Ibubanen, en deux segments, l'un d'en haut (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), l'autre d'en bas (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), les a. Lh'sen affirment, jusque dans leur équilibre immobilier, une unité qui témoigne, mieux que n'importe quelle légende, d'une vitalité encore intacte. Force militaire, conservation du terroir, variété des cultures, se composent avec les autres traits : vaillance, attachement au folklore, type physique franc et délié, en une synthèse attachante et vivace.

DE PART ET D'AUTRE DU SANCTUAIRE

Arrivés en Moyen Seksawa, nous voici comme aspirés par le voisinage d'un lieu saint, Z'init' ; et de la sainte nationale, Lalla Aziza. Le pays s'ordonne symétriquement autour d'un foyer rituel et social. En amont, les Imt'ddan, vengeurs et ministres de la sainte, qui les installa en place d'une population évincée, les a. Gasa ; en aval, le parvis que constitue, du côté de la plaine, c'est-à-dire du côté de l'agression et de la profanation, le terroir des a. Musa. Étudions l'amont, puis l'aval, avant d'aborder le sanctuaire même.

TERRES MAUDITES : LES IMT'DDAN

Venant du Haut Dwiran ou du Haut Gedmiwa, le voyageur franchit, à 2.200 m., le col de Tamt'ddit. A sa gauche, la forêt de chênes verts. A sa droite, un massif culminant au piton conique du Tamjlocht (2.340 m.), et les plateaux élevés de l'Azur, parsemés d'abris en pierre sèche pour le bétail, et çà et là, sur un replat bien abrité, de cultures de seigle et d'orge. La piste, au col même, passe entre une aire à battre et un tas de pierres *larrul'* qu'augmente chaque passant. C'est là une « mansion » *maqâm* de Sidi Ah'med u Musa, le grand saint du Tazerwalt. En effet, c'est un petit groupe venu de là qui, à 500 m. plus bas, sur le flanc droit du ravin, a fondé son infime capitale. Puis, il s'est étalé jusqu'au fleuve, s'appropriant l'énorme pâté de montagnes qui pointe au Tamjlocht, au-dessus du lieu saint de Z'init', et deux vallées orientées N. E.-S. O.

Ces vallées, que flanque à l'E. la barre de l'Afuzar (2.315 m.), souffrent d'une intense désolation. Elles exhalent les durs souvenirs de la guerre menée par les Imt'ddan et leurs alliés Idma contre d'anciens occupants, les a. Gasa, aujourd'hui refoulés derrière l'Afuzar. La conquête eut beau se consommer dans le courant du XVIIIe siècle, il semble que la vieille malédiction qui

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

chassa les vaincus pèse encore sur le pays. Plus matériellement, il apparaît que ce canton ne s'est pas relevé des luttes qui durent interrompre le travail de rétention des pentes, donc libérer le dévalement des eaux. Cela entraîna vers le bas les sols arables et livra ces terres au choc sans merci des orages. Encore à présent, on est frappé de la décadence du pays. L'une des vallées, celle qui monte de Tagonit vers Rekto, contient des étendues stériles, *imlalen*, et des falaises d'une intense dégradation. Les ruines de Rekto, jadis village important des a. Gasa, et leur dernier refuge avant l'éviction totale, ajoutent à la mélancolie du site. L'autre vallée, dite Tmlelt à partir de Tagonit, garde de maigres amanderaies. Mais jusqu'au cul-de-sac qui la termine, en amont de Tamt'ddit, elle offre le spectacle navrant d'un lit de torrent utilisé selon des techniques nonchalantes et comme découragées : parcelles abîmées sous le charroi de pierres, modestes bassins ou plutôt « trous d'eau », *lafrawl*, rigoles instables : le tout fonction d'un ruissellement prompt, on le sent, à se changer en descente torrentielle. L'ambition du laboureur se borne, entre les deux extrêmes de l'orage qui emporte tout, et de la sécheresse qui détruit la semence, à une sorte de tâtonnement. A Tagonit, une tour mi-effondrée, campée au milieu du lit, dénonce l'antique occupant. Une source permet l'irrigation d'un petit terroir. La vallée deviendra plus clémente en aval, jusqu'à la jonction avec le fleuve. Là, un autre village, Tamezgurt, érige pittoresquement ses maisons de basalte noir, et sa *limezgida* joliment campée en bastion d'angle. C'est le troisième bourg de la tétrapole. Le quatrième, Tinwalin, bien en aval, regarde le lieu saint de Z'init'.

La désolation de tout le pays, que clôt vers l'E. la longue barre de l'Afuzar, orientée S. S. O.-N. N. E., se découvre à qui gagne le fleuve par l'une des vallées affluentes de la rive opposée, celle qui descend de Wanchkrir par exemple. L'impression de sévérité s'accroît lorsqu'on pénètre en direction d'Assttif par l'étroite ravine obstruée de lauriers géants qui débouche sur le village ruiné de Jjgit. C'est l'Amlal i-ykiram, tout parsemé de ruines, de racines noircies et déchiquetées : vallée maudite, qu'un ruissellement sans doute abondant n'a pas rendue à la prospérité depuis le départ des premiers occupants. Tout comme Jjgit, le terroir a été déserté. Seul y habite à présent un homme de Tannsmekht : mais c'est le forgeron, familier, comme on sait, avec les puissances maléfiques. Et pourtant la toponymie, dans toute cette région, révèle d'anciennes mœurs bucoliques : depuis Wanchkrir, les terroirs franchis s'appellent : *Wizgaren*, « des bœufs », *i-yggiz*, « du veau », *Tisserdan*, « les mules ». Cette ravine

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ingrate elle-même que doit franchir le pèlerin d'Assttif c'est l'*Amlal i-ykiram*, quelque chose qui est peut-être comme « le sablon des généreux ». Adossée à la falaise de l'Afuzar, où le Tizi Mggayd' permet le passage vers les Gedmiwa, la zaouia d'Assttif, isolée dans cette ruine, semble avoir concentré toutes les forces bénéfiques qui désertaient peu à peu le reste du pays, ou qui constituaient l'envers des forces maléfiques acharnées contre les a. Gasa. Elle incarne, dans ces terres maudites par l'histoire, et sans doute condamnées par le rite, l'espérance et la compensation. Elle rétablit un équilibre en faveur du groupe.

LE PARVIS DU TEMPLE : LA PLAINE DE TABRATJUT

Une nette démarcation géographique et sociale oppose les a. Musa Ufella, c'est-à-dire « Ceux d'en haut », à « Ceux d'en bas », occupants du tronçon de vallée immédiatement inférieur, à partir de l'ancien marché « du jeudi » Lkhmis. Eux vivent dans un petit bassin à fond plat, de 4 ou 5 km², plein de ruines, de champs et de cimetières. Quatre agglomérations se succèdent d'aval en amont : le village en ruines d'une fraction résiduelle d'a. Ish'aq ; puis la butte de Tabratjut, surplombée du nouveau château de la famille Chtittihi ; puis Tagadirt, en ruines, rappel des luttes entre a. Musa et a. Lh'sen, lors de la génération passée. Plus haut, mais dans un paysage différent, là où le Seksawa s'encaisse à nouveau dans les falaises schisteuses, le hameau de Tigemmi y-iggiz, merveille de cohésion dans l'habitat. Toute une escouade de saints, on le verra, dont le principal est Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marque en quelque sorte du côté de la plaine, c'est-à-dire du côté des profanes, des officiels et des fâcheux, l'approche du sanctuaire et du lieu d'asile de Z'init'.

Le bassin est clos de tous côtés par des hauteurs de nature géologique différente ; marnes jaunâtres et roches rouges de l'Imlilen vers le N. sur la rive droite du fleuve : leur faisant suite vers l'E. du côté Dwiran, la sombre colline à deux têtes dite Awrir Wuzal « du fer », où l'on montre effectivement un puits attribué à d'anciens et légendaires mineurs portugais. De tous les autres côtés, c'est le pays noir. Il pointe vers le S. au Tamejlocht, bombe en croupes épaisses vers l'O. et le N.-O., avec le Mzawt, boisé de chênes verts, et l'Illikkri. Par ce dernier se ferme le cercle. Non sans que des échancrures n'y laissent passage au Seksawa, au torrent des a. Mh'nd et, symétriquement à ce dernier, de l'autre côté de Tabratjut, au Talat n-Tddert, qui monte en direction du Haut Dwiran et dont le rôle d'appoint hydraulique est important.

Comme les Iguntar, les a. Gasa et d'autres encore, victimes

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'une malédiction, les a. Musa ne dépassent pas, et ne peuvent dépasser 60 foyers. Leur personnalité a succombé au voisinage d'un lieu trop fort, ainsi qu'à la possession du petit bassin qui étale dans ce relief tourmenté son enviable esplanade. Ne pouvant se soustraire à l'accès des pouvoirs de plaine, ils étaient d'autre part trop peu consistants pour en tirer parti par l'exaction, l'intrigue ou la profitable entremise. Ce rôle ingrat s'est poursuivi jusqu'à nos jours. Le dernier des chefs, le « Caïd » Chtittihi, est traîtreusement abattu dans un guet-apens. Lamentable histoire de cette petite *taqbilt* ! Elle est pressée, de tous côtés, par des voisins impitoyables. Le cadre même des ligues ne survit pas à tant de précarité. Les a. Musa passent de l'une à l'autre, se divisent. Moralement c'est pour eux la fin. Après avoir manié trente-cinq ans de suite le fusil, la famille de l'*amghar* émigre, et ne doit son salut qu'au lieu d'asile. Elle survit donc dans l'ombre profitable de la sainte. L'*amghar*, traqué, mais toujours préteur usuraire, commerce avec ses vainqueurs du haut de son *asqqif*. C'est de là qu'au moyen d'une corde et d'un couffin, il leur fait passer l'orge qu'ils lui empruntent. En bref, *taqbilt* dégradée, vestibule déshérité du temple et de l'arrière-pays.

Si l'on suit le fleuve à partir de l'ancien marché du jeudi vers l'aval, on le voit aussitôt s'enfoncer entre des parois schisteuses et abruptes, en une succession d'étranglements et de bassins de plus en plus étroits. A un moment même, l'horizon du lit paraît se clore entièrement sur les majestueux quartzites qui dominent Talâint. Cette section du fleuve est alimentée par une résurgence attribuée au choc du bâton de Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man. En fait, elle a plus d'eau que le bassin de Tabratjut en amont : mais la terre manque. Le groupe n'a pas eu l'énergie de construire un terroir en mettant à profit l'assez large lit de galets et les petites plaines ménagées par les méandres sous T'abya et Igernssuq. La chose remarquable est ici la division foncière, à laquelle semble qu'aient participé, à la suite de l'éviction des Demsira, anciens occupants, des gens de trois *taqbilt*-s : a. H'adduyws, Idma, et même Dwiran. Les Demsira restent représentés par l'*ikhs* des Ichiyyâan. C'est lui qui a installé, plus en aval, les gens des zaouias. A mesure qu'on suit la vallée en direction des a. Âbdella, la situation immobilière devient de plus en plus évanescente. On sent tout un passé d'évictions et de tumultes : par exemple, ce partage des immenses biens d'un puissant, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, de Talâint, vivant vers 1800, et qui est mort ne laissant que des filles. Ailleurs, la présence d'Idma et surtout d'a. H'adduyws pose des problèmes sur lesquels il faudra revenir.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

DESCENTE AU STYX : Z'INIT'

La vallée du Seksawa, qui, après l'étranglement de Tigemmi y-Iggiz, obliquera vers le N.-O. à travers la petite plaine des a. Musa, circule maintenant du S. au N., au fond d'un couloir vertigineux. La paroi gauche monte d'une venue à 2.000 m. dans les schistes noirs et brillants que couronne la forêt de chênes verts du Mzawt. Une crête lourde forme l'horizon de l'O. au S. A droite la paroi est verticale. Un bloc de hautes terres pointe au Tamejlocht (2.340 m.), que des nuages accrochés à sa cime décorent de façon fort romantique. L'amont du fleuve est également bouché de rudes reliefs. Dans leur échancrure se découvrent, à mesure qu'on gravit la pente, les plus hauts sommets de la chaîne : dôme du Tanddri (2.540 m.), pyramide du Ras Mulay Ali (3.400 m.). Le fond de la vallée est à un millier de mètres. Un décrochement d'au moins 1 km., en chute verticale, l'entoure de tous côtés en forme d'entonnoir. Tout au fond, Lalla Aziza, la grande sainte des Seksawa.

Son sanctuaire au toit vert et aux murs crépis forme un étrange contraste avec les maisons de la zaouia, hautes, confuses, noirâtres, mais solides et bien jointes. Il est gardé de toutes parts par la sombre terre des Seksawa. Le ciel, à qui lève la tête, n'apparaît que circonscrit par des cimes. L'impression est morne et puissante. Le reflet noir des schistes, l'éclairage venu d'en haut tempèrent la scène d'une grisaille vibrante. La matité des teintes contredit une sorte d'éclat interne, dont les peintres pourront chercher l'origine, mais qui suggère à l'imagination la force du lieu. Nous sommes ici en plein centre des Seksawa, à un foyer de rayonnement et d'attraction. Une frairie barbare vient annuellement sceller la connivence du groupe et des puissances invisibles. Solidarité collective, rite saisonnier, recours à l'au-delà se nouent sous le signe d'une héroïne d'historicité précise.

Quelques hectares de cultures étalent dans le lit leur vert écailleux dominé par les feuillages des derniers oliviers. La limite de l'arbre, en effet, n'est pas loin : tout de suite en amont de cet éperon sombre qui barre le courant, et sur lequel se profilent les ruines d'un bourg. Jadis vivaient là les a. Gasa, qu'une malédiction expulsa du pays au profit de conquérants Imt'ddan et Idma. Les premiers sont aujourd'hui les servants de la sainte. Contre toutes les vicissitudes, celle-ci a maintenu son droit d'asile, dont les limites, nettement marquées vers l'aval et le pouvoir de la plaine, le sont bien moins vers l'amont et l'intimité de la montagne. Asile encore respecté, dont la protection bénéfique s'épandit sur le géologue Brives, premier visiteur français des Seksawa.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

LA CONCIERGERIE DE LA MONTAGNE : LES AIT ÂBDELLA

Peut-être est-ce là une qualification inglorieuse pour le canton le plus septentrional des Seksawa ? Ses chefs affectent le vêtement de linge blanc, la régularité aux prières, le langage arabe, ou voulu tel, l'investiture officielle, l'horreur enfin de ce qu'on a gardé en soi de montagnard : mais c'est beaucoup. La contiguïté à la plaine coûte cher au canton. Il ne s'est pas relevé de la mise à sac que lui infligea vers le début du siècle une troupe régulière, dite « de Ben Sennâh' ». Demandée par l'allié Mtuggi, débarquée à Mogador, reçue amicalement à Bulᶜwân, soudain elle attaqua le village. Les effets de cette terrible leçon durent encore.

C'est de ce seuil que partent conquérants et explorateurs : Brives entre autres, qui dut au sauf-conduit d'un *amghar* de Tuz'z'umt de pouvoir remonter la vallée. Tout est ici plus doux, plus fade. Les constructions ne dédaignent pas le pisé caractéristique du Haouz. L'une d'elles même érige bourgeoisement des murs crépis et chaulés : exception unique en Seksawa. Aussi bien est-ce en ce canton que l'usure a marqué le plus profondément les mœurs. Depuis bien longtemps, semble-t-il, sa fonction a été celle même que nous lui connaissons encore : pénétrer et contrôler l'amont pour le compte de l'aval. L'alluvion d'une histoire qui n'est plus seulement celle de libres *laqbill*-s, mais s'amplifie à la mesure de noms comme celui des Mérinides, se distingue encore ici. Du confluent de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen jusqu'à Tagoyyamt, lieu de passage commercial et de chocs dynastiques, c'est une succession de ruines monumentales.

A partir des a. Wagenna (« fils du ciel ») vers l'aval, le lit du fleuve s'étale. La berge, toute en raides éboulis sur la droite, monte sur la gauche par degrés. Affrontant les crues, de chanceuses cultures se collent à même les graviers et les sables du fond. Un tout petit épaulement sur la gauche : et c'est un étage de jardins ; le « hors-verger » *Berra n-rryal'* de Tuz'z'umt, le « fond » *Lulît* d'Illutjân, la Talmerkht de Bulᶜwân. Tout cela périodiquement ravagé. De cette section du lit s'étoilent les grandes séguias de plaine : Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Deux ou trois sources permanentes jaillissent sur la gauche du talus, qui soutient un deuxième ou un troisième gradin de cultures. Ces derniers plans sont spacieux, et couverts d'arbres, par masses homogènes : oliviers en bas, amandiers en haut. La pente du fleuve est ici très molle. Des résurgences stagnent sous les peuplements de lauriers et de *lillirin*, dans ce que les habitués reconnaissent comme une « odeur de paludisme ».

L'entresol de végétation, à Tuz'z'umt, s'étale aussi magnifiquement que peut le souhaiter l'optique mesquine du pays : véritable petite plaine couverte d'une vieille, mais luxuriante olivaie à cultures intercalaires. Un double système d'eaux, venues soit d'Agawz, soit de la séguia Talh'archt, irrigue le verger de rigoles nombreuses, et anime quelques moulins. Comme Bul'wân, Tuz'z'umt est un gras et gros bourg, vulnérable et cordial. Dans ses constructions prédomine le pisé. Le bassin de Tuz'z'umt est au confluent de plusieurs ravines. L'une, close par le tertre où s'est juchée une zaouia d'Ahançal, donne vers l'O. sur l'Urkus, et le village de Tizi Wargyun, que cette haute croupe sépare d'Imintanout. Le nom d'*argyun*, « les arganiers », traduit sans doute une ancienne extension de cette essence à des endroits qu'aujourd'hui elle a délaissés, bien à l'E. de son domaine actuel. L'autre torrent est celui des a. Lh'sen, dont la partie basse, jusqu'à Agawz, reste aux mains des a. Âbdalla. Ceux-ci tiennent encore un tronçon de la vallée principale, remontant en direction de Z'init'.

C'est là, progressivement, un autre monde qui commence. Monde intermédiaire, ravagé par l'allée et venue des pouvoirs, et portant toute son incertitude encore lisible dans ses structures foncières. En amont de Tuz'z'umt, l'entrée dans le massif resserre le lit, qu'encombrent des échantillonnages de galets multicolores, parmi lesquels beaucoup de pierres dures, et même des fragments arrondis de ce beau granit grisâtre qu'on ne trouve dans la région qu'au Tichka. Entre Imi n-tghli « le débouché de la rosée » et Talâint, la vallée s'encaisse entre des quartzites verticaux. Leur ampleur va croissant jusqu'à l'Awrir n-sidi Limam. Ils impriment au fleuve, incapable de les entailler, des zigzags continuels. L'atmosphère devient ici peu à peu celle de la montagne. La richesse et la variété des espèces cultivées rappellent, à certains égards, mais avec un accent moins vigoureux, moins suggestif surtout d'un travail cohérent de groupe, le domaine des a. Lh'sen. De magnifiques vignes tapissent les pentes à Tiburiin et Talâint, comme plus haut de véritables bois de grenadiers égaieront T'abya. Cultures variées de légumes, aubergines et tomates notamment, dans des jardins qu'ombragent des abricotiers géants. Mais visiblement, le lit, qui est large, a été laissé à lui-même. Tout est emporté en temps de grosses eaux, sans même que les galets aient été mis à profit, comme en a. Lh'sen, pour ériger de petits bastions de cultures.

Une histoire heurtée survit dans les toponymes. Une escouade de saints : Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen à Imi n-tghli, plus haut les Regraga de Talâint et Tiburiin, plus haut encore les marabouts

d'Igerwal — s'interpose entre a. Âbdella et a. Musa. Les traits de la toponymie, collant à un paysage lui-même fort expressif, accentuent cette impression de passage d'un monde à l'autre : ici une roche ruiniforme, la « roche du Fort », *Tansmert wugadir*, là une muraille de pierre semblant clore la vallée, *Lluh'n-Khaddo*, qui est peut-être « la Table de H'addô », comme plus haut il y aura un Amlal Yah'ya : et tous ces noms ont une sonorité peut-être historique. Enfin, et plus caractéristique encore, le site majestueux de la zaouia de Talâint est dominé par une colline dite Awrir n-sidi Limam, au pied de laquelle il y a un « creux » du Mahdi *Tamd'a* n-Lmehdi. On sait qui est, dans le langage de la montagne, cet Imam Lmehdi : c'est proprement Ibn Toumert. Ce rappel ici, à l'endroit même où va commencer un autre domaine que défendirent sans doute longtemps, outre le relief et une âpre combativité, une hagiologie complice, est à méditer. Le lien de ce pays de transition avec les gens de Tuz'z'umt et de Bul°wân ne peut être qu'artificiel. Visiblement, ce monde est sans unité. Ses *ikhs*-s, on le verra, sont hétéroclites. Ils se disent eux-mêmes occupants récents : et plutôt à titre d'immigrants et d'acheteurs que de conquérants.

A l'E. de ce tronçon de vallée, de confuses collines marneuses étendent leur moutonnement jaunâtre jusqu'à la base des entablements calcaires, mordorés et burinés au faîte où commence le domaine Dwiran. Encore un ancien *no mans land*, où, de mémoire d'homme encore, des hordes de brigands, certains venus du Sous, rançonnaient à merci ou même assassinaient berger ou voyageur. Aujourd'hui, zone de pacage entre tribus, où significativement, les Idma ont acquis, ou recouvré, un droit d'usage. On a parlé plus haut de cette masse de steppe alfatière, qui, vers le S. aux approches de Z'init', s'illustre d'un vaste rond de pierre polie, avec tumulus au centre, la *tarrut'* n-Lalla Aziza. La sainte, en effet, n'est pas loin : le vrai monde Seksawa, ou plutôt celui qui est resté tel, va commencer.

Mais notre description rapide du pays, et de ses personnalités cantonales, a suivi l'ordre contraire. A l'inverse de l'explorateur moderne ou du chroniqueur arabe, elle a commencé en partant du haut, en descendant du Tichka. Il valait mieux faire ainsi : la montagne Seksawa est tout entière une maison qu'on comprend mieux de l'intérieur. Avec les a. Âbdella, nous voici arrivés, par un couloir aux multiples chicanes, dans le vestibule, qui donne sur la plaine. Et, puisque la plaine ne fait pas, ou ne fait plus partie de cette histoire, arrêtons ici l'exploration.

[P.59]

V

ARRIÈRE-PLANS HISTORIQUES

On n'écrit pas l'histoire avec rien. Mais ce « rien » peut être lui-même historique. C'est le cas pour les Seksawa. Depuis la fin du XIVe siècle, les chroniques restent sur eux silencieuses. A peine quelques mentions brèves et espacées. Rien, ou presque, sur les deux siècles et demi qui ont précédé la période accessible à la première information prise sur place par des Européens. Rien d'extérieur du moins. Cette vie s'est repliée sur elle-même. Auparavant, elle avait connu des ambitions plus amples et, corrélativement, suscité quelques témoignages, dont celui d'un grand historien. Quelques lignes se dégagent ainsi de ce passé.

CARACTÈRES DU PASSÉ DES SEKSAWA (1)

Du plus loin que l'on remonte, une forte et sauvage personnalité, qui frappe Ibn Khaldûn. Elle produit, au XIVe siècle, ces hautes figures de l'intrigue et de l'opposition que sont les rois Seksawa. Les premiers Mérinides en viennent à bout, non à vrai dire par la conquête, mais par le blocus. Ils bâtissent dans la basse vallée la forteresse d'al-Qâhira (1353), qui prive ces montagnards de leurs dégagements en plaine, c'est-à-dire de leurs labours et de leur pâquis d'hiver. Cette effraction dans leur ordre rural brise leur force offensive et disloque leur structure. C'en est fait des alliances arabes, des visées sur Marrakech, le Sous et le littoral. C'en est fait de la grande histoire pour les Seksawa.

Ainsi s'explique la physionomie, toute de refus à l'égard des pouvoirs et des idéologies du reste du Maroc, qu'ils offrent désormais. Avec une inlassable constance, ils poursuivent contre la révolution mystique du XVe siècle, contre les entreprises des

(1) Nous avons essayé de dégager ces lignes principales dans un travail : Antiquités Seksawa, *Hesp.*, 1953, qu'il nous a paru préférable de publier séparément. Non seulement en raison d'exigences d'économie à l'impression, mais encore et surtout car ces « Antiquités » offrent un caractère conjectural, ou reposent surtout sur des sources livresques, peu abondantes, et extérieures à la société considérée. Au contraire, les développements que l'on va lire ci-dessous reposent entièrement sur une documentation locale et de première main. Enfin, ils touchent directement à l'analyse morphologique de cette société dans son stade actuel.

Saâdiens, puis contre celles des Aláouites, la même résistance que contre les Mérinides. Mais plus de grandes ambitions. L'opposition n'est plus maintenant que rébellion. Par suite d'un triple phénomène : décadence économique, retombée intellectuelle, émiettement croissant de la vie maghrébine, les amples ligues, les longs espoirs ont disparu. Reste la « méchanceté ». Je veux dire l'ardeur à vivre. Elle est servie par l'impuissance des pouvoirs de la plaine, la dureté du pays. Mais elle ne porte que des institutions de plus en plus adultérées, honteuses, et qui rendent hommage, par un esprit de transaction et de « part du feu », à cela même contre quoi elles s'insurgent. Il faudra de véritables fouilles archéologiques pour retrouver, sous maintes couches d'élaboration, quelque chose des structures originelles. L'exploration vaut d'être tentée. Car elle dispose ici, chose à peu près unique en Afrique du Nord, du fil d'une continuité, attestée par l'identification des lieux, les recoupements chronologiques, une tradition enfin.

Tradition amère et violente : la montagne donne asile aux prétendants malheureux, conspire à toutes les intrigues, saisit l'occasion de tous les mauvais coups, brigandages, rébellions, sorcelleries. Elle se retranche par là de tout espoir positif. Elle ne veut plus — mais elle le veut obstinément, héroïquement — que sauver de toute intrusion ses petits débats internes, et l'inconsciente nostalgie peut-être de grandes choses qui auraient pu s'accomplir. En cela elle trouve sa liberté. Elle sauvegarde, dans son cadre exigu, une sorte de grandeur méthodologique. Veine appauvrie, mais sûre, de la vie du plus ancien Maghreb.

SOURCES INTERNES

a) *Morphologie des groupes...*

Ne demandons pas autre chose à ce lointain passé. Seul compte ici pour nous l'arrière-plan historique des réalités que nous allons approfondir. Mais si nous renonçons, et pour cause, aux enseignements de la grande histoire, dont les Seksawa sont coupés depuis un demi-millénaire, c'est pour recourir à une autre série de documents, internes, ceux-là, et d'une richesse inespérée.

La structure actuelle d'une *laqbill* est un répertoire d'origines. Non moins que sa permanence historique, son hétérogénéité est une clef d'explication. Elle soumet la généalogie alléguée des différents *ikhs*-s entre lesquels elle se répartit à l'incessante concurrence des prétentions rivales et au critère des applications pratiques. L'économie vient donc authentifier ces traditions. Si elles

gardent, pour la partie la plus ancienne, quelque imprécision légendaire, elles n'en soutiennent pas moins une critique rigoureuse : la critique de fait qui découle des nécessités d'une mise en œuvre agricole et d'un contentieux véhément. Elles plongent donc, à tout le moins pour les deux ou trois derniers siècles, dans une atmosphère d'une singulière objectivité. Enfin il n'est pas jusqu'à ces origines légendaires qui ne traduisent une option collective infiniment plus révélatrice pour notre propos que la sèche chronologie.

Voyons par exemple les a. D'alh'a. Leur habitat est aujourd'hui dispersé en trois endroits, de part et d'autre du lieu saint de Z'init'. Ils se donnent comme descendants du héros éponyme Amer u H'addô, personnage historique du XIVe siècle. Leur tradition jette donc un pont entre l'époque actuelle et celle des *agellîd*-s. L'un de leurs rameaux, les a. Sefyan, dans la moyenne vallée, est réputé d'origine arabe. Son nom est-il le fossile des relations qu'entretinrent les rois montagnards avec les Sofyân de la plaine ? Que ce fossile serait précieux !...

Dans beaucoup de cas, l'*initium* des labours, c'est-à-dire le privilège de les entreprendre sous de bons auspices avant tout le monde, est réservé à ces vieilles familles, même si elles n'ont gardé aucun prestige politique ou économique. Tel n'est d'ailleurs pas le cas des a. D'alh'a, fiers de leur parenté avec celui qu'ils nomment *Baba Âmer* et qui revendiquent, dans l'approbation générale, leur qualité de Seksawa de pure souche.

Comment toute une *taqbilt*, celle des a. H'adduyws, qui interprète elle-même son nom en « fils de H'addô fils de Yûsuf », peut-elle concilier cette appellation avec la profession tout aussi nette d'origines diverses pour chacun des *ikhs*-s qui la composent, et dont presque aucun ne remonte à l'éponyme ? Nous touchons là une apparente contradiction. Mais elle est presque de style. Elle traduit l'importance des noms classificatoires dans un système où ils ne gardent plus guère aucun contenu positif. Et, d'autre part, elle exprime la différence de nature entre la cellule sociale, l'*ikhs*, justiciable de rattachements successoraux précis, et la cellule politique, composée de sous-groupes que n'unit entre eux le plus souvent aucun lien de parenté même fictive.

On mesure l'intérêt de ces recherches d'état civil, si j'ose dire, portant sur chaque *ikhs*, son origine, son caractère. Leur résultat le plus immédiat, on en verra plus bas quelques exemples, est de révéler, dans des groupes se présentant aujourd'hui comme des unités, une extrême complexité.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

b) *Archives familiales...*

Une seconde source, non moins riche, et plus propice aux méthodes habituelles de l'érudition, est offerte par les archives de famille. Cette société est amoureuse de l'écrit. Il est bien rare que chacun ne garde pas, enfouis dans une « outre » *lawulkt*, ou plus rarement dans un coffre, de vieux papiers. On les roule en *volumen*. On les glisse dans une boîte cylindrique faite d'un segment de roseau. Dans ce climat sec, la conservation est presque indéfinie. Rares encore pour les dates antérieures au début du XVIe siècle, ces documents deviennent de plus en plus fréquents à partir de cette époque. C'est par milliers qu'en conservent les grandes familles. Leur seul inventaire, dressé lors des litiges entre héritiers, occupe parfois plusieurs pages. Contribution inépuisable à la recherche, à qui elle réserve les trouvailles les plus inespérées. Certes elle se défend par ses difficultés d'accès et de déchiffrement. Ces grimoires sont jalousement préservés du regard d'autrui, *a fortiori* de l'étranger et de l'administrateur, car ils recèlent, sinon des pouvoirs, du moins une intimité que l'on veut sauvegarder contre toute emprise. D'écriture fruste, et souvent pâlie, rédigés en une langue notariale hérissée de barbarismes et d'idiotismes, leur utilisation réclame en général l'aide de lettrés du cru, seuls capables de les interpréter.

Quoi qu'il en soit ils constituent une source inestimable sur la vie juridique, partant économique et sociale de ces vieux temps. On y peut suivre, de génération en génération, les mêmes noms d'*ikhs* et recouper ainsi la tradition structure du groupe. Outre ces vérifications d'état civil, ils permettent de retracer assez sûrement la formation immobilière des terroirs de vallée pendant au moins les deux derniers siècles. On peut en tirer des éléments pour l'histoire des prix. Enfin les actes de droit public, qui foisonnent, notamment dans le genre très fourni des codifications, jettent de vives lueurs sur un passé pour la connaissance duquel on en était réduit souvent à la conjecture.

Les faux, bien entendu, abondent. On arrive, dans bien des cas, à déceler l'imposture, voire le grossier anachronisme. Mais ce doute n'est pas de très grande importance pour notre recherche. Car le faussaire, éminent stylisateur, et amateur intéressé d'archaïsme, vaut lui-même comme document.

c) *Chronique*

Une troisième source est celle des chroniques proprement dites. A vrai dire, on n'en rencontre que rarement chez les Seksawa, et le gros de l'historiographie indigène y est constitué

par des traditions orales. Mais ces traditions sont précises, et fort souvent datées. On en jugera par de larges extraits. Néanmoins on a pu recueillir quelques documents publics, lettres de chef à chef, annales même dans un certain cas : la commémoration d'un désastre des Seksawa.

L'ensemble de toutes ces sources : morphologique, annalistique et d'archives forme une documentation d'une précision à laquelle le passé du Maghreb ne nous a guère accoutumés.

Réfection des groupes montagnards par le Sud

LA FAUSSE AUTOCHTONIE

Montagnards, Sédentaires. On ne peut toujours chasser la tentation de les camper sur leurs rochers *sub specie aeternitatis*.

Or le premier résultat de l'analyse c'est qu'ils sont des immigrants, et que, fait plus instructif, ils n'ont aucune gêne à avouer une origine étrangère (1). Ils y mettent même, pourvu que vous ayez obtenu leur confiance, quelque coquetterie. Ils vous démontent complaisamment le complexe agrégat de la *taqbilt*. Classique conversation de veillée ! Ils vous content par le menu comment les parties aujourd'hui liées se sont agencées en fonction des lieux et des circonstances. Ils ne vous passent même pas l'anecdote. On sent que leur snobisme n'est pas de revendiquer une ascendance arabe ou chérifienne. Il est de subsister ensemble, alors qu'on vient de si loin, qu'on aurait tant de raisons de ne pas être ici. Le chic est, dirait-on, dans la réussite de l'ajustage, dans sa difficulté, parfois même dans sa bizarrerie. On ne pose pas au beau fils venu d'Orient, mais plutôt à l'astucieux petit bâtard qui s'encastre à sa juste place.

Voilà une nuance dont il est difficile de pousser plus loin l'analyse pour le moment, sous peine de la fausser. Mais elle

(1) R. MONTAGNE, Aghbar..., *Hesp.*, 1927, pp. 1 sq., notait déjà cette paradoxale allogénéité. Le fait est aujourd'hui mieux exploré dans ses rapports avec les mouvements démographiques très vastes du Sud marocain. Cf. R. MONTAGNE, Enquête collective sur la *Naissance du Prolétariat marocain*, pp. 43 sq. L'étude inédite, Arch. CHEAM, de LA PORTE DES VAUX sur les a. Wawzgit établit l'importance de ce facteur d'hétérogénéité dans la structure des populations. Mêmes remarques in. de BARRÉ sur les a. Yah'ya du Sous. Dans un domaine différent, le Fezzan, l'analyse patiente de J. DESPOIS a montré l'extraordinaire complexité de ces origines, Mission scientifique au Fezzan, *Géographie humaine*, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Déjà Ed. DOUTTÉ, Figuig, *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran*, 1903, p. 186 ; Aug. BERNARD, *Les confins algéro-marocains*, 1911, p. 81, etc., avaient été frappés du même fait. Et encore avant eux H. DUVEYRIER, *Les Touareg du Nord*, 1864, note dans beaucoup de villes sahariennes la diversité d'origine de « quartiers » et le rôle qu'elle joue dans la politique de Ghadamès, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, les bourgs du Touat, etc.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

s'impose à quiconque aborde, avec le montagnard, ce débat de l'unité dans la multiplicité d'origines, qui fait la préoccupation, l'orgueil et la science du citoyen. Prenons-y garde : on ressent ici, une fois de plus depuis le début de cette investigation, l'action d'une synthèse qui en général n'est pas celle de la parenté, même fictive, mais quelque chose de plus immédiat, en même temps que de subtil. La contradiction fréquente entre le nom de la *taqbilt* et la diversité des provenances offre la meilleure amorce du problème.

PREMIER CAS

Voici par exemple les a. H'adduyws. Contradiction frappante : l'éponyme est un personnage historique, dont la lignée est attestée depuis sept siècles dans la tradition orale. Or, ils se décomposent comme suit :

Division primaire de la *taqbilt* en « tiers » *thihellih*	Subdivision des « tiers » en sous-groupes ou « grands *ikhs-s* »	Habitat par villages	Origines légendaires
1) a. Wasif, « ceux de la vallée ».	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa U-fella.	Immigrés du Sous, à partir d'un centre de dispersion qui aurait été Talat n-a. Tunert, village actuellement en ruines.
2) a. H'adduyws proprement dits, également appelés a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz et a. Ggâhi.	Tasa et Fensu.	Venus des Idaw Semlal. Ont un rameau en Sekrat. Il y a un autre *ikhs* I. Semlal à Ikis (a. H'ammo). A ces deux sous-groupes se sont agglomérés d'autres *ikhs*, dont certains sont réputés provenir de loin : les a. Waffûf (Nfifa) ; les a. Brais, les Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). A noter le nom des a. Lhint, nom qui se retrouve en Demsira, et où il faut renoncer à retrouver les Hintata, puisque, localement, on l'interprète en : Gens de « l'acier » *lhint*.
3) Idaw Geryun (en réalité *taqbilt* autonome).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants de l'éponyme, les seuls à en revendiquer l'ascendance.
	a. Messedat.	Alus.	Venus de Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, près Taroudant.
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Venus des Idaw Zeddut.

Intégrés aux précédents	Différents rameaux	Habitat par villages	Origines légendaires
Populations résiduelles	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	*Ikhs*-s des Idukkalen et des a. Umetjar.
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Réputés venus des H'mer. Mais leur nom est celui d'une grande « ligue » du Sous.
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Origine inconnue, premiers occupants chassés par les I. Geryun.
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Origine inconnue.
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	« Marabouts » d'origine Mtugga.

DEUXIÈME CAS

Celui des a. Âbdella (1), de la basse vallée. Leur nom rappelle celui d'un illustre *agellid* du XIVe siècle. Mais, par la même contradiction relevée en a. Il'adduyws, l'origine avouée des différents *ikhs*-s n'est même pas attribuée à la souche Seksawa. La chose se complique ici d'une fragilité d'habitat et d'une incertitude propres à ces populations marginales. Invasions, infiltrations, conquêtes, révoltes, soumissions au pouvoir de plaine, bref destruction par le dedans ou le dehors se répétèrent tout au long du passé. La légende, confirmée par les vieux titres fonciers, veut que les a. Âbdella aient ici succédé à d'anciens occupants Demsira. Ceux-ci, s'épandant bien au delà de leur secteur actuel, tinrent, pendant une période que nous chercherons à déterminer, la basse vallée du Seksawa, jusqu'à Bulᶜwân exclusivement, et celle de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen. Ils remontaient à l'E. jusqu'à Taddert des Dwiran.

Dans le cas des a. Âbdella, dont toute l'histoire dénonce la vulnérabilité, et qui, au contact de la plaine, ont perdu déjà beaucoup de caractères anciens, la *taqbilt* ne se scinde pas en subdivisions telles que les « tiers » des a. Il'adduyws. C'est le village qui joue ici le rôle d'unité politique, que la montagne lui refuse. Dans chaque village foisonnent des *ikhs*-s dont chacun a sa légende d'origine.

(1) Je note ainsi, très approximativement, la prononciation locale du nom de ce groupe, laquelle diffère sensiblement de celle du nom d'individu, Âbdelà, correspondant à ar. ᶜAbd Allah.

Villages	Noms d'*ikhs* et origine traditionnelle
Bul'wân	a. Lkhil, venus de Tiddrarin (Sous) par Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, « compagnons » des premiers. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants du saint, qui a une autre tombe en H'âh'a. Il serait originaire des Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ'). a. Wammern, descendant du saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochtones ; seraient en voie d'extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochtones ; seraient en voie d'extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Juifs convertis par le Nâçirî ?). a. Naçer, venus des a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, venus de Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, venus d'Iferks, en Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, d'Imintanout (Nlifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern « marabouts » d'Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyur	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).
Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, « marabouts » d'Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, sous-groupe comprenant : a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, tous originaires du Sous comme les a. Si Mh'and de Bul'wân. a. Wanz'id' (haut a. Lh'sen, descendants de Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (même origine que les a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (même origine que les a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (même origine que les a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (même origine que les a. Lqaid).
Tiburiin, Imi n-tghli	« Marabouts » Regraga. Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

TROISIÈME CAS

Le *troisième cas* sera celui d'un agrégat déshérité, les Ibubanen, plur. d'Abuban, fém. : Tabubant (dans les actes arabes, forme : al-Bubânî), occupants de hautes déclivités entre l'Amudder et l'Ameznir. Pays mutilé de toutes parts par ses voisins, sans eaux permanentes, et presque sans puits ni source. Leur type physique tranche au premier abord avec l'allure dégagée, le teint rosé, la mine de ligueurs des a. Lh'sen, comme avec la vitalité sournoise des Idma. Sales faute d'eau, laids et veules, ce sont des décadents. Entre leurs éléments hétéroclites, une synthèse pourtant semble avoir joué. La légende étale tous les détails d'une histoire indéfiniment refoulée.

1) Des noirs, groupés au pied d'une colline au nom significatif, Awrir i-ysemgan ont eu leur village détruit par les immigrants Dukkâla (1). Une partie s'est réfugiée en a. Âbdella, à Talat u Qyar. Le reste est resté à Tugg Lkheyr : ce sont les ait Bumellut' actuels, misérables débris, exclus de la répartition du terroir. Ils demeurent mêlés à deux *ikhs-s* a. Lh'sen : reste d'anciens occupants, hôtes forcés : on est en effet en pays d'obédience a. Lh'sen.

Des gens d'origine aberrante comme ces ait Abbo, de Timskert, vivant sans communication avec les autres, ou comme ces Inaghayn de Talburt, parents des a. Msseddat du Tabgurt et frappés d'une malédiction de saint, végètent, sans jamais dépasser 3 ou 4 foyers.

2) Les immigrants Dukkâla — cas assez rare de mouvement venu du N., ce Nord fût-il le Haouz où s'étendait, jusqu'à une époque récente, l'habitat des Dukkâla — s'installent en groupe solide à Amassin. De là, ils s'insèrent dans chacun des autres villages, au terroir desquels ils participent désormais.

3) Les ait Irz'z'i, chassés par les Idma de leur village sis sur l'asif n-a. Mh'nd s'installent à leur tour en vaincus offensifs, et prélèvent partout, sauf à Amassin, leur part des terres. On les retrouve encore, sous le nom d'a. Mulid, dans les villages de Timskert, et surtout d'Iggayzen, où ils ont établi un *maqâm* de leur saint, ce Baba Lh'âjj, à figure personnelle, encore qu'anonyme, et localisé dans un passé vieux, dit-on, de 40 générations. Une « mansion » de Sidi Ah'med u Âli, dans ce même village, est un lieu d' « injonction magique » *l'dr* pour la totalité des Ibubanen : ramassis composite, mais dont le rite, l'économie, et une communauté d'infortune font une *taqbilt*.

Outre les a. H'adduyws, les a. Âbdella et les Ibubanen, on pourrait multiplier les exemples. Ces trois-là ont été choisis assez

(1) A ce moment, les Bani Mâger, qui sont des Maçmûda, sont chassés de la rive Nord du Tensift, *Sour. in. Port.*, t. I, pp. 136, n° 2 et 193, n. 1. Le groupe des Al Chichâwa actuels, groupant des Berbérophones séparés par les Ud Bessebâ, de la masse chleuhe de l'Atlas, pose des questions embarrassantes, mais son existence forme sans doute « un pont » entre l'Atlas et les populations Maçmûda plus septentrionales et qui ont disparu aujourd'hui, par migration ou arabisation.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

différents pour faire ressortir une commune caractéristique qui ne doive rien à l'unité des conditions : conquérants de haute montagne pour les uns, friables villageois de piémont, ou vaincus déshérités, ce sont bien là trois aventures différentes. D'où la force de l'impression qui s'en dégage, et que l'on pourrait formuler sous la forme interrogative : dans cet ensemble Seksawa, à la personnalité si caractéristique, n'y a-t-il donc rien qui soit vraiment Seksawa, je ne dis pas dans l'objectivité historique, mais dans la conscience, la prétention même des habitants ?

UN VESTIGE DES ANCIENS SEKSAWA : LES AIT D'ALH'A (1)

Ne sont Seksawa d'origine qu'une infime poignée de familles : un groupe de haute montagne, les a. D'alh'a, et dans la moyenne vallée un rameau d'a. Musa. Voici comment se compose cette dernière *taqbilt*, dont l'habitat est sis immédiatement en aval du lieu saint de Z'init', et qui offre de ce fait une certaine importance. Son nom, comme celui des a. Âbdella, se rattache à la dynastie royale. Dans le détail, elle se décompose comme suit :

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origine invoquée
Moitié d'en haut	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	—	Venus du Sous, avec les Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	—	Ce sont des a. Gasa résiduels.
	a. Jjaw.	—	Venus des a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Moitié d'en bas	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	Ce sont des a. Ish'âq résiduels.
	a. Khaled.	—	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	—	Demsira, « clients » de Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran d'origine.
	a. Lâsri.	—	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	—	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	—	Descendants du marabout sidi Mh'and.

L'agrégat est donc ici encore composite. Et pourtant, dans ce tronçon de vallée immédiatement inférieur à Z'init', s'est main-

(1) Rappelons que nous avons retrouvé le nom de T'alh'a dans les plus anciennes généalogies légendaires des *agellid-s* Seksawa. Dans cette société, rien ne se perd !

tenu un rameau de vrais Seksawa, un rameau des « Fils de roi ». Ils ne partagent ce privilège d'authenticité qu'avec les a. D'alh'a de la haute vallée, dont l'habitat se dispose, par rapport au mausolée de Sidi Âmer u H'addo, comme le leur par rapport au sanctuaire de Lalla Aziza. Peut-être sont-ce là deux témoins symétriques ménagés par les invasions. Entre eux, nulle continuité : toute la moyenne vallée du fleuve a été dominée par des intrus ou des exclus, les a. Gasa. Cette rupture a marqué l'effondrement de l'histoire nationale. Mais deux îlots ont tenu, et sans peut-être que leur sauvegarde fût le fait du hasard, ni d'une résistance particulièrement efficace. Ils ont, en quelque sorte, subsisté comme témoins, et peut-être comme « garants ». Entre eux se sont disposés les nouveaux venus, entre eux se sont abrités leurs vainqueurs. Car la conquête du pays n'en altère ni la substance ni le nom. Les arrivants se disent aussi Seksawa. Certains même revendiquent l'origine de H'addô. Le culte des saints est ainsi continué. Z'init' reste, jusqu'à basse époque, le foyer d'asile. Les *laqbill*-s se réclament encore des vieux noms princiers de Musa et d'Âbdallah. Les patronages mystiques du sol restent inentamés.

Enfin, et plus précisément, l'immigrant ne considère son occupation comme valable que quand il a dûment acheté le sol aux anciens propriétaires : Demsira dans les basses vallées, a. Gasa dans la moyenne. D'où des processus extrêmement nuancés et compliqués, qui ont laissé leur trace écrite. Nous le verrons en détail en ce qui concerne les a. Gasa. Mais notons dès à présent que la parenté des a. Musa et des a. H'adduyws, de part et d'autres des Idma, ressort de certains traits de la structure immobilière. L'analyse de la propriété apporte ici à l'histoire une confirmation éclatante.

Une famille d'Iger n-ssuq, les a. Ibizzi, a des biens en a. Bah'ammo dans la haute vallée. Réciproquement, des a. H'adduyws d'a. Zemlal en possèdent du côté de T'abya. Bien plus en aval, en a. Âbdella à Imi-n-tghli, les a. Ânono (Idma) gardent, avec des titres d'origine *açl*, une importante propriété indivise. Une famille illustre de cet *ikhs*, celle de l'*amghar* actuel, a même, anciennement, et encore du temps de Lh'âjj H'fid', progressé de ce côté. Qu'il y ait eu en cette expansion un sens très profond de reprise, de remembrement d'ensembles traditionnels, rien là de surprenant. Une telle hypothèse n'est pas contredite par l'explication que l'on donne aujourd'hui de la présence simultanée sous T'abya de propriétaires originaires de 3 groupes : Idma, ait H'adduyws et Dwiran. Cette coalition chasse les Demsira et se répartit leurs terres. Mais il est d'usage que ces reprises opèrent rétablissement de légitimité : leur valeur archéologique est donc probable.

Origine légendaire d'une partie de ce peuplement, remontant à l'*ikhs* des a. Khaled, c'est-à-dire aux a. D'alh'a, c'est-à-dire à la plus antique lignée Seksawa — ou distribution foncière : il y a là un fait incontestable : la symétrie de part et d'autre de Z'init'. Et une symétrie dont les plus « légitimes » des Seksawa sont les agents. Peu importe en ce sens que cette symétrie soit un vestige ancien ou procède d'une restauration récente : la seconde hypothèse serait peut-être la plus instructive.

PORTÉE DE CETTE IMMIGRATION DU SUD

La conclusion à tirer d'analyses qu'on pourrait indéfiniment prolonger, c'est que l'immense majorité des *ikhs*-s composant les Seksawa d'aujourd'hui proviennent bel et bien d'immigrants, et non pas du lignage authentique, bien que celui-ci soit représenté encore et bénéficie d'hommages de légitimité mystique et immobilière.

Cette immigration vient du Sud.

Sans doute avons-nous relevé çà et là un immigré du N. Le cas est particulièrement net en Ibuban, où cette origine donne lieu à une instructive étiologie.

Le pays des Dukkâla était soumis à une effroyable tyrannie. Un homme reçut un jour la visite d'un soldat, qui exigea l'hospitalité. Cet homme était pauvre. Il ne possédait qu'une poule, qu'il dut sacrifier pour son hôte. Or, il avait un fils unique qui, épuisé par la faim, osa dérober au rôti un pilon. L'hôte irascible fracassa alors l'enfant sur le sol. Le père tue le soldat et s'enfuit dans l'Atlas.

Thème folklorique général ? Sans doute (1). Mais aussi trace de refoulements subis par les populations du Haouz : les Dukkâla, jusqu'au XVIe siècle, descendaient jusqu'aux abords de Marrakech. Consignons cette légende pour ce qu'elle vaut. Nous retrouvons aussi des Dukkâla en pays Gund'afa.

Autre légende, mais qui, cette fois, se réfère au Sud. Elle a trait à un petit groupe vassalisé par les a. Lh'sen, les excentriques Iguntar. Leur provenance traditionnelle : Tagenturt des a. Widjdjas du Sous, est confirmée par l'enchevêtrement de la propriété de leurs divers *ikhs*-s dans des secteurs marquant les étapes successives d'une ancienne migration. L'ancêtre légendaire, Mh'and, eut deux fils, un Ah'chmud, dont descendent les actuelles familles de Tagenza, et un autre, Mh'and, dont les rejetons ont peuplé non seulement une partie de Tannammert, en Iguntar actuel, mais Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir en Demsira,

(1) Nous retrouvons la même légende en Kabylie, et toujours pour expliquer des déplacements de groupe, C. DEVAUX, *Les Keballes du Djerdjera*, 1859, p. 334.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

partiellement aussi Akhferga et Amejnes des Irohalen. Ces *disjecta membra* conservent entre eux le lien précis de la copropriété immobilière, et la valeur des documents fonciers éclate ici une fois de plus.

Le fait est que, dans l'immense majorité des cas, c'est une immigration de l'Anti-Atlas ou du Sous, du Sud en tout cas, qui est relatée. Ce phénomène d'expansion du S. vers le N. est un phénomène général, confirmé par les rares analyses dont nous disposions quant à la composition de tribus du Sous comme a. Yah'ya et surtout a. Wawzgit.

Ce mouvement subsiste encore, sous la forme de l'émigration ouvrière, et il faut y voir une loi générale dont la signification excède le cadre du présent travail. L'afflux des allogènes succède sans doute à des phases de dépopulation dues à l'épidémie, aux reprises de la forêt (comme dans l'histoire de l'Europe médiévale). Le sens est du S. vers le N. C'est ce que rappelle l'hagiologie. sidi Mh'and vient des Ammeln de l'Anti-Atlas. Son compagnon Sidi Lh'sen est réputé tout ensemble appartenir aux Idma et venir du S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, des a. Tamment, draine les offrandes de plusieurs groupes Seksawa, alors que, chose significative, son propre ancêtre sidi Sâid n'a rien réussi à organiser dans notre secteur. Plusieurs vieux actes mentionnent l'action de marabouts de Taroudant. La légende même de sidi Âmer u H'addo déborde de l'autre côté des crêtes, en Idaw Mh'mud et jusqu'en Mentaga.

Les correspondances avec le Sud et avec le Nord n'offrent pas le même caractère. Du Sud, les Seksawa tirent leur matière, leur substance. Mais leur vocation historique, tout comme celle des groupes qui les alimentent, les attire vers le Nord. Ce contraste, sur le plan des psychologies collectives et individuelles, est peut-être celui des structures et de l'événement, ou, si l'on veut, de la sociologie et de la chronique. Mais cet apport continuel du S. joue encore un autre rôle. Renouvelant indéfiniment le fond archaïque des cantons, à mesure que ceux-ci s'épuisent dans les vicissitudes qu'ils doivent tant à l'appel qu'à l'hostilité de la plaine, c'est-à-dire, en somme, aux attraits comme à l'injure des empires maghrébins, il maintient intacts les termes du problème : le montagnard chleuh s'oppose toujours de la même sorte au monde citadin et bédouin. Grâce à cette constante montée de sève, il ne se rallie pas plus qu'il ne succombe.

POPULATIONS FOSSILES

Presque partout l'analyse découvre, à côté et en marge des grands groupes, des familles résiduelles, auxquelles souvent est concédé l'augure agricole. Ainsi, en a. Âbdella, ces a. Bihi u. Sâid

d'origine inconnue, et d'ailleurs en extinction. A Ikis, les Amarir, auxquels sont venus se juxtaposer, il y a quatre siècles, des immigrants des a. H'adduyws. Au-dessus d'Ammern se voit une Tagadirt Ikuzza, qu'on rapproche des Idaw Kazzo (H'âh'a). Citons aussi les a. Ish'aq, de la moyenne vallée, mais ayant aussi un rameau en a. H'adduyws ; les Iqorran des Idaw Geryun ; les ait Châib, les Ikessan, etc. Mention spéciale doit être faite de deux groupes dont les lambeaux se retrouvent encore en haute vallée et qu'on voit fréquemment nommés dans les plus vieux actes Seksawa. D'abord les a. H'ogg^{w}a. On les dit ici apparentés aux H'mer. Mais leur nom rappelle singulièrement celui d'un *leff* du Sous. La Tah'ogg^{w}at s'oppose à la Tagizzult. En Seksawa, ces a. Hogg^{w}a ont bien été dépossédés par des émigrants de la Tagizzult. C'est tout ce que l'on peut dire pour le moment. Voyons aussi les a. Umgan. Nom curieux. Ils ne sont peut-être que des « Gens de la place », les « Gens trouvés sur place », et somme toute « les Indigènes ». Remonteraient-ils à la plus vieille légitimité Seksawa ? Peut-être leur nom suggère-t-il des classements anciens entre différentes couches de peuplement, comme les *leff*-s de l'Anti-Atlas. C'est de ces a. Umgan que se réclament les gens de Tasa, en tant que légitimes et initiaux propriétaires. La mention arabisée al-Mukânî est fréquente dans les actes, et souvent comme paraphe de lettré. Autre constatation qui a son poids, ces actes se réfèrent non seulement à l'actuelle impasse des I. Geryun, mais à des lieux tels que Tawennrrast, Igelwan, maintenant sis en a. Gâir. Un habitat et des rapports circum-Tichka, c'est-à-dire antérieurs au cloisonnement et à la ségrégation actuels, ne sont pas ce qu'il y a de moins archaïque ni de moins révélateur dans ces témoignages. Cela semble renforcer la liaison de ces deux groupes à un certain passé Seksawa, aussi fondé par les données ethniques que par le cadre géographique qu'il suggère.

Mais le grand problème de la vallée est celui de la disparition des a. Gasa. On sait que ceux-ci subsistent maintenant de l'autre côté ce l'Afuzar, rangés avec les a. Tkssit et les a. Gâir dans un ensemble artificiellement rattaché aux Gedmiwa.

Impossible de parcourir le Moyen Seksawa sans tomber sur des traces des a. Gasa. L'archéologie est ici confirmée par la légende, et le souvenir est resté vif de cette tribu puissante, aux fortins escarpés, et que la malédiction de Lalla Aziza fit vaincre par une tribu moins nombreuse, les Idma.

Archéologiquement leur habitat est encore reconnaissable à partir de l'amont de Z'init', vers l'aval, jusqu'aux vallées finissant en cul-de-sac sur l'Afuzar. Dans le ravin d'Assttif particulièrement, des gradins en

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

ruines, des amandiers desséchés révèlent l'ancienne prospérité. A Z'init', un de leurs fortins barre la vallée.

La tradition populaire mentionne plusieurs de leurs villages : Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçeint, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Leur *az'allo*, où ils se réunissaient pour les fêtes, domine le col faisant communiquer la ravine d'Assttif avec celle des Imt'ddan. Signe, à coup sûr, d'une époque où l'axe de leur vie avait quitté la vallée principale. Notons aussi qu'ils sont associés à 6 « mansions » de Lalla Aziza, qui se déploient en éventail vers l'E., de même que toute une escouade de lieux sacrés la protège du côté de la plaine. Car elle n'a à se protéger ni de l'O. ni du S.

Les a. Gasa sont associés à la sainte dans un système complexe, encore que classique, de rapports à deux faces : liaison-répulsion.

Une tradition constante attribue à Lalla Aziza leur éviction. Leurs crimes étaient nombreux. Ils détroussaient les pèlerins, et assouvissaient sur eux leur débauche. Un jour, un chef nommé sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, de Z'init', les ayant priés d'aide à la moisson, ils égorgèrent l'un de ses fils, qu'ils laissèrent entortillé sous une natte. Peu après, au cours d'un guet-apens, il leur tua 11 personnes, dont leur chef, un Abdelmumen. Ces relations entre les tenants du sanctuaire et les gens du fortin tout proche dénoncent une significative tension. La réprobation populaire accable encore ces vaincus, deux siècles et demi après leur effacement total. Il semble que la légitimité Seksawa ne leur ait jamais été attribuée, malgré le voisinage de Z'init'. Ils sont considérés comme des usurpateurs : mais peut-être n'est-ce là que l'effet d'un classement tardif.

Comment des nouveaux venus, Idma et Imt'ddan, aujourd'hui servants de la sainte, ont-ils pu acquérir les bonnes grâces de Lalla Aziza. Est-ce là un fait historique ou une réinterprétation qualifiant après coup les vainqueurs ? La chose est difficile à résoudre. Quoi qu'il en soit, ces conquérants, éliminant l'usurpateur a. Gasa, comme non loin les a. Lh'sen éliminaient l'usurpateur Demsira, ont été les restituteurs de la légitimité Seksawa, et la légende leur en a tenu compte.

Le nom des a. Gasa est très ancien. Sa consonance rappelle de très vieux noms berbères : ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le Baydhâq mentionne dans la confédération Genfisa, des Banu Waggâs, et parmi les « Çawda de la montagne » des Unghasa (1), où E. Laoust reconnaît nos a. Gasa. On est naturellement mal renseigné sur l'emplacement de ces divers rameaux à l'époque almohade. Il est possible que les ancêtres des a. Gasa, appartenant à un groupe voisin, se soient insérés en profiteurs dans le système Seksawa au moment où il s'affaiblit (fin du XIVe siècle) et s'y soient maintenus jusqu'au moment où les forces du S. et la malédiction de la sainte les en chassent.

En une telle matière, il faut être très attentif à la notion de légitimité,

(1) Noter, parmi les quartiers agricoles de Z'init', l'existence d'une *lamaziri Iwanghasen*.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

dont, au moins à partir d'un certain moment, les a. Gasa ont été exclus, et dont bénéficieront au contraire les Idma. Mais voici, en ce sens, un nouvel indice archéologique.

Il existe un chemin dit *Tagharast i-ysseksawan* (1), communication directe mais ardue, entre Usikis, premier berceau de la puissance Idma, et le confluent des deux plus hautes vallées, l' « entre-deux fleuves », Igersafen. Ainsi purent correspondre, en évitant la grande vallée, le haut Seksawa et le centre historique de dispersion que l'on peut situer sur les contreforts Nord du Tabgurt. Cette liaison avec l'archaïque système du Tichka est certainement très importante.

Elle traduit une époque où le Moyen Seksawa, du fait d'occupants hostiles ou pour toute autre raison, devait être évité. On peut se demander dès lors si cet axe, négligeant le chemin du fleuve, et susceptible de conduire jusqu'à Lalla Aziza par le plateau du Mzawt, n'est pas antérieur aux présentes configurations politiques.

Si nous le mettons en rapport avec le système initial des Idma, à cheval sur le Tassila, la cuvette d'Agersili, le plateau d'Inraren Z'dinin et les ravins qui en rayonnent, cette impression se renforce. La tradition Idma veut qu'à une certaine époque, Idaw Geryun (entendons les plus vieux Seksawa, que représentent encore aujourd'hui les ait D'alh'a) et Idma élussent à tour de rôle un *moqaddem* annuel : la Tagharast permettait le déplacement direct des *jemâa-s* au lieu de l'élection. Quoi qu'il en soit, outre l'articulation d'un complexe géographique que confirme l'histoire, nous pouvons assez légitimement imaginer que l'installation des Idma dut s'autoriser du patronage des anciens maîtres, hommes et saints : et il n'est pas sans intérêt que la légende, la topographie et l'archéologie contribuent à faire supposer une communication directe entre sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, et les premières métropoles du conquérant. C'est par ces constellations de forces, politiques et religieuses, que fut rendue possible l'élimination des a. Gasa.

Des conquérants légitimistes

LA GESTE DES IDMA

« Du S. vient la royauté », proclame une chanson chleuhe (2). Et cela est vrai de cette partie du Maroc, dont les maîtres sont issus de l'Anti-Atlas, ou de plus loin encore. Qu'on en juge par

(1) Une autre Tagharast mène de la zaouia d'Ammern aux a. Musa en négligeant la vallée du torrent. Autres exemples de ces chemins « de rechange », dont l'existence traduit sans doute des phases de rivalité entre populations maîtresses de la rivière et populations maîtresses de la forêt. Mais nous savons trop peu du passé de l'Atlas pour nous engager plus avant dans une voie pourtant bien suggestive.

(2) JUSTINARD, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s., *A. M.*, XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

l'histoire d'une *taqbill* à la rapace et sournoise personnalité, les Idma.

La tradition les fait remonter à un chérif de l'Anti-Atlas. Sur le pourtour du Lkst, on connaît en effet des Tudma. L'expédition d'al-Mançûr (1580) soumet des a. Tudma (1). En Ammeln, des chorfa du même nom sont exemptés de tribut. Une de leurs familles est celle des Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'â'illah, parmi lesquels un certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, maintenant enterré en H'âh'a, fut contemporain du Saâdien doré, qui le renvoie à Fès. Tout cela attesté par documents, et aussi historique qu'il se peut en la matière. A ces chorfa Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'a' illah prétendent se rattacher les Idma des Seksawa. Ils exhibent à ce propos la copie d'un acte de notoriété de *çafar* 1087 (1676), copie avérée plusieurs fois, dont la dernière en 1178 (1765).

Selon cette généalogie, il y a seize générations, une immigration de l'Anti-Atlas amène à Usikis, d'où ils se répandront par la conquête, cinq fils d'un chérif de l'Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2). Ils portent des noms archaïques : Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, auxquels la tradition orale, à cette même place de la généalogie, en substitue cinq autres, d'allure arabe. Doublet caractéristique. L'arrivée des émigrants marque le franchissement d'un seuil, en deçà duquel règne la normalité. L'inconnu, la sainteté, la bizarrerie — ou l'authenticité — des appellations restent au delà, dans une pénombre légendaire. A ces cinq immigrants sont rattachés les *ikhs*-s actuels des Idma, dont l'identité peut être suivie à peu près sûrement sur les trois siècles qu'embrassent leurs archives. Les descendants de Mh'and peuplent Usikis et Ad'erd'ur, ceux d'ᶜAli Usikis et Tasselli, ceux de ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir et Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân est l'ancêtre des Iborach d'Usikis et, à la sixième génération, du saint d'Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. Celui-là est un personnage historique, dont beaucoup d'actes produits de nos jours portent encore le paraphe. Il vit dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIᵉ siècle. On peut donc situer vers la fin du XVᵉ siècle l'arrivée légendaire des premiers Idma (3). Le saint d'Assttif précède de six autres

(1) JUSTINARD, tr. du Kunnâch, dans *Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIᵉ siècle*, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. Les Toudma sont encore repérables aujourd'hui même au même endroit.

(2) Vieux nom berbère. Ibn H'AZM, *Jamharat*, éd. Lévi-Provençal, 1951, p. 462, l. 21, connaît les Maghâgha comme nom de groupe ; Ibn KHALDÛN, tr. *Histoire des Berbères*, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. sur le nom de Jannûn, Ibn H'AZM, *op. laud.*, p. 43, ll. 10 et 16 sq. (idrisides).

(3) Les *Fawâ'id*, tr. JUSTINARD, 1953, p. 56, repèrent un cheikh Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî qui quitte le Sous pour s'installer dans le Daran. Il meurt en 1003 hég. : 1595.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

générations un autre saint Idma, d'une lignée collatérale, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker d'Ad'erd'ur, spécialisé dans l'expulsion des génies. Avec lui, nous sommes au début du XIXe siècle.

Arrêtons-nous un instant sur le site de ces deux villages d'Usikis et d'Ad'erd'ur, premier établissement des Idma. Usikis est leur station initiale, d'où ils se répandirent progressivement. Sa dignité est encore éminente. C'est presque toujours dans ce village que se sont recrutés les chefs. Leur désignation s'opérait en comices, à Inraren Z'dinin, et le collège ne se séparait qu'à Usikis sur la roche dite Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, après l'invocation du saint d'Ammern. Le village est bâti dans des parages d'une désolation cruelle. De partout le surplombent de massifs escarpements de schiste noir. Quelques paquets de maisons, cramponnées à une chétive esplanade, dominent le dévalement presque vertical d'un prodigieux escalier de champs. Ce jet de volonté humaine surgit dans une aridité générale, qui l'écrase de toutes parts, et que traduisent les toponymes mêmes : c'est ainsi qu'il y a près du village un « champ de la faim » *bur n-ldz'* comme un peu plus haut une « source de la faim » *taldint n-jju'*, ou un « champ du juif », *iger n-bhenkuk*. Ces appellations dérisoires visent à conjurer la misère. Mais, visiblement, seule la tension du groupe arrive à maintenir la vie. Elle s'exprime par la connivence des saints et par une richesse folklorique dénonçant un fort contexte de rite et de légendes. Elle s'exprime aussi en ordre rural, en querelle municipale et en expansion guerrière.

L'autre métropole des Idma, Ad'erd'ur, est bâtie au fond d'un puits que domine, vers le S., une acropole. Cet *agadir* était le siège d'un antique habitat. Les persécutions des génies le dépeuplèrent : le diable labourait dans les maisons. On ne fut vraiment délivré que par l'intervention de Sidi Lh'sen b. Bubker. Aujourd'hui encore, ce côté-là est dit néfaste, et n'est plus guère habité que par l'*ikhs* des ait Lqaïd qui mène une vie à part. Le village actuel groupe ses maisons en face de l'*agadir*, sur un versant exposé au S. En aval, un autre roc en forme d'acropole, surgi dans le lit même du torrent, le Tansmert u Rrumi, passe pour avoir été une forteresse des Chrétiens, anciens occupants de la vallée. A son sommet un bloc de plusieurs tonnes repose en équilibre. Deux autres érigent une silhouette noire qui semble regarder vers l'aval. Pays de sombres légendes, de souvenirs cruels.

A un moment qu'on peut situer au début du XVIIIe siècle, les Idma sont encore réduits à ce petit canton, d'ailleurs redoutable par les armes et l'appétit. Cependant, de l'autre côté du Seksawa, la zaouia d'Assttif est déjà illustrée par un saint national. Entre les deux, couvrant la vallée principale jusqu'à Z'init', et les vallées affluentes jusqu'à Assttif, d'une part, Wanchkrir, de l'autre, règnent les a. Gasa. L'histoire des Idma : développement foncier, expansion de groupes et structure du commandement, est désormais liée à l'expulsion des « usurpateurs ».

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Actuellement encore, la tradition populaire remonte à cette période où les Idma sont réduits aux deux villages, et où, soit concurremment, soit alternativement, deux lignées, issues de deux fils de Maghagh, exercent le pouvoir. Les deux premiers chefs que l'on cite sont, vers la fin du XVIIe siècle, Brahim u Jâa Rryun des ait Uchâwi et Wakrim u Sâid des Iseqqalen. Ils guerroient contre les a. Gasa. Ceux-ci les invitent à un « banquet-palabre » *tiwill* et, par surprise, massacrent quarante Idma. Les deux chefs sont heureusement avertis par une femme qui, du haut d'une roche, leur fait signe qu'on égorge. Ils prétextent avoir oublié un vêtement et s'esquivent. Bien leur en prend. La femme qui les a sauvés n'est pas identifiable : c'est peut-être Lalla Aziza. Car les saints conspirent à cette guerre de feintes et de pillages. La scène de l'hospitalité rompue est fréquente dans le passé de la montagne. Sa couleur, sa cruauté évoquent la plus vieille mythologie méditerranéenne.

Les luttes contre les ait Gasa continuent pendant tout le XVIIIe siècle. C'est à partir de 1214 hég. = 1798 que se consomme leur élimination. C'est le moment des grandes mutations immobilières. Z'init' est dégagée, la vallée occupée d'abord par conquête, puis par achats selon le processus classique. En bas de ce que les géologues appellent « la capture d'Agersili », un autre bourg important entre désormais dans l'histoire Idma : Wanchkrir.

Ce village s'ordonne en deux masses superposées. Celle du bas, sur un piton rocheux, porte, avec des habitations, les ruines d'un fort attribué aux a. Gasa. Celle du haut, dont se sépare le bloc du château d'un grand chef contemporain.

La population est un véritable ramassis. Voici comment elle se décompose, *ikhs* par *ikhs*.

Nom de l'ikhs	Origine légendaire	Remarques
a. Ikru « ceux du chevreau ».	Contemporains des a. Gasa, mais venus très anciennement de Tafrawt de l'Anti-Atlas.	Ont l'*initium* agricole.
a. bu Idder.	Venus d'Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Venus d'Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu-Bah'li.	Vestige des a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, venus de Tasselli. Iseqqalen venus d'Usikis.	Ce sont les deux seuls rameaux conquérants.
a. Wakrim.		

Vers 1700, les Idma se sont assuré, du côté du Tabgurt, l'eau de la source Amerdul qui irrigue le terroir d'Agersili, et, plus bas,

les terres d'Ad'erd'ur. Deux actes conclus à l'issue de ces débats le confirment. J'en ai donné ailleurs la traduction. Les a. Gasa éliminés, les conquérants n'ont plus à s'inquiéter de leurs voisins immédiats, a. Mh'nd et Imt'ddan, avec lesquels leur alliance a duré jusqu'à nos jours, sans grandes vicissitudes semble-t-il. Une politique rapace, fertile en actions de ruse ou d'éclat, est le lot de leurs chefs. L'accaparement foncier et les brutalités en semblent la méthode obligée. Non parfois sans ripostes du groupe. La tradition connaît plusieurs morts violentes des *amghar*-s qui désormais règnent sur tout l'ensemble actuel. C'est ainsi que Wakrim u Bella, en 1881, est tué par le voleur Bahhas qu'à la tête de la jemâa il traque dans sa maison. Âbdallah Ijjiwi des a. Sirra est assassiné pendant son sommeil à Talmud'ât.

La précision de telles anecdotes n'a rien pour surprendre. Chez les Idma, la puissance de la vie de groupe a pour pendant la fidélité au passé. Une chronique orale remémore, avec le souvenir des luttes contre les a. Gasa, celui des grands chefs dont la succession, du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours, est retracée dans tous les détails. En voici donc la liste. Elle sera donnée ici moins pour son intérêt propre, que pour le cachet d'historicité qu'elle imprime à la vie de ces petites sociétés.

Au plus loin que l'on remonte, c'est un grand *amghar*, de la famille des Iseqqalen, dont la silhouette se découvre. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profitant de la liquidation des a. Gasa, a accaparé par droit, violence ou ruse, de nombreux immeubles dans la vallée. Il est emporté par l'épidémie de peste de 1790, et il semble que ses héritiers doivent rendre gorge (1). Son oncle lui succède : c'est Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Puis viennent :
Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman d'Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarzg d'Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj des Iseqqalen.
Son fils Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
Son neveu Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra de Tannsmekht.

(1) Texte traduit dans nos Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1948, p. 391. Sur ces épidémies de la fin du XVIIIe siècle, an-Nâçirî, *Istiqçâ'*, tr. *Arch. Mar.*, X, p. 14 ; Ezziani, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, tr. Houdas, 1886, p. 181 ; le nombre des successions en déshérence est si nombreux que le Makhzen envoie pour les recueillir des agents spéciaux dans le Sous. Dans la montagne toutefois, c'est la commune qui se livre à ces récupérations. Et elle le fait dans d'impeccables formes juridiques.

Lah'sen u Said n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi de Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, père de l'actuel *amghar*. C'est un âpre conquérant, doublé d'un souple politicien. Il commande deux ans, puis part au pèlerinage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo ; il meurt de la lèpre.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj ; il devient aveugle.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono : il reprend définitivement le pouvoir qu'a gardé jusqu'ici sa famille.

LES ÉPREUVES DU VASSAL

De part et d'autre des Idma, deux groupes vassaux, les a. Mh'nd et les Imt'ddan. Nous ne saurons jamais d'où vient leur alliance, ni quelle en fut la procédure. L'Atlas offre de telles formes à l'état déjà adulte ou même décadent. C'est ailleurs, dans le Moyen Atlas ou en Maurétanie, qu'il faudra aller chercher, pour les prendre sur le vif, les pactes de groupe à groupe dans leur richesse rituelle (1). Nous ne les saisissons ici qu'usagés et interprétés. La contribution des Imt'ddan à cette enquête consistera donc non pas dans le rappel de lointains pactes, mais dans le traitement historique auquel ils ont donné lieu.

Les Imt'ddan viennent du Sous eux aussi. En l'espèce d'un lieudit Ighzer u Zerqi, dans le Tazerwalt. Leur expansion semble donc devoir être mise en rapports avec celle de ce centre religieux, soit qu'ils en fussent les lointains éclaireurs, soit, plus vraisemblablement, qu'ils en eussent été chassés par le saint. Le passé du Maroc est plein de ces mouvements géographiques, succédant à une sorte d'éruption idéologique sur un point donné.

Le premier habitat fut Tamt'ddit, non loin de la crête forestière qui sépare les Seksawa des Dwiran. Au col même se voit une « mansion » *larrut'* du saint du Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. De là les immigrants se rabattirent vers la vallée principale par un mouvement homologue de celui de leurs futurs alliés Idma. Eux aussi durent donc combattre les ait Gasa. De plus, ils devinrent desservants de Lalla Aziza. Pour les opérations de leur vie publique, ils se réunissaient au-dessus de Tamt'ddit, au lieudit

(1) Pourtant de Foucauld donne déjà une remarquable étude du « vasselage » et du rite de *dhabih'a*, pour la région Haut-Atlas oriental et Drâ. Il a très bien vu le rôle morphologique majeur de ces protections, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 1888, pp. 130 sq. Au Maroc, et pour la période récente, citons deux excellents articles de H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central, *Hesp.*, 1946, pp. 353 sq., et Dj. Jacques Meunié, Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, *Hesp.*, 1947, pp. 420 sq. Mais le domaine maurétanien et touareg donnerait des couleurs encore plus vives.

Assarag (Agoni), répliqué de l'Inraren Z'dinin des Idma. Ils élisaient deux *moqaddem*-s annuels, et la chronique a enregistré fidèlement la succession des plus marquants de ces chefs.

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, de Tamt'ddit, en 1002 hég. : 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder de Tamt'ddit), puis son fils Sâid.

A ce moment, le pouvoir politique des Imt'ddan, dont la courbe a classiquement évolué vers la tyrannie, est aux mains d'un grand *amghar*, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (m. 1270 hég. = 1861). Il chasse les a. Gasa de leur dernier repaire, Tidli, dans l'Afuzar. Il s'étend en Dwiran et Indmaghus. Il accapare force terrains, que la *laqbill* en 1277 se répartira en 9 lots, car il meurt sans enfants mâles, ce qui est un juste châtiment.

On revient alors au moqaddem élu, et ce sont successivement :

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, frère d'Aferyad'.

Puis à nouveau, le système des deux *moqaddem-s*, l'un pour Tagunit, l'autre pour Tamt'ddit.

Voici maintenant deux documents d'annales.

Le premier, qui date de 1799, marque un sursaut du vassal. La jemâa des Imt'ddan y précise ses limites territoriales. Après quoi, elle affirme que :

« leurs affaires sont distinctes de celles des Idma. Les Idma ont un *orf* distinct en matière de responsabilité civile et pénale. Les Idma n'ont pas à s'immiscer dans les affaires des Imt'ddan : ils ont eux-mêmes mis fin aux bonnes relations en essayant de créer des factions en Imt'ddan, de menacer ces derniers de les gouverner, de les prendre sous tutelle. Les Imt'ddan ne veulent pas de cela. Ils se refusent désormais à se rassembler avec les Idma sous une seule pensée et une seule parole. La chose en est venue au point que si quelqu'un marie sa fille à un Idma, elle n'aura pas de *ç'adiq*, car la femme est le lien du diable — Dieu me préserve de ses embûches. Que chacun parmi les tribus sache que les Imt'ddan sont distincts des Idma, ne comptent pas avec eux, si ce n'est pour la guerre ».

Suit le nom d'un ou de plusieurs notables de chaque *ikhs*.

Un conflit avait éclaté à l'époque entre les Imt'ddan et les Idma, alors gouvernés par la famille du grand *amghar* Lh'âjj Bujmâ ou ses

successeurs immédiats, qui montèrent jusqu'à Tagunit, sans pouvoir atteindre Tamt'ddit. La résistance s'organise autour du chef des Imt'ddan Messâud Bwizgwman, que nous voyons donc au pouvoir, encore qu'aucun titre ne lui soit donné dans l'énumération.

Cette rébellion fut sans lendemain.

Dans les « coalitions militaires » *amqqun*, les Imt'ddan comptaient pour un *khoms* avec quatre autres *khoms*-s, dont trois pour les Idma et un pour les a. Mh'nd.

Mais tant s'en faut que ces expéditions fussent toutes bénéficiaires : c'est ce qui fait l'objet du second document.

« Le 9 *çafar* de l'année 1303 de l'hégire, dans la nuit de mardi à mercredi, les Idma et ceux de Tamt'ddit partirent en expédition contre les a. Gâir de Tawrar. En effet, les a. Gâir d'en haut et ceux de Tagist nous l'avaient envoyé dire, nous engageant ainsi traîtreusement à cette expédition. Ils nous disaient : « Lorsque vous aurez tué Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, notre unité sera réalisée, car il n'y a qu'un traître en tribu, c'est lui. »

Nous tombâmes donc sur Ah'med et le tuâmes. Mais les a. Gâir ne tinrent pas parole et nous attaquèrent par trahison. Un certain nombre d'Imt'ddan blessés se réfugièrent dans des maisons. Ils subirent des tribus coalisées un siège de trois jours, durant lequel ils restèrent privés de nourriture et d'eau. Leur nombre s'élevait à 52 : cinq originaires de Taddert (Dwiran), dont l'un mourut. Cinq de Z'init' dont l'un mourut. Trente-deux de Tamt'ddit, dont 14 moururent.

Quant aux Idma, ils étaient 11 et perdirent deux hommes.

Les assiégés déposèrent enfin les armes sur l'intercession des marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med et ses frères qui étaient venus sur place arrêter les ennemis et en exiger promesse de vie sauve pour les assiégés, contre rançon... [*membre de phrase incompréhensible*]. Mais les ennemis trahirent les marabouts et ne leur prêtèrent aucune attention.

Ce sont les a. Gâir, les Imelwan, les Maghusa, les a. Gasa, les a. Tkssit et les a. H'adduyws qui s'entendirent pour nous massacrer. Ceux des assiégés qui eurent la vie sauve furent dépouillés de leurs armes, fusils et poignards, ainsi que de leurs vêtements. Ils s'enfuirent tout nus. Les ennemis leur prirent leurs armes. Ils leur prirent leurs effets en totalité, sans plus penser au lendemain ni se dire : « Nous devrons nous rencontrer fatalement avec ces gens qui sont nos voisins. » C'est en vain qu'un des marabouts leur dit : « Ne prenez que leurs armes et ils vous porteront la rançon que vous voudrez. » Mais les ennemis s'étaient mis d'accord sur la mort des nôtres et seuls s'échappèrent ceux que Dieu sauva.

Quiconque lira ce document, mesure quels effets produisit sur nous la haine. Quiconque d'entre nous désormais se contenterait de voir passer, sans rien leur faire, les gens de ces tribus sur notre territoire, nous lui en demanderons compte demain, au jour de la Résurrection, pour autant qu'il aura eu conscience du forfait dont nous fumes victimes. O toi qui viendras après nous, réfléchis sur ce qui a été consigné dans ce texte : ce fut le décret de Dieu.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

Quand les Idma avaient « cassé » les ait H'adduyws à Awnass, ils avaient dépouillé les vaincus de leurs armes, mais les avaient laissé aller, alors que nos ennemis, en ce jour, nous ont fait une chose qui restera à jamais entre nous.

O gens de Taint'ddit, de Z'init', quiconque se contentera de voir passer des a. H'adduyws, des a. Tkssit, des a. Gasa, des a. Gâir, des Imelwan ou des Maghussa sur notre territoire sans en tirer vengeance, nous le châtierons au jour de la Résurrection. »

Pathétique inscription funéraire. Nous sommes là en plein genre annalistique, et d'une facture non dénuée d'artifice. Je donne ce document tout au long. On en tirera certaines conclusions si l'on songe qu'il est l'œuvre d'un humble lettré de village.

ESSAI DE RECONSTITUTION DE L'HISTOIRE FONCIÈRE DU MOYEN SEKSAWA (1)

Les armes des Idma et de leurs vassaux n'auraient pas réussi, à elles seules, à chasser les a. Gasa. Elles trouvèrent une alliée efficiente dans la volonté divine, émue par les malédictions de Lalla Aziza. Et leurs progrès furent pas à pas, accompagnés de régularisation juridique.

La liaison de ces trois aspects : guerrier, mystique, immobilier, restitue une vérité d'atmosphère. Mais ne nous hâtons pas de crier au « primitif ». Il ne s'agit pas ici, et tout au contraire, d'un stade d'indivision entre le droit, le sacré et l'initiative temporelle du groupe. Ce qui règne entre ces trois ordres de faits, à l'époque envisagée, c'est une division du travail, un concordat, dont nous aurons à analyser les modes très personnels. Quoi qu'il en soit, une telle corrélation offre, en l'espèce, un grand intérêt documentaire. Celui d'assortir de témoignages écrits localisables le déroulement d'une longue phase de l'histoire de la vallée. D'innombrables titres d'achat, où l'une des parties au moins appartient aux a. Gasa, sont produits dans les procès actuels. L'inventaire a même été possible de deux séries d'archives foncières, celles de la famille des a. Ikru et celle du présent chef des a. Gasa émigrés, Brahim Aharqus. Et il était fait appel accessoirement à d'autres éléments plus lacunaires.

La famille des a. Ikru, originaire du Sous, a gardé jusqu'à nos jours une existence marginale qui l'a tenue à part des succès et des épreuves du groupe auquel elle s'agglomérait : a. Gasa d'abord, et maintenant Idma. Son descendant, le jardinier Akonad' d'Imintanout, a excipé dans un litige immobilier d'une grande quantité d'actes anciens, parmi

(1) Chapitre entièrement établi à l'aide d'actes fonciers.

lesquels une vingtaine ont pu être appliqués sur le terrain. Il a d'ailleurs perdu en appel ce procès, qu'il soulevait, au nom d'une vieille légitimité, contre les occupants actuels, et déjà anciens : certains Imt'ddan. Le droit d'origine, quelque séculaire qu'il fût, et sans doute pour cette raison même, a été vaincu en l'espèce par la possession constatée. Il ne pouvait

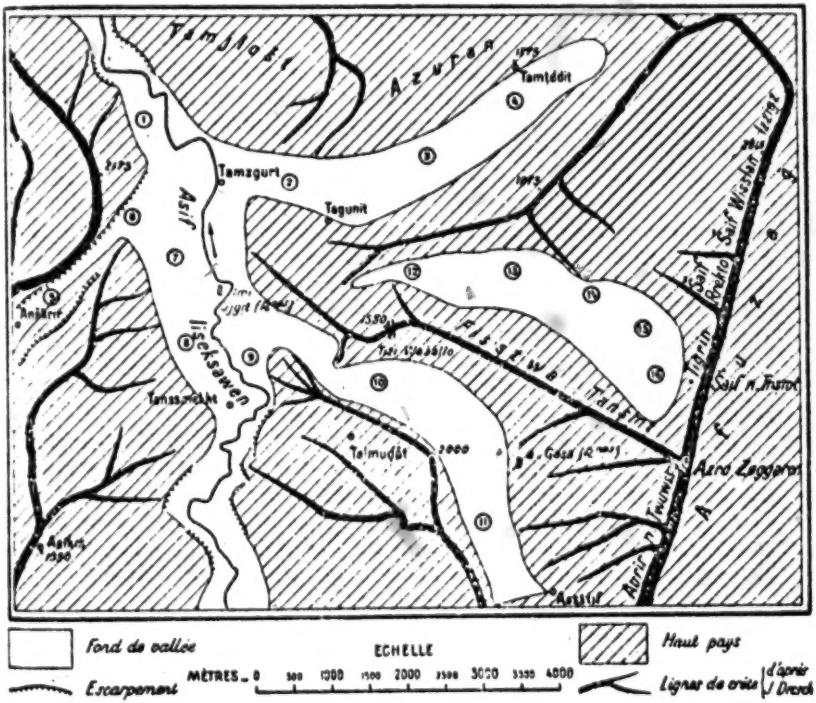


FIG. 5. — Terroirs du Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. — 4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. — 6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. — 8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. — 11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. — 14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gâer. — 16. Tkerni.

en être autrement en un temps de normalisation terrienne et judiciaire. Mais le débat était intéressant, parce qu'il faisait affleurer maintes vieilles et précieuses notions.

Une autre série d'actes, nostalgiquement conservés par les a. Gasa, inconsolables, semble-t-il, de la malédiction de la sainte et de la perte de leurs terres, a constitué le second gros élément de documentation, dont les recoupements toponymiques ont permis de vérifier l'exactitude. Une exactitude qui enjambe, si j'ose dire, deux siècles d'exil.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

Dans la deuxième partie du XVe siècle, et vraisemblablement vers la fin de celui-ci, les Idma se sont installés à Usikis (avec son terroir d'Agersili). De là, en une seconde étape, ils progressent et occupent Wanchkrir (terroir d'Inraren Z'dinin) et Ad'erd'ur (vallée du Tazmzgart). Agersili et Wanchkrir sont pris aux a. Gasa. Infiltration par achats suivie de liquidation guerrière, ou colonisation violente suivie de régularisation ?

Ce qui suggèrerait la première hypothèse, c'est la date très ancienne d'une vente consentie sur sa part d'Agersili par un a. Gasa à un Idma (acte 987, hég. : 1568). Le *terminus ad quem* des faits ressortissant à la deuxième hypothèse est fourni par un acte de 1013 hég. : 1605. Des a. Gasa jadis occupants de Wanchkrir, « aujourd'hui en ait Gâir », témoignent au sujet d'un immeuble sis dans le périmètre de ce village.

A ce moment (début du XVIIe siècle) le terroir des a. Gasa s'est contracté sur la vallée principale. Délaissant le contrefort N. du Tabgurt, que tiennent les conquérants, il commence vers le S. à « la borne de Lalla Aziza » *Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza*, sur le fleuve, et se termine au delà de l'actuelle Tasseli, à Imi y-Ikis peut-être. Deux gros villages, Jjgit et Tannsmekht dominent ce secteur. Un ravin affluent de gauche, à partir de Tigomma Titchekht (sous Wanchkrir) et les ravins affluents de droite, vers l'Afuzar, complètent ce périmètre. Là se trouvent, au lieudit Amlal n-Gâr, plusieurs centres de vie : Tançmt, Rekto, aujourd'hui ruinés, dans les parages de l'actuelle zaouia d'Assttif.

Le conflit entre a. Gasa, d'une part, Idma et Imt'ddan, d'autre part, dure sous le XVIIe siècle. Sans issue. C'est à partir du début du XVIIIe siècle que s'opère un recul des a. Gasa, qui tourne au désastre et, vers la fin du siècle, se conclut en liquidation définitive. Comme toujours, il est difficile de distinguer dans les documents les phases de dépossession violente ou contractuelle, chacune sans doute préparant ou complétant l'autre.

A une date antérieure à 1122 hég. : 1710, le village de Tannsmekht et sa mosquée ont été pillés. Une première émigration d'a. Gasa se produit, suivie d'un retour pacifique ou offensif sur le terroir de Jjgit (acte de 1131 hég. : 1719). A ce même moment, de nombreux actes opèrent ou sanctionnent l'occupation des Idma à Wanchkrir (1127 hég. : 1715), Iggiz (1074 hég. : 1664), Tannsmekht même (1139 hég. : 1727), etc.

Des a. Gasa demeurent encore à Tannsmekht. Un acte de vente de maison, daté de 1131 hég. : 1719 le prouve. La position de ce village est capitale. En amont, les colonies agricoles d'Usikis, Imi Wusikis et Tiwghla se sont sans doute déjà installées. Au S., les terroirs d'Iggiz et Bwizgaren, déjà noyautés par accaparements ou achats sont pressés entre Idma et Imt'ddan. Ils sautent au début du XVIIIe siècle. Deux personnages puissants, et qui ont su garder, du fait de leur origine, une position latérale au conflit, investissent de leurs achats, séparément mais de concert, tout le terrain compris entre la borne de Lalla Aziza au N., le lieudit Tiddram Wamden au S., en direction de Tannsmekht et jusqu'aux approches de Wanchkrir. Ce sont Lh'âjj Brahim des a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) et H'ammo bel Lh'âjj des a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). Il n'est pas indifférent que de ces deux personnages, l'un repré-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

sente une très vieille famille, l'autre l'appui de la sainte : double forme de l'*auctoritas*.

Les actes d'*istir'â'*, « protestation rituelle » contre l'accaparement se multiplient dans les archives a. Gasa : « A fait acte de réserve et sauvegarde quant à ses droits, et publié à la mosquée, et crié au point que son cri atteignît le trône de Miséricordieux » ... ainsi débute, entre autres, un acte de 1127 hég. : 1715 au sujet de Jjgit : son accent rejoint l'antiquité grecque, qui utilisait mot pour mot la même formule.

Tannsmekht tombée, les a. Gasa se replient sur les ravins d'entre le fleuve et la crête de l'Afuzar. Le lieudit Amlal n-Gâr fait entre eux l'objet d'opérations nombreuses (cf. par exemple actes de 1177 hég. : 1764, 1194 hég. : 1783). Ils y réinvestissent, dirions-nous. Ils n'en seront chassés par les Imt'ddan qu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Ils passent alors la crête de l'Afuzar. Un acte de 1259 hég. : 1833 cite des a. Gasa encore vivants qui, chassés de Rekto, sont maintenant de l'autre côté à Dddu-wzru.

Entre temps, dans la vallée principale, les Idma, et parmi eux la famille des Iseqqalen (curieusement homonyme d'une famille ait Gasa de Tannsmekht) a fait tache d'huile. Les deux premiers acquéreurs d'Iggiz, qui sont aussi des intercesseurs, se voient en partie dépossédés. A temps nouveaux, maîtres nouveaux. C'est leur tour d'inscrire des *istir'â'*. Ainsi en 1253 hég. : 1837 Naçr u Ali Ikru proteste solennellement contre les empiètements des ait Umghar de Tannsmekht et de Messâud u Jâa de Tamt'ddit. En effet, les deux *taqbilt*-s sont en pleine phase de pouvoir personnel.

En 1252 hég. : 1827, 12 vieillards d'Usikis protestent contre un grand *amghar*, accapareur obstiné, et dont seule l'épidémie de 1212 hég. : 1798 a pu les délivrer.

« Les témoins des présentes connaissent feu Lh'âjj Bujmâ Wakrim as-Saqâlî d'Usikis de vue, nom et personne. En foi de quoi ils témoignent que de son vivant il exerça sa domination sur toute la tribu des Idma, lui et ses fils, le Cheikh Brâhim b. al-H'âjj et Sidi Belâïd qui s'imposait dans les consultations juridiques et faisait le Cadi pour toute la tribu. Il n'y avait personne parmi les Idma qui pût s'opposer à lui dans la délibération, ni aucune prévarication autre que la sienne.

De son temps, lui et ses fils achetaient du terrain dans tous les cantons de la tribu des Idma, prenaient possession de leurs achats, et ne s'attardaient nulle part à laisser des droits en suspens, puisqu'ils détenaient le pouvoir de mémoire d'homme et s'étaient ainsi maintenus jusqu'à leur mort. Celle-ci se produisit en 1214 (1800) l'année de l'épidémie. Leurs propriétés demeurèrent en tout endroit telles quelles. A notre connaissance personne n'empiéta sur eux. Mais tout cela est demeuré tel quel en possession de leur descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, actuellement en vie. »

Ainsi la vieille règle égalitaire, présidant au partage du butin, à l'allotissement des terres conquises, réagit chaque fois qu'elle le

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

peut contre l'individuation du droit et la mobilisation du sol. Une légitimité persistante, qui traverse évictions brutales et dépossessions contractuelles, se réclame, après des siècles, du droit des a. Gasa. Et ceux-ci peut-être ne furent finalement vaincus que parce qu'ils avaient enfreint la légitimité de cette terre.

LA GESTE DES AIT LH'SEN

Les a. Lh'sen sont des Tekna, originaires de l'Oued Noun. Ils appartenaient aux Azwâfid' descendants mythiques de l'éponyme ᶜuthmân b. Menda, khalife almoravide de ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsin. A remarquer qu'il y a encore parmi les Tekna, des a. Lh'sen. Les Tekna sont d'ailleurs Iguzulen ce qui correspond à ce que sont les Lh'sen : les seuls Imsifern des Seksawa (1). La Chapelle (2) mentionne une autre origine, peut-être d'ailleurs intermédiaire : les a. Lh'sen u Brahim du versant Sud (au-dessus de Talekjunt et des Mentaga). Selon la tradition locale, les a. Lh'sen descendraient d'un Musa, qui eut deux fils : Daud et Mençur.

Ce classement bipartite fonctionne encore en matière de *cojuratio*. L'unité des a. Lh'sen est grande. Leur pureté, garantie par leur patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, disent-ils, est extrême. Aussi les règles de la distribution terrienne se posent-elles ici avec une particulière vigueur. Tout l'ensemble est encore jeune, vigoureux, conquérant. Il se répartit comme suit :

Ancêtre traditionnel	Sous-groupes	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
	a. Daud.	a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

(1) V. Monteil, *Notes sur les Tekna*, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, *op. laud.*, à la n. 2, p. 68.

(2) Dans sa remarquable Exploration inédite.

La conquête a. Lh'sen s'est faite en plusieurs phases.

Tout d'abord, ils occupent un *agadir* dont les ruines subsistent toujours en a. Mh'nd. Puis, ils envahissent le haut canton d'Iwulla, séparé des Idaw Mh'mud par une crête de 3.000 m. Ils complètent cette occupation par celle de Wanz'id'. Le tout pris sur les Demsira. La légende rend bien la cruauté épique de ces luttes.

En ce temps-là, les a. Lh'sen n'occupaient qu'Iwulla. L'un d'entre eux avait épousé une femme Demsira de Wanz'id'. Son beau-père lui demanda quelques poutres pour construire une terrasse. Son gendre les lui apporta jusqu'au col qui sépare les Iwulla de Wanz'id' : l'homme Demsira proclama alors que sa demande n'avait eu pour but que d'humilier un a. Lh'sen. Le gendre ne dit rien mais provoqua une invitation générale des Demsira à Iwulla, une *tiwilt*, « banquet-palabre ».

Les fusils des invités, déposés de confiance chez lui, reçurent chacun de l'huile dans le canon. Au milieu de la fête, les a. Lh'sen se mirent à massacrer les Demsira. Ceux-ci, se réfugiant chez le gendre, ne purent utiliser leurs fusils, et le gendre contribua à les liquider totalement, y compris son beau-père. L'esprit de groupe était chez lui plus fort que l'esprit de *nasab* : c'est le sens de l'anecdote.

A partir de l'ensemble Iwulla-Wanz'id', les a. Lh'sen poursuivent leur expansion. D'abord sur les Demsira. Il existe encore un *ikhs* de Demsira dans les a. Mh'nd actuels, ainsi que les traces d'une vieille séguia qui mettait en communication ce village avec Iwulla. Trace d'une vieille solidarité. A quelle époque approximative s'opère le deuxième bond de la conquête ? Nous tenons peut-être un indice dans le fait que les a. Lh'sen restés en Iwulla ont pour patron sidi Bubker u Sâid, des Mez'ud'a, tandis que ceux qui ont émigré dans la basse vallée ont pour patron le petit-fils, sidi Ah'med u Âli. Ce décalage de deux générations marque sans doute un échelonnement dans la constitution du domaine. Soit, respectivement, début et milieu du XVIIIe siècle. Cela correspondrait grossièrement à l'indication selon laquelle la première extension s'est faite il y a onze générations. Prenons ces approximations pour ce qu'elles valent. On ne peut prétendre à mieux dans l'état actuel.

La deuxième extension porte les a. Lh'sen aux hautes terres d'Ibuban, qui seront ensuite rétrocédées par vente aux occupants actuels, à moins qu'elles n'aient été ainsi rendues aux gens trouvés sur place. Notons cependant que l'émigration des a. Irz'z'i se situerait mieux dans la première hypothèse (débuts du XVIIIe siècle). Cette ancienne population a d'abord occupé un village un peu au-dessus d'Ad'erd'ur des Idma. D'abord massacrés

par les gens de Tasa (on montre à l'Amerdul un lieu d'hécatombe, dit Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), ils furent ensuite chassés de leur habitat, rompus par précipitation de grands rochers, ce à quoi les prédisposait un nom de mauvais augure, et obligés de se réfugier en Ibuban. Il est possible qu'ils aient alors demandé et acheté leur installation aux a. Lh'sen, qui venaient de conquérir leur terroir irrigué.

Ce terroir, qui reste séparé du premier canton occupé par quelques populations mêlées (Demsira, Idaw Semlal et autres, constituant les actuels Sekrat), a été entièrement arraché aux Demsira selon les méthodes habituelles. Ceux-ci se replièrent d'abord sur Uchfili, puis sur l'agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. Ce village était tellement considérable qu'il contenait simultanément des séries d'homonymes de cent personnes. Une telle démesure appelait la malchance. Il ne leur resta bientôt plus que la basse vallée, où les a. Lh'sen les refoulèrent de plus en plus en aval, avec l'alliance d'une population antique, les Ih'erdach, que l'on trouve alors à Tamzedakht et Agawz.

Mais voici comment finit l'alliance. A l'occasion d'une cérémonie sans doute matrimoniale entre adolescents a. Lh'sen et jeunes filles des Ih'erdach, au beau milieu de la *tiwilt*, les a. Lh'sen sautent sur leurs armes et massacrent les Ih'erdach. L'oued se teignit de sang. Une négresse s'en aperçut et donna l'alarme. Ce jour-là naissait un saint, sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud. Les Ih'erdach perdirent ainsi Tabratjut. Le bourg fut pris de haute lutte par un nouvel Aymerillot, le preux Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompagné de ses 7 fils : on le lui avait promis en apanage, à charge pour lui de l'enlever. Ce qu'il fit !

Les Ih'erdach s'éteignirent ensuite à Iferwan, haut lieu où se voit encore un petit sanctuaire de sidi Âbderrah'man, sur un piton qui apparaît sur la gauche à qui remonte le torrent.

Celui qui est éliminé ici, c'est donc non seulement l'occupant Demsira, mais aussi le possesseur légitime et l'allié. Les a. Lh'sen déploient une cruauté superflue. Elle parachève leur type belliqueux. Mais cela va poser un problème de purification. Le lieu de la *tiwilt* est toujours sinistre. Les récoltes n'y prospèreront jamais : ainsi en décida le saint. Est-ce pour cette raison que s'y voient encore des terrasses ruinées, sur la rive gauche du torrent ? C'est une Tagund'aft, dont seraient issus les célèbres Gund'afa (1). Il y a là aussi un tertre de cailloux, la Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Âli. C'est sans doute la relique d'une lustration. Un grand saint devient

(1) Origine naturellement repoussée par ces derniers.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

garant et patron des a. Lh'sen. Sans son intervention, leur crime ne leur aurait pas été pardonné. Ils prospèrent donc. De leur terrible histoire, ils n'ont gardé qu'une tradition militaire et l'orgueil de leur passé. On les retrouve à l'époque récente soutenant l'ambition d'un grand chef.

Le terroir conquis sur les Demsira a été allotti entre *ikhs*-s et les traces de cette répartition subsistent aujourd'hui, au point d'offrir de belles symétries. Mais les terres n'étaient pas seulement conquises par la force. Concurremment, elles étaient rachetées aux propriétaires légitimes et de nombreux actes se référant à l'ethnique Demsiri sont encore exhibés dans les procès entre a. Lh'sen et même a. Âbdella. Prise guerrière ? soit, mais régularisation juridique. Violence ? soit, mais légitimité. Ainsi se renoue, à travers l'aventure sanglante des hommes, l'accord mystérieux du sol et de ses paysans.

Le stade d'arrivée

Pour la période contemporaine, entendons depuis le début XXe siècle, nous disposons simultanément de témoins du cru, qui mettent la recherche en continuité avec la plus vieille tradition, et de témoins étrangers et critiques : nos observateurs. Or une chose frappe ces derniers, à leur arrivée dans le pays : c'est l'existence de « grands caïds », comme le Mtuggi, et de candidats grands caïds, comme plusieurs chefs de la montagne. Ont-ils raison de leur attribuer une telle importance — du point de vue scientifique, s'entend — et de mettre au premier plan le débat entre ces pouvoirs personnels et l'institution démocratique ?

INTERMITTENCES DU POUVOIR PERSONNEL

Car ce débat n'avait rien de nouveau. La tradition du Haut Atlas conserve de nombreuses listes de chefs, auxquelles nous avons fait maint emprunt. Nous en retrouverions de pareilles hors des Seksawa : par exemple en Mez'ud'a, en Mtugga, pour nous en tenir aux seuls voisins immédiats. L'existence de telles annales révèle un caractère du pays plus profond que sa propension aux destins héroïques.

Dans ce pays, des individus marquent, *des choses arrivent*. Si paradoxale que l'observation puisse paraître, ce n'est pas si commun dans le passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Entendons qu'ici l'événement laisse sa trace dans une mémoire collective. Elle utilise ou non l'écrit. En tout cas, elle fixe quelque chose de bien plus précis que la simple continuité de génération à génération.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ces souvenirs, conscients et détaillés, imagés et dramatiques, affleurent même à la littérature. Pour quiconque a fréquenté d'autres populations, celles du Gharb par exemple, quelle surprise ! Dans ce monde de l'Atlas, la société a le sentiment de sa propre durée. Elle ponctue son passé de victoires et de vicissitudes. La permanence des archives familiales a pour pendant la constance des chroniques de groupes, dont ressortent naturellement de grandes figures.

Ces chefs sont des chefs temporels. Pas la moindre attribution dans le goût frazérien. Pas de « rois », mais un intendant, un capitaine, un administrateur. Ce milieu pratique la séparation des pouvoirs. Ailleurs, peut-être, ou autrefois, des dynasties de « marabouts » se réclamèrent d'une efficience mystique : à l'origine du moins, car très tôt l'action devenait profane. Ici au contraire, dans ce qu'on peut appeler le droit public, aussi bien entre *taqbilt*-s qu'à l'intérieur de l'une quelconque d'entre elles, le rapport entre le sacré et le laïque se résout en partage et contrats, non en confusion de l'un avec l'autre. On s'explique l'aptitude de ces sociétés à enregistrer leur passé. Pas plus que ne règne entre les activités individuelles et communautaires de patriarcale indivision, mais une soigneuse démarcation, la durée du groupe ne s'évanouit en fuyantes perspectives : saints ancêtres ou âge d'or. Mais à tous les étages se découvre le même petit homme soigneux, capable de vertus, sujet aux faiblesses de ses lointains neveux. Différenciation individuelle, démarcation entre la personne et la communauté, le sacré et le profane, aptitude à l'histoire : ces quatre traits sont corrélatifs.

Ainsi donc, le pouvoir de ces chefs est tout temporel. Il provient du *consensus* d'assemblées, qu'on voit parfois se réunir avec un début de régularité constitutionnelle à comices périodiques, lieux consacrés, procédure fixe, etc. C'est aussi par des voies contractuelles, mais dont peu à peu il cherche à s'affranchir, que le chef grandit. Il s'arroge plus que sa part des dépouilles du vaincu lors des partages de butin. Il augmente ses terres par dol et pression. C'est sous cet aspect immobilier surtout que ses concitoyens le voient progresser. Ils y sont sensibles, car cela lèse leurs intérêts matériels, mais aussi révolte leur conception de la légitimité. Privé de l'assentiment populaire, le chef tend à devenir tyran. Non sans ruées vengeresses des *jemâa*-s, chaque fois que la défaite ou la mort affaibliront son œuvre. La tyrannie apparaît ainsi comme un phénomène de voracité, de dilatation, forme archaïque de la concentration économique. Et elle suscite des réactions dont nombre de documents se font l'écho.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ceci dit, n'est-il pas singulier que ce phénomène se reproduise à différentes époques, avec les mêmes caractéristiques ? Par exemple les Imt'ddan ont eu leur grand *amghar*, dont le pouvoir débordait sur les Dwiran, voire sur les Indmaghus : Bwizugman. C'est lui qui achève le refoulement des a. Gasa commencé plus d'un siècle auparavant. Les Idma ont aussi vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle Lh'âjj Bujmâ, qui monopolise les terres de la vallée, jusqu'à ce que la peste le tue et que la commune fasse rendre gorge à ses fils.

De telles expansions trouvent, on le verra, leurs limites dans les mœurs immobilières et les mécanismes du droit local. Elles ne peuvent donc aller très loin. Souvent la tradition mentionne tel gros personnage, *amghar* ou autre, largement répandu sur ses immeubles mais qui meurt sans descendants mâles : tout retourne au règlement collectif. Tel fut le cas de Bwizugman, et tel aussi celui d'un autre riche homme du haut a. Âbdella. Ces silhouettes de grands chefs ne sont pas rares. Sur le laps de deux siècles que restitue la mémoire des cantons, nous en connaissons plusieurs qui paralysèrent un temps les rythmes égalitaires des *taqbilt*-s. Montées suivies de chutes : tout une sinusoïde politique se profile ainsi dans les ombres du passé.

Parfois, l'amplitude de la variation est telle qu'un tiers facteur intervient : le Makhzen. Il fausse alors tout le jeu, ou du moins c'est un autre débat qui commence. Alors les vicissitudes du pouvoir personnel perdent leur physionomie intégralement montagnarde. Cela ne s'est guère produit chez les Seksawa, sinon de façon précaire. En a. H'adduyws, une tentative de cet ordre, dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, a échoué devant la réaction des citoyens. D'où une scène dans le goût des *Nouvelles asiatiques*.

Moh'ammed u Mançur vivait paisible aux a. Bah'ammô. Une grosse récolte de noix, l'abus de petit lait, et les perfides conseils d'un ami, Amstak, originaire des H'âh'a, lui inspirèrent de l'ambition. Le mauvais conseiller et lui partirent à Marrakech et s'abouchèrent avec le gardien du mausolée de Sidi bel ʿAbbâs pour qu'il les mît en rapports avec le Sultan. Il les cacha donc dans une armoire. Un jour que Mulay H'asân rendait visite au saint, ils surgirent devant lui. Après marchandage il concéda à Moh'ammed l'investiture de caïd sur les a. H'adduyws, contre versement de 5.000 réaux.

Le nouveau caïd repart dans sa tribu. Mais à peine est-il arrivé au bas de la vallée Seksawa, que ses frères l'avertissent qu'ils ne veulent pas de lui. Il jugea plus prudent de surseoir. Regagnant Marrakech, et parvenu à l'Asif el-Mâl, il légua ses ambitions à Amstak. Puis il gravit la montagne en reprenant la mine modeste que les a. H'adduyws lui avait tou-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

jours connue : moyennant quoi, ils l'acceptèrent et le laissèrent vivre aux a. Bah'ammô comme devant.

Amstak poussa plus loin l'aventure. Il obtint du Sultan courroucé un ordre général aux tribus de plaine d'incarcérer tout montagnard des Seksawa qu'on prendrait sur les marchés. Puis, ses activités s'élargirent et il prospéra longtemps dans l'entourage du monarque comme intrigant spécialisé dans les affaires de la montagne. Cette enviable situation se prolongea jusqu'à la mort du Sultan. Mais le Haut Seksawa n'avait toujours pas accepté de Caïd.

Comme pendant à cette piquante aventure, qui illustre l'incompatibilité entre le pouvoir caïdal et l'institution villageoise, on peut citer, en Bas Seksawa, des tentatives plus heureuses, encore qu'espacées. L'atmosphère est ici tout autre. Les *fqih*-s des ait Âbdella sont dits *ᶜadûl*. Un dahir même nomme un cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 hég. : 1702). Toutefois, c'est un personnage religieux local, et d'autre part son investiture vise curieusement, outre les Seksawa, les Imedlawen, qui sont bien loin, de l'autre côté du Tichka, et « al-Qîhra », mention topographiquement étrange. Tout se passe comme si l'extension du ressort était rançon du peu de travail. Parfois, des caïds sont désignés. On connaît ainsi un caïd T'âhar, d'Agawz, d'autres encore. Il est vrai que ces désignations sont une simple formalité fiscale.

En 1292 hég. : 1884, un dahir concède aux Seksawa la limitation à l' « usage ancien » des prestations exigibles par le pouvoir central. Soit 1215 *mithqâl*-s (au *rial* de 19 onces) en *hedya* aux fêtes ; 50 moutons à l'Aïd Kebir ; 200 poules, et des œufs, plus un quintal de fruits secs pour le *ᶜachûra* ; de plus, participations aux corvées royales, au travail des séguias, aux harkas. Prescription impérative est faite aux *ᶜummâl* de s'en tenir là : mais de ce minimum à la réalité, il y a encore loin. Toujours est-il que nous sommes ici dans une atmosphère bien différente de celle de la haute montagne. Même simple convention de chancellerie, le régime de la plaine a gagné peu ou prou, marginalement les a. Âbdella : à quoi ont concouru bien d'autres influences.

PREMIÈRE CONNAISSANCE FRANÇAISE

Nous n'insisterons pas ici sur la sociologie politique de l'époque moderne (1). Elle a fait l'objet du magistral travail de

(1) Sur la sociologie politique de l'époque moderne, l'ouvrage capital est celui de R. MONTAGNE, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Nombreuses monographies inédites ou publiées du même auteur : notamment, sur les Seksawa ou les tribus qui les entourent, art. déjà cité sur l'Aghbar, not. in sur les Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Restée inédite, la monographie précieuse du lieut. F. DE LA CHAPELLE, sur *Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mlouggui* (1926), à la fois « exploration » et tentative de systématisation scientifique. Le même auteur a publié : Un grand caïdat du S. marocain, *Afr. fr., Rens. col.*, 1927, p. 372 sq ; La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental, *Hesp.*, 1928, pp. 263 sq. ;

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

R. Montagne. Il repose sur un comparatisme étendu à tout le monde berbère marocain, et, localement, sur l'observation directe assumée par nos premiers officiers. Parmi eux se détachent R. Montagne lui-même, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Mêlés à la reconnaissance qui précédait, escortait, amplifiait la pacification, ils étaient frappés par l'antagonisme des petites républiques et des grands caïds. Le va-et-vient de l'une à l'autre formule, ils l'ont étudié dans l'action même, et en ont dégagé l'enseignement historique et pratique. Les incidences, si elles ont varié, n'en sont pas épuisées aujourd'hui même. C'est donc non seulement parce qu'elle fut admirablement approfondie, mais aussi parce que certaines de ces leçons restent d'actualité, que cette enquête ne sera pas continuée par notre travail. Mais elle lui fournira, il va sans dire, de substantiels recoupements sur ce que j'appellerai le stade d'arrivée : soit le premier quart du XXe siècle.

A ce moment, la vie politique des Seksawa s'ordonne selon des sections échelonnées de l'aval à l'amont. A chaque palier s'agite une chefferie guerrière, aux poussées conquérantes. A certaines d'entre elles seule la fortune manqua pour s'élargir du Haouz au Sous, comme Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

En haute montagne, les a. H'adduyws étendent leurs entreprises de l'Aghbar aux Idaw Mh'mud. Dans la moyenne vallée, les Idma et les Imt'ddan ambitionnent le Ijaut Dwiran et la moyenne vallée de l'asif el-Mal. Les a. Lh'sen ont un homme de guerre, le Caïd Lmokhtar, qui domine un temps des a. Musa aux Iguntar. Plus bas encore, les a. Abdella s'essaient au rôle de fourriers des pouvoirs de plaine, officiels ou conquérants : savante tactique de conciergerie.

Ces silhouettes individuelles (1) se meuvent sur le fond bicolore des *leff*-s. Cela est sans doute alors vrai à l'échelle de l'Atlas. Moins vrai à celle des Seksawa où, justement, ce bipartisme ne ressort pas avec la même régularité qu'en Gedmiwa, dans le Nfis, ou même chez les Mez'ud'a voisins. Nous chercherons les raisons d'une telle anomalie. Quoi qu'il en soit, R. Montagne a trop bien décrit la façon dont interfèrent dans ce jeu la force des groupes, l'ascendant des individus et ces grandes symétries équilibrées,

Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental, *R. E. I.*, 1928, pp. 339 sq. Not. in. du lieut. LABONNE, *Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mlouggui*, 1913 ; Id., *Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous*, 1915 ; lieut. DUPAS, *Les Seksawa*, 1929 (fin de l'enquête de La Chapelle).

(1) Nous les avons étudiées du point de vue de la documentation psychologique qu'elles apportent, dans Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1953, pp. 131 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

pour que nous entrions à sa suite dans l'histoire contemporaine. En somme nous ne demanderons surtout à ce premier et si précieux ensemble de connaissances que de faire butoir à notre propre démarche (1).

INDUCTIONS A PARTIR DU PRÉSENT ?

Mais est-ce bien là tout ce que la recherche historique peut en tirer ?

Cette sinusoïde du pouvoir, nettement repérable sur deux siècles, jusqu'où en suivre le prolongement dans le passé ? Et ce dualisme social, si propre à rendre compte des configurations politiques présentes, n'offre-t-il pas une élégante explication des faits plus anciens, et, de proche en proche, des structures de base du Maghreb ? Certains l'ont cru, et non des moindres (2). Une chose au moins leur donne raison : la vitalité à amples correspondances du moindre canton de l'Atlas. Nous sommes aujourd'hui tentés de l'enfermer dans ses murailles. Mais ne serait-ce pas que nous fractionnons à l'excès les cadres de cette histoire ? Certes, l'analyse morcelle. Elle est peut-être trop impressionnée par le stade d'arrivée, qui est discontinu, non seulement pour l'Atlas, mais pour toute l'Afrique du Nord. Cette réalité nous arrive par tout petits bouts, comme une glace d'auto brisée. Mais brisée par quels chocs, ou plutôt quelles évolutions ? Peut-être le cas des Seksawa doit-il conduire à distinguer, dans les lointains du Maghreb antique et médiéval, des ensembles plus vastes, un espace plus ductile. On recherchera, dans la dernière partie de ce travail, à creuser une hypothèse décisive pour l'interprétation de ces sociétés.

Si conjecturale que soit, dans le cas des Seksawa, la période la plus ancienne, elle fait ressortir qu'une vocation aux grands espaces et à la grande histoire s'est brisée en eux vers le milieu du XIVe siècle. La *laqbili*, qui jadis s'ordonnait dans le sens S.-N., qui est celui de ses eaux, de son relief, de ses terrains et de ses plantes, doit se rompre en paliers transversaux. La conversion de l'un à l'autre dispositif appelle des intrusions. La vallée se peuple d'usurpateurs. Les Seksawa authentiques ne subsistent plus que cram-

(1) Et, soulignons-le une fois de plus, de dispenser de développements sur le stade présent ce travail, qui ne veut être à aucun titre un essai politique, ni même une étude de sociologie politique.

(2) H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, fait état de l'hypothèse des *leff*-s pour des périodes anciennes, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. De même H. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, t. II, 1947, p. 169, estime que le « système bi-parti des soffs, si bien connu.... jouait déjà, de toute évidence, au Moyen Age ». Suggestions séduisantes de J. Lambert à propos des « Tablettes Albertini », *R. afr.*, 1953, pp. 200 sq.

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

ponnés de part et d'autre d'un lieu saint. Ils ne sont plus qu'échantillonnage. Mais la chose est importante : car par eux survit une légitimité. L'originalité de cette histoire sera dès lors le rétablissement de cette légitimité malgré les disgrâces croissantes du temps, et dans un cadre de plus en plus étroit. Et que ce rétablissement d'un nom, et d'une personne, se fasse par apports externes, à l'exclusion de tout recours à la substance primitive.

Le groupe subit donc une longue crise de son identité. Et il la résout d'une façon frappante : en modifiant son contenu. Si même les a. Gasa sont Seksawa authentiques, ils seront expulsés de cette tradition, et remplacés comme tels par des allogènes. En quoi donc consiste cette identité de groupe ? Une telle question, qui se place au cœur même de notre recherche, illustre le débat central et l'unité d'une histoire petite par la masse, mais typique.

C'est dans la période de deux siècles et demi, commençant au milieu du XVIe siècle, que se fait l'essentiel de la nouvelle mise en place. L'intervention de deux groupes arrivant armés, et tranchant absolument de style avec les autres éléments — migration guerrière ou hospitalité conventionnelle — en fut le fait principal. Cette vivification s'opère par le Sud. Sans doute est-ce là un phénomène général à l'Atlas et peut-être à tout le Maroc. Ce qui est particulier, ici, c'est la signification qu'il revêt. Ces forces fraîches trouvent sur place une alliée dans une certaine constance, rituelle et juridique, attachée au nom et au pays. Elles s'emploient à éliminer l'usurpation, à restituer un peuple.

Mettre en rapport l'intervention de ces nouveaux facteurs et le grand mouvement mystique du Sous aux XVe et XVIe siècles, c'est tentant. Mais une autre idée surgit. L'origine des nouveaux venus, le fait que la montagne reste en dehors de l'hagiologie du temps, d'autres traits encore donnent à penser que ces immigrations procèdent non pas de l'expansion du Sous à l'époque, mais bien des résistances locales qu'elle rencontra. Non du mouvement, mais de ses contre-coups. Parmi ces Iguzulen, alors en proie à une poussée spirituelle et politique, ce qui s'en va vers l'Atlas, ce ne seraient pas des partisans, mais des réfractaires (1). Dans le monde chleuh, nos Seksawa feraient ainsi réplique aux Idaw Semlal (2). Ici la profusion culturelle, la richesse en héros de ce

(1) Rappelons que ce fut souvent le cas pour des sociétés montagnardes pareillement archaïques. Ainsi, en Espagne, M. LEGENDRE, *Las Jurdes*, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

(2) Les Seksawa sont, si j'ose dire, des I. Semlal retournés. Que ne donnerions-nous pas pour que ce groupe, signalé à notre intérêt par tant d'indications de Justinard et de R. Montagne, fasse l'objet d'une étude historique et sociologique !

1: Berque MW1.1 Shluh

monde et de l'autre : trouvères, négociants, juristes, saints, danseurs ; une fécondité si consciente d'elle-même qu'elle tend à l'académisme (1). Là, au contraire, une réserve farouche, un silence obstiné. A partir de la fin du xve siècle, le cadre archaïsant des Seksawa recueille les déchets et les réfractaires de la grande histoire marocaine. Il les recompose, tant bien que mal, dans la permanence d'un nom. Il oppose à la décadence et à l'investissement, un flot de vitalité puisée au Sud de l'Atlas.

La plus vieille chronique, la tradition locale et l'observation récente sont donc d'accord. Toutes postulent, autour d'un pays exigu, des dimensions plus largement maghrébines. Toutes mènent à reconnaître l'œuvre du temps dans un système auquel on prêterait bien à tort l'immutabilité de son décor montagnard.

(1) Cf. par exemple les véritables « séances » littéraires décrites par JUSTINARD, Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères, *Hesp.*, 1949, pp. 291-326. L'ethnique Samlâlî est extraordinairement fréquent dans les recueils biographiques concernant des docteurs ou des saints du S. marocain, les *Manâqib al-Il'ud'aykî*, par exemple.

[P.97]
[P.98 is blank]

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

ÉCHANGES ENTRE LE GROUPE ET LE MILIEU NATUREL

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P. 99]

I

ORGANISATION DE L'ESPACE SEKSAWA

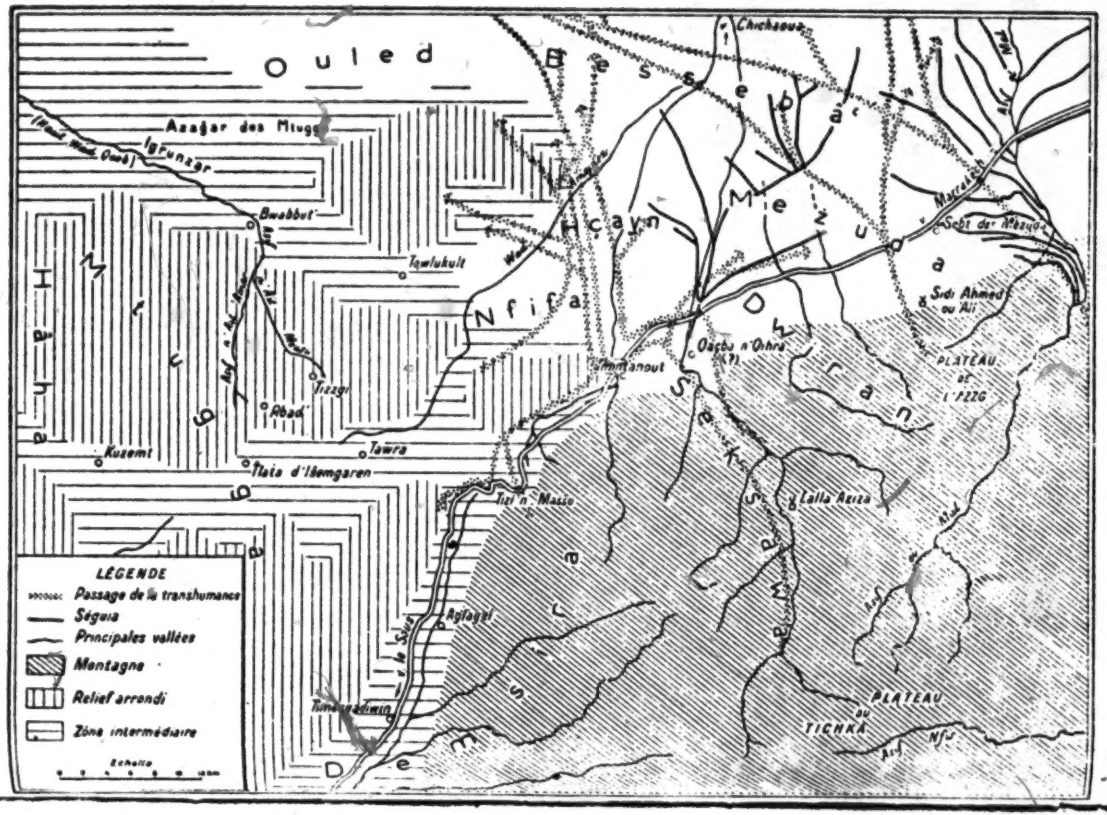
Lisibles dans le paysage (1), trois rapports caractérisent l'économie de ces sociétés rurales. D'abord la composition de leur cadre naturel : un bassin montagneux débouchant sur la plaine ; puis la circulation artificielle de leurs eaux de terroir à terroir ; enfin le mouvement hivernal de leurs troupeaux.

LE RAPPORT PLAINE-MONTAGNE

Ce premier rapport, bien connu de la géographie humaine, pouvons-nous le poser ici comme on le fait habituellement, c'est-à-dire en termes de complémentarité ? Besoins et produits de la montagne trouveraient leur contrepartie dans ceux de la plaine. Élevage et horticulture contre céréaliculture. Mais il faudrait alors convenir qu'à côté de tant de traits d'une vie d'échanges déjà mûre et diverse, d'autres subsistent pour l'Atlas, et non des moindres, dont l'archaïsme et l'apparente absurdité démentent cette belle division de travail. Ainsi des onéreuses cultures d'orge sur banquettes, paradoxe pour l'économiste qui compare leur prix de revient à leur valeur d'usage. Tant s'en faut donc qu'une complémentarité rende compte de tous les aspects. De ceux notamment qui traduisent un autre fait bien maghrébin : le contraste entre une vie quasi insulaire de cantons et une circulation économique intense, et relativement outillée.

Il est vrai que la tradition accole à l'entité montagnarde une entité de piémont : cette bande du Dir qui, dans la zone qui nous occupe, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, et — quoique improprement — Mtugga, règne immédiatement à la base Nord de la

(1) J'invoquerai, au seuil de ce chapitre, les considérations de Vidal de La Blache sur L'homme, facteur géographique, *Principes de géographie humaine*, 1922, p. 12 ; un autre grand livre, celui de L. Febvre sur *La terre et l'évolution humaine*, 1922. Je dois citer aussi les intuitives remarques de J. Célérier, Le paysage rural au Maroc, *Hesp.*, 1943, pp. 129 sq., ainsi que l'article de G. Friedmann sur L'homme et le milieu naturel, *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1945, pp. 103 sq. Enfin, ma dette est grande à l'égard de F. Braudel et des pages élégantes et pleines qu'il consacre à la montagne méditerranéenne, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 1949, pp. 5 sq.



[P 100]

1: Berque

MW11 Shluh

chaîne. Ce sentiment a son prix. Il n'est pas indifférent que le vieux protocole mahkzénien classe comme « gens du Dir » *Diyyâra* toutes ces tribus, ou celles du moins qui lui en sont familières. Mais l'observation d'un marché comme Imintanout oriente autrement la recherche. La masse principale des échanges s'y fait moins entre les deux termes du couple plaine-montagne, qu'entre le couple plaine-montagne et le grand Sud d'un côté, Marrakech de l'autre (1). Imintanout est le relai vers le Haouz d'un système dont Goulimine est le relai vers la Mauritanie. D'autre part, comme le Sous, l'Atlas est grand pourvoyeur de main-d'œuvre saisonnière ou permanente. Une masse de salaires et de pécules irrigue le pays. L'amplitude de ce mouvement s'étend vers le N. jusqu'aux grandes villes de la côte. Elle dépasse de beaucoup les simples solidarités de Dir. Elle élargit le cadre économique et humain jusqu'à des limites qui, aujourd'hui du moins, débordent le Maroc et même la Métropole.

Le rapport de la plaine et de la montagne est donc irréductible à un dialogue simpliste. On devine mille connexions qui lient les partenaires, non seulement entre eux, mais tous deux à un monde singulièrement plus vaste que l'isolement pittoresque des hauts cantons ne pouvait le faire présumer. De proche en proche, c'est toute l'articulation externe d'un système apparemment clos qu'on est conduit à examiner. Or, outre quelques indices historiques, en parties conjecturaux, nous ne disposons, pour un tel examen, que d'extrapolations du présent. La méthode est chanceuse. Deux éléments précis, toutefois, autorisent à tout le moins l'investigation. Ils ne sont autres que ceux de la nourriture quotidienne : et par là concrets et, dans une certaine mesure, durables.

Parmi les déterminants économiques qui font dépendre la montagne de la plaine, citons en tout premier lieu le sel (2). Dans une alimentation à base de galettes et de bouillies, l'importance du condiment est considérable. Ce n'est pas exagérer que d'y voir, bien plus que dans les céréales, la servitude la plus impérieuse du montagnard à l'égard de l'extérieur. Par la nourriture, en effet, c'est tout l'équilibre de la vie familiale qui est touché : puissant ressort, encore que procédant de causes obscures sur lesquelles l'observation se penche trop rarement. La montagne Seksawa est dépourvue de sel. Aujourd'hui encore, on en voit par énormes tas

(1) Cela ressort à l'évidence de l'enquête menée sur place, au printemps 1952, par MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai et plusieurs autres chercheurs.

(2) La route du sel est aussi importante pour les montagnards que le fut, à une tout autre échelle, celle des épices pour l'Occident médiéval : question de cuisine à la base !

blanchâtres ou roses au souq d'Imintanout. Il en vient des Idaw Isaren, en H'âh'a, et des lointaines lagunes de l'Inzzüyma, dites par nous « Lac Zima ». Deux qualités, dont l'une, très âpre au goût, est naturellement préférée par les montagnards, pour leurs bêtes et eux-mêmes. Si donc, méthode classique dans la vieille chronique marocaine, le pouvoir de la plaine bloque les Seksawa, ou les traque sur les marchés de bordure, c'est la route du sel qu'il leur coupe, plus durement encore que celle de l'orge (1).

Les hautes vallées, en effet, consacrent à la céréaliculture une part qui nous étonne, parce qu'elle entraîne ce qui apparaîtrait, en économie stricte, comme un gaspillage de terre et d'eau, et surtout de travail. Mais elles y gagnent ce que nous nommerions un volant de sécurité. Céréaliculture à grands frais, à grands sentiments : on verra tout ce que de tels sentiments peuvent avoir de fondé. Toujours est-il qu'orge et maïs assurent, en cas de blocus, un minimum difficilement évaluable, mais consistant. Les grandes familles du passé, autant qu'on s'en souvienne, tendaient à une certaine autarcie. Les autres produisaient en céréales une proportion allant, selon l'aisance de terres, du quart au tiers des besoins. Tel est encore l'état actuel : on peut s'en faire une idée par le volume des achats familiaux sur les souqs du Dir ou, plus instructivement encore, sur ceux du col à Timezgadiwin ou Argana. Le premier trimestre suivant une moisson normale n'est pas déficitaire. A partir du milieu de l'année agricole tous, sauf les grands, dépendent de l'extérieur. Le maraîchage, il est vrai, ajoute un appoint substantiel. Le navet surtout ; accessoirement la carotte, la courge. Et plus encore les fruits : noix, amande, olive, simultanément ou séparément selon l'altitude. La valeur en calories produites par unité de surface de ces dernières cultures l'emporte largement sur celle des céréales. Les équivalences qu'on pourrait ainsi établir dilateraient notablement l'espace agricole de populations que leurs pittoresques escarpements, vus d'un peu trop loin, semblent réduire à une disette permanente. Il y aurait là-dessus bien des idées à réviser.

Enfin, il faut tenir compte de l'émigration, qui éloigne, comme on sait, une proportion sensible de consommateurs, en même temps qu'elle les transforme en importateurs de « devises » : et sans doute ce dernier terme n'est-il pas déplacé, car ces rapports ressortissent à l'échange international. Pour antiques qu'ils paraissent, ils dépendent de la conjoncture politique et sont sujets

(1) Un exemple, datant du début du XVIIIe siècle, dans JUSTINARD, *La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft*, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

à variation. Une comparaison qui vient à l'esprit, et que favorise l'aspect même du pays, avec sa falaise surplombant la plaine, c'est la pêche. Tout se passe comme si les rapports avec la plaine étaient ceux d'une population côtière, soit avec les eaux littorales, et nous avons là les rapports de Dir proprement dits — soit avec les mers lointaines : l'émigration. Pêche côtière et pêche hauturière, d'une part, rapports internationaux autour des marchés de bordure et des places intermédiaires comme Imintanout, d'autre part : pour métaphorique qu'il soit, ce rapprochement n'en contient pas moins sa part de vérité.

Mais les facteurs naturels échoueraient à rendre compte, à eux seuls, de tels échanges. Réservant le problème historique de l'émigration, attachons-nous donc à un autre problème, plus spécialement côtier, si l'on veut. C'est celui auquel conduisaient ces successives éliminations, comme à l'essentiel et au plus permanent de ceux que pose le rapport entre la plaine et la montagne. C'est celui des corrélations qui se nouent entre la montagne et la plaine, quand le montagnard a ses labours en plaine.

Dans les deux groupes voisins, Dwiran et Mez'ud'a, la vie agricole aussi bien que l'habitat se répartissent fort exactement entre la plaine et la montagne *lud'a* et *adrar*. Une correspondance bien réglée lie, à travers un réseau serré de va-et-vient saisonniers, de travaux et de productions complémentaires, des portions de plaine aux villages de montagne. De là, dans ces deux tribus, quelque chose d'analogue à la « remue » si caractéristique de la vie des Alpes ou des Pyrénées (1). Dans l'ancien temps, en Mez'ud'a par exemple, la répartition foncière de la plaine reproduisait la carte politique de la montagne. Chaque village du plateau ou des hautes vallées projetait en plaine un périmètre de cultures. Mais on ne séjournait guère en bas. C'est à l'abri des escarpements et souvent dans des greniers fortifiés ou *agadirs*, que les paysans abritaient les récoltes. La paix a changé tout cela, et l'on observe aujourd'hui un double habitat (2). La plaine attire même, par plus de facilités offertes, des montagnards autrefois contraints à une vigilance permanente.

(1) J. Blache, *L'homme et la montagne*, 1933, pp. 17 sq. ; R. Capot-Rey, *Géographie de la circulation sur les continents*, 1946, p. 58.

(2) De même, la transhumance des Anniviards les amène à posséder plusieurs habitations ou villages, J. Brunhes, *Géographie humaine*, t. II, p. 673 ; F. Braudel, *op. laud.*, p. 48 (pour la Corse). La projection des populations de montagne sur la plaine est signalée souvent en Afrique du Nord, et dans les régions les plus variées. Outre le Maroc, on la retrouve par exemple au S. de l'Aurès, où pour les Béni bu Sliman, elle est signalée par le commissaire du Sénatus Consulte (rapport du 5. XI. 88, arch. d'Aris) : elle revêt là une régularité presque géométrique.

Or une telle correspondance ne règne pas, ou ne règne plus chez les Seksawa. Pourtant, elle semble, dans cette partie du Maroc, avoir été constante aux moments qu'évoquent certaines sources européennes (1). Un battement régulier entre l'habitat et le labour caractérise les tribus de la zone d'influence portugaise au début du XVIe siècle. Ainsi, les Âbda emmagasinent à Agawz ce qu'ils récoltent au loin. Les Chyâd'ma vont et viennent, utilisant la démarche agricole pour masquer la promenade militaire ou le ralliement politique. De même font les Cherqîya. Une mauvaise nouvelle fait le vide autour du conquistador : Nuño Fernandez de Atayde est alors obligé d'aller à la chasse de ses tribus. Comme nous dirions, il cherche à les « fixer ». Partout, le campement de labour s'appelle *Dâr al-h'arth*. Il est fort distinct de l'habitat principal. Cette alternance traduit sans doute, en même temps qu'un rythme saisonnier, un rythme humain : concentration pour le travail agricole, dispersion dans les intervalles. Les conquérants arabes, les pouvoirs officiels, comme celui des Sâadiens tâchent de participer au jeu. Ils le font avec plus ou moins de bonheur ou de dégâts. Le peu que nous en apprennent les sources ne permet malheureusement pas de préciser avec assez de vraisemblance ce que pouvait être à l'époque la vie de ces groupes en perpétuelle oscillation, et pratiquant en quelque sorte une transhumance agricole (2). L'actuelle antithèse entre pasteurs et laboureurs, ceux-ci sédentaires, ceux-là mouvants, et les conséquences qu'on en tire aujourd'hui, ne valaient donc peut-être pas pour le Maroc de l'époque. Le mouvement, au XVe siècle, paraît général. Comment les Seksawa, lors de leur expansion des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, y auraient-ils échappé ? On hésite à le croire.

Le souvenir n'est peut-être pas encore entièrement perdu d'un état de choses où le terroir d'Inzzüyma, en aval de Bulᶜwân, longtemps disputé par les Ud Bessebâᶜ, était le *dâr al-h'arth* des cantons de montagne. Comme par une vocation irrésistible, tels de ceux-ci persistent à y cultiver des lots qu'ils louent ou obtiennent en précaire des actuels ayants-droit, les « collectivités » des a. Âbdella et des a. Imintanout. L'absence totale d'actes, la qualification actuelle de « communal » *muchûᶜ* ou *lmuchᶜ* indiquent encore aujourd'hui de toutes façons que l'appropriation foncière de l'immeuble a été traditionnellement réservée.

D'autres terroirs pourraient anciennement avoir constitué le périmètre de labours des Seksawa. On sait la fragilité des hypothèses philo-

(1) *Sour. in. Port.*, t. I, p. 444, n. 2, 672.
(2) Phénomène observé en Algérie vers le milieu du siècle dernier, X. Yacono, *Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien*, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

logiques. Ce n'est pas sur la foi du doublet, si c'en est un, Seksawa-Chichaoua, que nous pourrons jamais nous fonder. Mais il est peu probable qu'aux temps de l'expansion des Seksawa, cette puissante population n'ait pas projeté vers la plaine les mêmes épandages, si j'ose dire, de vie agricole, qu'aujourd'hui ses voisines plus modestes comme Dwiran ou Mez'ud'a. L'histoire heurtée de la plaine de Chichaoua, son statut makhzénien qui a ôté toute spontanéité aux mouvements de populations, et entraîné même parfois des transferts en masse, comme celui des Idaw Blal ou des Ud Bessebâ^e^, empêchera là-dessus à jamais de conclure. Mais on est frappé de l'unité du système d'irrigation entre l'aval et l'amont. C'est l'eau du Seksawa, qui, véhiculée par 4 séguias, porte une fertilité chanceuse dans tout le premier tiers environ de la plaine. Chichaoua et sa vallée sont restées intégralement berbères. Aujourd'hui encore, de nombreux Mez'ud'a y possèdent des terrains, et font alterner l'habitat de plaine et l'habitat de montagne. Plus à l'E., en Frûga, la sainte des Seksawa jouissait jusqu'à une date tardive d'un droit d'eau : indice hagiologique qui n'est pas sans intérêt. Ne mentionnons que pour mémoire la transhumance, phénomène qui déborde le droit immobilier, mais enfin qui s'exerce en Ud Bessebâ^e^ au profit des Seksawa, unilatéralement et sans que ce service à sens unique soit aujourd'hui compris. Enfin, l'abondance des *agadir*-s dans la toponymie des a. Âbdella, sur le seuil montagneux que le fleuve doit franchir pour déboucher en plaine, concorde curieusement avec l'existence et l'activité assez récente d'*agadir*-s repérables sur la même bande du Dir, en Dwiran et Mez'ud'a, où leur fonction est claire.

Tout cela, c'est peu pour prouver. Mais l'ensemble de présomptions est suffisant pour évoquer un état de choses ancien où le rapport plaine-montagne, dans le cas des Seksawa, s'assortissait corrélativement d'une aisance en terres de piémont (1). Quand cette aisance a-t-elle disparu ? L'hypothèse qui vient à l'esprit, on l'a vu, est celle de la rébellion antimérinide du XIVe siècle et de la construction de la citadelle d'al-Qâhira, précisément destinée à bloquer la chefferie montagnarde en la coupant — et c'est ce qui fut à jamais — de sa *sâh'a*, c'est-à-dire de ses dégagements. En connaisseurs, les maîtres de Marrakech infligeaient au système un détraquement définitif. Ils supprimaient pour lui l'un des termes de cette alternance saisonnière plaine-montagne, de cette vibration Sud-Nord, qui faisaient la vie du temps.

SOLIDARITÉS POUR L'EAU

Le grand problème de l'horticulture montagnarde est d'ordre mécanique. C'est de contrarier la force aveugle de la pente et d'en

(1) C'est la *sâh'a* des Seksawa, dont parle Ibn Khaldûn. Cf. J. BERQUE, Antiquités Seksawa, *Hesp.*, 1953, p. 382.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

tirer la vie. Comment ? Un physicien dirait : par une dérivation tangentielle tendant à l'horizontale. A cette loi abstraite peuvent se ramener deux sortes de techniques complémentaires. L'une des sols, qui rompt la déclivité en gradins, souvent chèrement constitués. L'autre des eaux de ruissellement, qui exploite leur mouvement spontané pour l'étaler en surface plane soit par des canaux, soit par épandage direct. Cette hydraulique tend à substituer à un débit inutilisable, issu de la violence des eaux accidentelles, un module calculé pour abreuver le plus possible de terres à leur limite d'absorption. C'est dire qu'elle met en jeu de vastes distances. D'abord celles que couvre l'*impluvium*. Puis celles que franchit le canal pour arriver au point d'utilisation. L'irrigation est donc grande consommatrice d'espace. Si elle inspire l'une des formes les plus savantes, les plus cohérentes de la vie de montagne, c'est qu'elle requiert la solution des plus grandes difficultés d'ordre politique, technique et social.

Politique, puisque, dans ce pays de vie concentrée, la séguia est parfois intertribale, souvent intercantonale, et presque toujours intervillageoise. La prise des séguias desservant les Dwiran et les Ud Bessebâᶜ se trouve en a. Âbdella, du moins pour la plupart d'entre elles. Avec les Ud Bessebâᶜ, tribu arabe de caractère turbulent, les rapports étaient aléatoires, et, bien longtemps avant le Protectorat, on en est déjà à la réglementation officielle. « Les usagers de l'Wâdi'l-Qîhra et les Ud Bessebâᶜ s'étant » — dit un dahir de 1285 hég. : 1868 — « trouvés en désaccord, j'ordonne que le cinquième soit réservé aux Ud. Bessebâᶜ, le reste demeurant aux premiers ». Sur ce point-là au moins, le vieil ordre était mort : le prince devait intervenir. C'était, non loin, le cas entre Mez'ud'a et Gedmiwa. Mais non point entre Seksawa et Dwiran. Entre ces deux groupes, les rapports pour l'eau sont régis aujourd'hui même, non seulement par des ententes fixes, mais par des « tours de faveur » discrétionnaires en apparence, équilibrés en fait de part et d'autre. Car les a. Musa dépendent du bon vouloir de Taddert en Dwiran. Le bas Dwiran dépend, jusque pour la boisson, de celui des a. Âbdella. La solidarité n'est donc pas celle des cantons, mais des tribus.

Le courant du fleuve tarit pendant tous les mois d'été en aval de Z'init'. Il ne reparaît que de façon de plus en plus intermittente à mesure qu'on va vers la plaine. Il est vrai que quelques petites sources pérennes murmurent, çà et là sur les berges, et que le lit lui-même laisse sourdre de façon plus ou moins continue des eaux qui attestent une circulation souterraine, et même, du côté de Lekhneg, stagnent paresseusement sous les lauriers et les *til-*

lirin (1). Mais la largeur du lit, sa perméabilité, que dénoncent de vastes bancs de sables et de graviers *ikrirs* (a. Âbdella), ou *ikri* (moyen Seksawa), ne permettent plus, à partir d'une certaine date, un cheminement disons rentable de l'eau. C'est donc de plus en plus haut vers l'amont, à mesure que la sécheresse s'accentue, que l'irrigation de plaine ira chercher son bien, et cela par des conduits artificiels : les séguias pratiquées à mi-flanc de la rive gauche auront alors leur plein emploi. Et non seulement la Talh'archt, dont la prise domine pourtant Tuz'z'umt. C'est bien plus haut encore, à Imi n-tghli, par la Targa n-berdun, que les gens d'aval sont obligés de faire passer l'eau. A Imi n-tghli, en effet, les utilisateurs observent — phénomène sans doute en rapport avec la cessation des sols primaires — une soudaine déperdition, qui ne permet plus de confier les eaux à leur lit naturel. Ce n'est donc que grâce à une série d'ouvrages d'art qu'en cas de sécheresse, bien loin en plaine Ud Bessebâ[e], le fellah des Sa[e]ldat ou des Ud Sawla pourra bénéficier des pluies tombées chez les lointains Idma, ou dans la plus lointaine Taddert. Et il n'y arrivera qu'en faisant franchir à la précieuse manne le territoire de plusieurs tribus. Véritable concert géographique ! Une organisation de l'espace, d'un espace constellé de centres rivaux, vient à bout des difficultés causées par le maniement des eaux à long terme. Mais cela pour autant qu'une certaine atmosphère subsiste. Or, ce n'est pas toujours le cas, même entre contributes. Les Idma de Taselli dépendent, pour leur séguia, des a. H'adduyws, qui en contrôlent la prise. D'où conflits continuels. Entre Idma même, l'immense séguia de l'Amerdul, que le flot met douze heures à parcourir, ne fut plus, depuis un accord du début du XVIIIe siècle, l'objet d'aucune attaque de la part des gens de Tasa. Mais sa distribution cause encore de nombreux conflits entre les villages d'Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, et Wanchkrir. Dans l'ensemble pourtant, le système a tenu.

La gestion nécessite une surveillance compliquée et parfois d'une extrême délicatesse. C'est un fonctionnaire qui l'exerce, l'*amazzal*, plur. *imazzalen*, ou « coureur » (cf. ar. *jerrây*). L'accomplissement d'un tel rôle réclame initiative et probité, mais il réclame surtout que joue un ordre collectif, fait de lois non écrites. Le personnage qui l'assume est en général soumis à la désignation unanime de ses concitoyens, et ne peut se maintenir, même soutenu par l'autorité temporelle, qu'avec leur confiance. Un très ancien ordre, aux sanctions immédiates, et comportant de lui-

(1) *Inula viscosa.*

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

même son application, sans débat ni recours (1), s'entrevoit ici. Il consacre un certain nombre de ce que nous appellerions principes. C'est, par exemple, le sens amont-aval, sens qui règle la continuité de l'irrigation, et peut, en cas de conflits de groupes, donner lieu à application autoritaire par le pouvoir. Ainsi du litige ancien entre Gedmiwa et Mez'ud'a, pour les séguias de l'asif el-Mâl. Une telle règle implique de la part de l'irrigateur d'amont, qu'elle favorise, une certaine discrétion, un honneur communautaire, attentif à ne pas léser les gens d'en bas. Cela suffit en général entre concitoyens. C'est le stade primaire. Au delà, il y a les accords entre groupes. Ils manifestent le plus souvent de très vieux équilibres, et une constance statutaire. Mais parfois aussi, ils sont plus circonstanciels : sujets à débat mercantile ou encore à démarche rituelle. On achète une part d'eau, à moins qu'on ne l'obtienne par « l'injonction » de *l'âr* (2). C'est ce qui se produit en a. Musa pour l'utilisation de l'eau d'Aduz, en Ud Bessebâ^e^ pour l'obtention de parts supplémentaires sur les séguias des Seksawa ou des Dwiran. C'est ce qui se produit généralement lors des crues : l'imprévisibilité de l'aubaine détermine des modes de répartition qui débordent largement toute stricte régularité.

MOUVEMENTS PASTORAUX

Si les structures agricoles et immobilières des Seksawa peuvent s'être, de longue date, rompues et tronçonnées sur l'axe N.-S., haut et bas pays, il n'en est pas de même de leur vie pastorale. Elle s'étale encore amplement au delà des lisières de la montagne, et même du piémont. Pourquoi ce privilège du pasteur ? Pourquoi cette discordance entre deux économies, non seulement ici complémentaires — « labourage et pâturage » — mais bel et bien fondées l'une sur l'autre ? L'une étriquée, comprimée, vaincue ; l'autre respirant à sa plénitude d'espace...

On a l'habitude de ranger les Seksawa parmi les plus vieux sédentaires du Maghreb : et certes, la part de vérité est grande dans la définition. Or, sous l'angle de l'élevage, ils sont des transhumants. Bien plus, ils se répandent en transhumance d'hiver chez les Ud Bessebâ^e^, arabes dont la fixation n'est pas encore très profonde, et ce sont eux qui assument, parmi ces cha-

(1) J. Costa, *Colectivismo agrario in España*, 1915, pp. 541 sq., observe aussi que le fameux Tribunal des Eaux, la *Cort de la Seo* de Valence, est une juridiction tout amiable. Le conflit peut, à tout instant, être évoqué devant une instance judiciaire : mais cela n'arrivait jamais !

(2) G. E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

meliers, l'attitude de l'éleveur errant, écornifleur de labours. Commutation de caractères qui doit faire réfléchir. Cette antithèse maghrébine du nomadisme et de la sédentarité, dont les deux termes, bien entendu, ne se retrouvent jamais à l'état pur, mais qui enfin est l'une des clefs de déchiffrement du pays, ne repose peut-être que sur des rapports variables avec chaque population considérée, et dans une large mesure interchangeables. A certains égards, on est toujours le nomade, ou le sédentaire de quelqu'un. Les Seksawa, avec leurs frères du Haut-Atlas occidental, cumulent allègrement des droits ressortissant à l'un et l'autre caractère. Et le terme pudique de « transhumance », créé pour rendre compte de combinaisons de ce genre, en cèle mal la complexité.

Celle-ci s'avive encore de contrastes internes entre les masses, les lieux, les rythmes de l'élevage, et ceux de l'agriculture de plateau ou de vallée. Ce paysanat est antique et solide, certes. Mais prenons garde à l'exiguïté de ces superficies, si on les compare à la démesure de pacage qu'appelle l'effectif du troupeau. Moins de 3.500 ha. de cultures, contre un cheptel s'élevant à 4.000 bovins, 20.000 ovins, 30.000 caprins. Même compte tenu de la pratique des fourrages, de la stabulation et de la transhumance, ce qui compte dans le paysage, pour qui sait le voir — et en tout cas pour qui le voit d'un œil local — c'est le domaine du troupeau.

Ce domaine commence au-dessous des entablements calcaires qui séparent à l'E. les Seksawa des Dwiran, avec l'étendue mamelonnée de l'Imlilen, énorme pan de steppe alfatière inséré dans la montagne. Plus amont, les contreforts de la chaîne axiale. La forêt y a reculé. Son rôle devait être autrefois plus important qu'à présent. Plus haut encore, entre 2.500 et 3.000 m., les alpages, comme l'Azur, le Tabgurt ou le Tichka. Trois étages de pâquis, auxquels il faut ajouter un rez-de-chaussée : la plaine Ud Bessebâ'. Si concentrée et nerveuse, si riche d'institutions que soit la vie paysanne de vallée, et si caractéristique sa projection en hautes cultures sur les dômes dénudés ou les essarts, c'est elle l'exception, et l'espace pastoral la règle. Un témoignage ancien aidera, sur ce point, à rectifier l'optique. C'est celui de Léon l'Africain. Il ne voit les Seksawa qu'en bergers, peut-être, il est vrai, sur la foi d'une étymologie, ou d'un enthousiasme pastoral à l'italienne : mais son témoignage est là (1). Sans doute y aurait-il inexactitude et paradoxe à insister outre mesure sur un tel aspect : seule la remise en proportions nous intéresse.

(1) *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. SCHEFER, 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Passons maintenant à un second contraste qui se fait jour dans les techniques de cet élevage, entre la solidité d'assises que suppose une habitude ancestrale de la stabulation et la mobilité du troupeau. Sans doute, cette mobilité n'affecte pas l'ampleur du véritable déplacement de peuples qu'est la *ʿachâba* dans le Sud algérien (1), ni du glissement S. E.-N. O., suivi de déploiement en éventail, des tribus moutonnières du Moyen Atlas (2). Sans doute aussi ne s'agit-il maintenant que de la transhumance de professionnels et non de toute la maisonnée, et cela confère au mouvement une portée plus économique que sociale. Mais peut-être n'est-ce là qu'une décadence. De toutes façons, ce véritable épandage d'animaux et d'hommes, qui étale bien loin en plaine, chaque hiver, les troupeaux des hautes vallées, est un signe important. Et les contrastes — à tout le moins immédiats et tangibles — que l'on vient de relever, offrent une prise non négligeable sur l'intimité de l'institution.

Abordons donc cette vie pastorale sous son aspect le plus sédentaire, à sa charnière avec l'horticulture de montagne. Sa liaison avec celle-ci est fondamentale. Elle se manifeste dans la maison même, où coexistent l'habitat humain et l'habitat animal. C'est une « maison en hauteur » (3), dont la base est occupée par une ténébreuse et oblongue écurie : l'*agrur* plur. *iʷgrar*, source de chaleur et laboratoire de fumiers. Ce fumier *amazir*, soigneusement recueilli, puis répandu sur les minuscules carrés d'irrigation, refera un sol épuisé par les immersions maladroites et une production toujours en haleine. Par là la paysannerie Seksawa rejoint le classicisme agricole le plus antique de la Méditerranée. Elle se fonde sur un va-et-vient entre l'homme, le sol et l'animal. Elle tranche ainsi de façon quasi absolue sur l'agriculture de plaine au Maroc, où cette liaison entre troupeau et labour a disparu à une époque d'ailleurs incertaine, et pour ne plus jamais reparaître jusqu'ici.

(1) A. Bernard et N. Lacroix, *L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, 1906, pp. 36 sq., sur le droit *sui generis* de *ʿachâba*. Suggestive description de ce déplacement dans E. Fromentin, *Un été dans le Sahara*, 3e éd., 1874, pp. 229 sq. et le Cl Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie*, 1888, 3e éd., pp. 383 sq. Ajoutons à cette magnifique galerie d'études algériennes, l'œuvre de L. Lehuraux.

(2) J. Célérier, La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas, *Hesp.*, 1927, pp. 53 sq.

(3) C'est l'expression de A. Demangeon, dans son suggestif article sur L'habitation rurale en France, *Ann. de Géographie*, 1920, pp. 370 sq. Le rapprochement est fait avec une architecture commune à tout le tour de la Méditerranée : notre midi pyrénéen et alpin, la partie occidentale des Balkans, etc. Un trait fréquent y est la véranda de premier étage, que nous trouvons ici sous la forme d'une sorte de loggia : l'*assqqif*.

La stabulation, propice à la conservation des jeunes sujets, suppose un souci cohérent des pâtures : naturelles et même artificielles. Dans les champs, à l'époque du désherbage par exemple, mais aussi sur les côtes entourant le village, ou dans la forêt, on voit les femmes en cueillette, le couffin à la main ou la brassée au dos. Ce sont les hommes qui coupent et hachent pour leurs bêtes les jeunes feuilles de chêne-vert ou de genévrier : ressource d'hiver. Toute une gamme de plantes est ainsi collectée, et de telle sorte qu'une continuité se manifeste entre les nourritures de l'homme et celles du bétail. Des « salades » aux provendes, l'écart n'est pas grand, et la solidarité des unes avec les autres, dès qu'il y a gène ou disette, se transforme en identité. Ainsi du gland de chêne-vert *abuhu*, de la baie de genévrier *abelhas*, chère aux caprins, et dont la dessiccation et la moûture donnent à l'homme une farine de substitution. Normalement, les navets séchés *akhchawen*, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans l'économie montagnarde, sont communs à l'homme et à l'animal. La bête est non seulement la voisine, mais la commensale du citoyen villageois. Cette société connaît, d'autre part, ce que nous nommons fourrages artificiels. Très rarement encore la luzerne, que pratique pourtant le Sous (1). Ici, ce qu'on trouve, c'est l'herbe grasse *(poa bulbosa)*, entretenue en « pré humide » *az'mu*. Le fauchage de l'*az'mu* intervient après maturité et dépôt des graines sur place. On y recueille une graminée nommée *làgʷlasl*, nom qui se rapproche de celui de l'orge coupé en vert pour la pâture des animaux *(àgʷlas)*. Ces prairies sont ménagées à l'ombre des oliviers ; et surtout des noyers, dans tout le haut Seksawa : a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. Le fourrage est gardé en magasin jusqu'au moment des labours, où il sert à fortifier les bêtes.

Enfin les pacages de montagnes donnent lieu à une sagace organisation de « défens ». Le ban de mise en défens ou d'ouverture de l'*agʷmi* constitue un fait important dans la vie du village (2). Toute transgression est frappée d'une « amende »

(1) Mais cette luzerne *lfessl* n'y a-t-elle pas servi antérieurement à l'alimentation humaine ? Cf. les curieuses observations de J. Mathieu, Etude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc*, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

(2) Une bonne description des « pâturages d'été » kabyles, de leur mise en défens, etc., le tout très analogue à notre *agʷmi*, dans M. Rémond, *Djurjura, terre de contraste*, 1940, p. 221 sq. Il sera instructif de comparer ces pratiques maghrébines aux mêmes pratiques pyrénéennes : pour l'Andorre, J.-A. Brutails, *Etudes sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon*, 1891, p. 253 : il s'agit de la *devèse*, « lieu soustrait à la jouissance commune » (cf. chleuh : *agʷdal*).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

az'z'ayn. Les ententes de pacage sont parmi les circonstances essentielles du droit externe des groupes. Ainsi le Tichka, pâquis d'été, âprement disputé entre tribus, a sans doute animé depuis très longtemps des ligues et des ententes, des « lies et passeries » (comme disent nos Pyrénéens), qui marquèrent cette histoire. Il a fait l'objet, en 1701, d'un pacte entre a. H'adduyws et Idma. Même lorsque le débat affleure au plan guerrier ou judiciaire, c'est-à-dire dans les cas de tension entre groupes, joue aussi un ordre rural, d'une importance que l'on peut mesurer en songeant aux nécessités vitales qu'il ménage. Il ne donnera lieu que rarement à l'écrit ; parce qu'il est d'un autre plan. On ne s'étonnera plus dès lors que les ententes pour la transhumance, bien que ressortissant à ce droit international, se recommandent aujourd'hui encore de conventions insaisissables et de lois innommées d'autant plus fortes que leur illogisme et leur unilatéralité se découvrent maintenant aux usagers eux-mêmes. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas là un trait spécialement maghrébin. Ailleurs aussi ces dispositions reflètent une « technique antique, presque imperfectible » (1), qui a frappé tous les observateurs de la vie d'altitude.

Un problème que cette société nous présente comme réglé une fois pour toutes, c'est aussi bien celui des rapports marginaux entre le pacage et le labour (2). Matière fort délicate dans un pays arboricole et qui chérit les caprins. Nos forestiers s'en tirent à grand-peine. Dans les mœurs montagnardes, le problème est résolu par une institution de police municipale, celle de l'*amchchard'u* plur. *imchchurd'a*, personnage dont les dires feront foi, et par là-même tenu à l'adhésion unanime des usagers. Cette institution est d'une délicatesse et d'une sensibilité tranchant fort sur le genre contentieux de nos institutions analogues : gardes champêtres, gardes forestiers, ou gardes-chasse. Mais elle suppose un ordre, préalable et sous-jacent au droit commutatif. Par là cette société résout un problème des plus difficiles, celui des rapports entre l'éleveur et le laboureur, problème dont toutes les civilisations sémitiques ont dû se saisir, fût-ce sous les espèces dramatiques du conflit entre Caïn et Abel.

(1) J. Blache, *L'homme et la montagne*, 1933, p. 19.

(2) La difficulté de ces rapports et l'incidence historique de ces difficultés mêmes est l'un des thèmes du grand ouvrage de Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, 1931. Même fil conducteur, pour l'Espagne, dans l'étude de J. Klein sur *La Mesta* ; pour le Maghreb, dans celle de Bernard et Lacroix, *L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, 1905 ; pour la Sardaigne, M. Le Cannou voit là l'explication du fameux système des « vidazzoni », *Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne*, 1941, pp. 134 sq. Sur l' « esprit de pâturage », R. Dion, *Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français*, 1934, p. 55.

Sur l'alpage, des constructions en pierres sèches, entassées en réseaux parfois compliqués, *adaghas* plur. *idughas*, marquent une installation régulière. Leur équivalent arabe communément donné est *lâzib*. Les actes fonciers donnent un autre doublet *minhal* = = *asggun*, plur. *isgʷan*, « enclos de transhumance ». Ces édifices parsèment de façon caractéristique les hautes croupes comme celle du Tasila, du Tichka, de l'Azur, etc. C'est ainsi que sur le Tichka, les *idughas* d'Igenfis par exemple, consistent en constructions très basses, aux murs de pierre sèche, au toit de branchages colmatés de fumier de mouton. Le tout est en équilibre instable, et s'écroule de temps à autre. Dès les premiers froids, l'abri devient insuffisant et l'agnelage subit des pertes : le séjour à l'alpage doit être écourté, il est temps de redescendre.

Pratique de l'*aggemi* « pâquis en défens »

Nom de la *taqbilt*	Nom du village	Lieu de pâquis	Durée de la mise en défens	Remarques
I. Geryun.	L'ensemble.	Tichka (dit aussi Tuchka).	De l'enneigement à une date de *yulyuz* conventionnelle entre tribus.	Pâquis international.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	Mars-juillet.	Coutume de la *taldrar*.
Igantar.	Fensu.	Aziwal.	—	
a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	L'ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	—	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	—	Coutume de la *taldrar*.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	—	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	—	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	—	
	L'ensemble.	Afuzar.	—	

Cette transhumance à court terme, où l'on ne sort pas des limites du canton, est une sorte de commentaire amplificateur de la vie de fond de vallée. Elle s'opère à la fin de l'été et dure le plus possible : jusqu'à ce que pluies et frimas soient les plus forts. D'une façon générale seuls les bergers y participent. Mais la proximité du village rend fréquentes les visites du maître. Dans un cas même, c'est la famille qui effectue dans son ensemble un déplacement saisonnier. Il s'agit d'une partie des Idma. De celle précisément du village le plus ancien, Usikis. La moisson du

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

terroir d'Agersili une fois faite, l'on s'en va estiver en famille dans deux villages de « bordes » ou « burons », comme diraient nos Pyrenéens, Twurirt et Agadir n-Tsila. Des cases de pierres sèches se massent à flanc de montagne, sur la rive droite de la dépression. Elles affectent la forme de villages, qui nous paraissent en ruines, mais qui sont bien vivants et ont chacun leur *limezgida*. Une vie de laitage et de consommation de jeune orge commence alors, marquant profondément cette période de l'année. C'est le seul cas où cette forme d'estivage soit observable à plein. Sur les pâquis voisins d'Amerdul, les gens de Tasa (a. H'adduyws) n'en font qu'une application incomplète : seuls viennent les bergers et les femmes. Une enquête ethnologique plus poussée aboutirait sans doute sur l'estivage d'Asikis d'une part, et la spécialisation fonctionnelle qui restreint celui de Tasa, d'autre part, à des images révélatrices du génie pastoral de ces populations : atmosphère générale de liesse, de vie sociale concentrée et réconciliée. La consommation des jeunes épis et l'abus du petit lait provoquent une sorte d'ivresse, qui a parfois des effets toxiques, et, à coup sûr, sexuels. C'est la période dite de *taddrar* ou *tamakhirt*. De cette allégresse générale, la plus grande manifestation est la fête du Tichka, officiellement réorganisée depuis une quinzaine d'années, mais selon une antique tradition intertribale.

Le mouvement du cheptel Seksawa ne se résume pas à ces déplacements estivaux vers l'alpage. Un rythme de plus grande amplitude, et qu'on pourrait, plus exactement que ce qui précède, qualifier de transhumance, anime les troupeaux de haute montagne. Sous l'aspect sans doute réduit que connaissent à présent les évolutions du cheptel en Seksawa, elles n'en constituent pas moins, à l'échelle de la vie présente de cette société, un mouvement considérable. Après avoir suivi, du S. au N., le lit du fleuve, le flot diverge en deux directions principales. Une faible partie pousse vers les confins Dwiran-Ud Bessebâ', sans toutefois atteindre, comme le troupeau des tribus plus orientales, le terroir réputé du Lmjjûn. La plus grosse partie cingle vers l'O. Par la trouée de l'Amjnas, elle gagne, en bas Mtugga, les terroirs d'Amskennid', de Sidi 'Abdelmumen (déjà en relation hagiologique avec le Haut Dwiran), de Berdami, des Id'ergan. Plus loin encore, elle franchit le Jebel Kharruba et, enjambant le collectif de Zahr u T'âmer, elle s'arrête chez les Ud Bessebâ', sur leurs « montagnettes » Jbayl (1). Le troupeau qui descend des Dwiran et

(1) Si le pâturage est pauvre en Ud Bessebâ', le mouvement est bien plus ample encore. Le troupeau du Dir occidental se déverse largement en a. Iggas,

des Mez'ud'a se divise aussi en deux branches. Mais son angle de divergence et l'éloignement de ses objectifs sont plus amples, puisqu'il atteint d'un côté le Lmjjûn, de l'autre Sidi Mokhtar, sur la route de Mogador, et plus loin encore, la tribu des H'mer. Ceux-ci d'ailleurs, quoique rarement, séjournent en automne dans les basses vallées de l'Wâd l-Ibûr, du Lqihra, et le bas Mez'ud'a. Mais ce sont là des cas isolés. La règle est l'irréversibilité du mouvement de descente hivernale de la montagne vers la plaine. De l'autre côté de la crête, du N. vers le S., quelques troupeaux a. H'adduyws descendent l'hiver dans la vallée du Sous, jusqu'à l'*azaghar* des a. Iggas : la réciproque n'est jamais vraie. Cette direction subsidiaire a d'ailleurs plutôt la valeur d'un indice historique. Mais dans l'un comme l'autre cas, le grand fait est l'asymétrie des rapports entre l'Atlas et la plaine du Haouz.

Cette asymétrie n'est pas un fait particulier à cette partie du Maroc. On la retrouve dans d'autres domaines (1). Mais elle est ici d'autant plus frappante qu'il s'agit de transhumance de la montagne vers la plaine, donc du contraire de ce que les géographes nomment assez arbitrairement le type normal. C'est ici, pour parler comme eux, une transhumance inverse (2). Mais bien que ce problème s'encadre dans des perspectives très vastes, peut-être certains traits historiques lui confèreront-ils une physionomie plus personnelle. Il est de fait qu'aujourd'hui l'irréversibilité du mouvement n'a pas d'explication aux yeux des gens de la plaine, frappés de son illogisme. Mais qui sait si elle ne trouve pas sa contrepartie dans l'irrigation ? Les tribus de montagne sont maîtresses de laisser ou non passer l'eau. Une coutume d'étiage et une coutume de crue, appliquant des taux différents, régissent les rapports hydrauliques et humains, de part et d'autre du Dir. Peut-être aussi pourrait-on penser que l'ascension ne serait pas favorable aux cheptels de plaine, habitués à une température plus

en Chyâd'ma, jusqu'à la mer. Celui du Haouz remonte en Chaouia. En 1952, ce retour à la vieille errance du pasteur, et aussi à son privilège, s'est exercé parfois selon les modalités les plus modernes : location de propriétés de colons loin dans le N., transport rapide des ovins en camion.

(1) R. Capot-Rey, *Géographie de la circulation sur les continents*, 1946, p. 52. Selon P. Deffontaines, *art. cit.*, « la montagne pastorale paraît primordiale et elle est restée longtemps prépondérante dans tout le bassin méditerranéen » (p. 25). A preuve, l'organisation de la *mesta* castillane, les lies et passeries du XIIIe siècle (p. 31). Dans les Alpes, au contraire, la vie pastorale doit se concentrer sur elle-même (p. 26).

(2) J. Blache, *L'homme et la montagne*, 1933, p. 31. Et pourtant, en Sardaigne par exemple, où cette institution joue un si grand rôle, ce sont les troupeaux de montagne qui descendent vers la plaine, cf. Le Lannou, *Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne*, 1941, p. 174. Voir les critiques adressées par F. Braudel à cette expression, *La Méditerranée...*, pp. 38 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

clémente. Enfin, la possibilité de vaine pâture dans les amples emblavures de la plaine dispense les tribus d'en bas d'aller chercher ailleurs. Elles n'ambitionnent plus dès lors l'usage des hauts secteurs, et n'en auraient que faire.

Pourtant ces explications laissent de côté un fait plus profond, quoique infiniment moins clair : la solidarité entre la montagne et la plaine, point de départ du présent chapitre. Or, ce qu'on trouve ici, c'est un rapport à sens unique, singulièrement plus riche que la simple clientèle économique. Évidemment, les rapports économiques sont largement débordés en la matière par d'autres nécessités, d'autres habitudes, d'autres sentiments, d'autres images. A preuve le caractère politique des relations qui se nouent entre tribus pour la disposition des secteurs indispensables à leurs mouvements. Le fait est connu pour le Moyen-Atlas, où il a conditionné toute l'évolution démographique et la distribution des pouvoirs dans la montagne ou les plateaux, du Jebel ᶜAyachi à Fès et Meknès. Mais même dans la zone qui nous occupe, les incidences récentes de ces deux ordres de phénomène l'un sur l'autre n'ont pas manqué.

Bien que ce soit là excéder le cadre chronologique de ce travail, et seulement à titre d'exemple, notons que la possession du Tichka, disputé entre Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., faillit, guère plus tard qu'en 1930, déclencher un conflit violent. Dans l'action hégémonique du Mtuggi, le contrôle des terroirs de transhumance et des marchés du Dir, donnait l'avantage au pouvoir de la plaine, qui en usait à merveille pour négocier : discriminations savantes, finances souples, tarifs préférentiels, le tout dans une large marge d'abus et de transaction individuels. Ces traits ont disparu depuis la pacification. Des routes de transhumance ont été du même coup abandonnées, la sécurité en ouvrant d'autres plus avantageuses. « C'est ainsi que les Idaw Mh'mud ont abandonné les pâturages des Mtugga, que les a. H'adduyws ont renoncé au Dir des Dwiran pour aller pâturer au Jbayl. Ces deux anciennes routes de la transhumance, indiquées par M. J. Dresch n'étaient déjà plus pratiquées en 1941 lorsque parut l'ouvrage qui les mentionne. Il est même probable que la seconde ne fut utilisée qu'exceptionnellement dans les périodes aiguës de la *siba* (1). »

Cette « fiscalité » des grands caïds — mot bien entendu anachronique — mène à envisager les relations entre le transhumant et son correspondant de plaine : *çaheb* ou *amddakkʷel*. Qu'elles

(1) Etude in. de L. Robine sur *La transhumance dans la région d'Iminlanout*, 1949. Notre dette à son égard est importante pour cette partie de l'exposé.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

soient individuelles ou de groupe, elles ne ressortissent pas non plus au contrat débattu, mais à l'échange de faveurs ou de « douceurs », pour parler comme ce rural. De là un ensemble de rapports comportant, de la part de l'homme de la plaine, cautionnement du montagnard, et autorisation à participer au pâquis, en général collectif : c'est une naturalisation provisoire. Le montagnard prend l'attitude du bénéficiaire reconnaissant et du protégé. Dès son arrivée, il offre *luqfa* (d'une rac. ar. qui signifie « dresser », correspondant à chl. *sbidd*, verbe usité dans l'expression *sbidd l'âr* « enjoindre rituellement » — mais nous sommes loin ici d'une telle intensité émotionnelle). C'est en général, quelques pains de sucre en cadeau, et parfois, selon l'importance des parties et des intérêts en cause, une tête de petit bétail. En sus, l'appréciable contrepartie des fumures. Toutes les variétés collectives et individuelles se font jour dans les relations de voisinage ainsi nouées. Elles durent plusieurs mois entre les partenaires, encore que, seul, le berger séjourne à demeure. Le propriétaire ne fait que de périodiques apparitions. Un « bon pasteur », comme actuellement encore l'*amghar* du Haut Seksawa, multiplie ces visites : tournées d'inspection, patriarcalement conjuguées avec des démarches d'entente et d'amitié. Tel autre, des I. Geryun, épouse une fille des Ud Bessebâ°, et n'hésite pas ainsi à se soumettre, par amour de son troupeau, aux subtilités onéreuses du notariat de plaine, non plus qu'à risquer l'aventure d'un mariage arabe. Tous ces rapports sont en effet empreints d'une bonhomie sans doute inhérente à la vie pastorale puisque, longtemps après les poètes antéislamiques, elles arrache encore à des modernes les plus lyriques des descriptions.

Le mouvement d'hiver, affectant surtout le Haut Seksawa, ressortit à ces modèles pyrénéen ou alpin qui, pour être décadents, et ne plus atteindre à l'ampleur d'autrefois, ne s'en renouvellent pas moins sur tout le pourtour de la Méditerranée. Les raisons, ici, sont probablement surtout historiques, et tiennent à la densité exceptionnelle de vie qu'a gardée l'Atlas au-dessus des plaines chaudes et steppiques. Ces plaines furent, depuis le bas Moyen Age marocain, le théâtre de migrations pastorales bien plus amples, comme celle des Sofyân du Sous au Haouz et à la Chaouïa. Le contact entre ces deux rythmes, lorsque tous deux s'affrontaient encore à l'état pur, au XIVe siècle par exemple, a dû produire des interférences politiques et culturelles. Les « alliances » que notent les chroniqueurs entre montagnards et Hilaliens ou Ma°qil, au N. comme au S. du Haut-Atlas, sont vraisemblablement de cet ordre. On a observé d'ailleurs, dans les Pyrénées par exemple, à quel point

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ces rapports de plaine à montagne, dont le plus important est celui que nouent les échanges pastoraux, avaient agi sur les structures politiques. Est-ce à dire qu'aux époques où ces mouvements de troupeaux atteignaient une ampleur aussi considérable, du Sous au Gharb, par exemple, une organisation se soit fait jour, comparable à celle de la *mesta* espagnole ? Il n'en est rien. Que le trait soit ancien ou récent, nous ne trouvons rien au Maroc qui ressemble à la prodigieuse vie institutionnelle qui, cinq siècles durant, se développa en Espagne autour de ces migrations (1). Au stade actuel, nous ne voyons ici que rapports non écrits, plongeant dans un flou que dément peu à peu l'évolution de tout le pays. Ni la route de transhumance n'a d'assiette ferme, ni les relations entre bergers et cités ne se dessinent, ni, à plus forte raison, de magistrature spéciale, comme celle de l'*entregador* espagnol, ne vient préciser le jeu. Non seulement la transhumance marocaine reste au stade de la tradition non écrite, et décourage les codifications, mais elle n'affleure pas ou n'affleure plus à la technique des accords purement cantonaux ou intercantonaux, de mises en défens par exemple.

Elle n'en révèle pas moins un ordre antique (2). Du prédroit si l'on veut. Dans le cas des Seksawa, et de leurs voisins du Haut Atlas occidental, cet ordre a survécu tant bien que mal aux accidents de l'histoire. Aux déterminismes naturels de l'enneigement, de la pluviométrie et de l'insolation, réglant en somme sur l'altitude les possibilités nourricières du pacage, s'ajoutent des phénomènes d'un autre ordre : l'événement qui verrouille la passe du Bas Seksawa et, par là, étrangle l'ancien rythme agricole ; la fréquentation de plus en plus véhémente, et finalement permanente de la plaine par les tribus arabes. Le nœud de tous ces faits se situe dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle. Ce fut sans doute là une des phases-clefs de l'histoire maghrébine. Décisive en tout cas pour les Maçmûda. Mais tant qu'une patiente analyse d'éléments

(1) Qu'il nous suffise, sur ce point, de renvoyer au magistral ouvrage de Julius Klein, *La Mesta*, Barcelone, 1936, auquel n'ont pas échappé les vastes correspondances méditerranéennes du phénomène décrit. Le fait espagnol n'en offre pas moins une grande originalité, tant par son ampleur géographique que par la colossale organisation historique qu'il révèle, et qui est, à beaucoup d'égards, d'avantage unilatéral pour le pasteur. La période contemporaine réagira contre ce privilège. Rien de plus instructif que de comparer la carte des pp. 34-35, carte des routes de transhumance et des vastes mises en défens officielles, ou *dehesas*, avec ce que l'on pourrait reconstituer d'un stade maghrébin médiéval.

(2) A noter qu'en Espagne, l'origine de la *mesta* est des plus obscures, et que certains auteurs l'ont même attribuée à l'influence des Berbères. Cf. J. Klein, *La Mesta*, p. 19.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

médiocres et épars, et la bonne fortune de textes, ne nous auront pas permis de nous en faire une idée plus précise, on ne saura rien de ce que furent les rapports des indigènes et des nouveaux venus, l'incidence des uns sur les autres, et la façon dont se fit à l'époque, ou se défit — ce qui revient au même — la réelle histoire du pays.

CONTINUITÉS

C'est évidemment la direction subméridienne du Seksawa qui constitue l'axe géographique de cette société. En même temps voie de descente et de pénétration, le torrent, par son lit principal et les ravines affluentes, de proche en proche jusqu'aux dernières alvéoles du cadre montagneux, aère et vivifie l'ensemble. Le fractionnement du bassin fluvial en unités secondaires, les cantons, correspond donc à la fois à un classement logique et à une division physique de paysage (1). D'où la profonde insularité de la *laqbill*, enfoncée dans son creux de rochers et n'ayant comme artère vivifiante que son torrent, pour la relier à la vallée principale et, de là, au monde extérieur.

Mais cet isolement est-il une donnée de base, ou une résultante ? Sa pittoresque réalité ne masque-t-elle pas les rapports fondamentaux qui l'unissent aux autres parties du système ? L'histoire des Seksawa acheminait là-dessus à une réponse, que confirment les faits actuels. Ce qu'il y a d'essentiel dans cette vie, c'est justement qu'elle dépasse tout morcellement cantonal. L'appel de la plaine, la circulation des eaux canalisées, le mouvement des troupeaux ne sont que trois signes imagés d'échanges qui relient, au delà des étroites barrières, les hommes et les lieux.

On est ainsi amené de nouveau à l'hypothèse selon laquelle les Seksawa ne seraient aujourd'hui qu'un système mutilé. Leur division présente en sections de vallée ne correspondrait qu'à des nécessités secondes. Les correspondances entre haut et bas pays qu'ont su maintenir, dans leur structure politique et immobilière, leurs voisins Mez'ud'a et Dwiran, procèdent sans doute d'une meilleure conservation. Ou plutôt, le tronçonnement actuel des Seksawa et leur élimination de la plaine ne reflètent nulle authenticité, mais, dans une certaine mesure, l'événement. Cette asymétrie qui les oppose aux groupes voisins, dénonce les coups reçus

(1) De même, dans les Pyrénées, l'état politique est formé, jusque dans ses subdivisions, « vicq », « locq », « cuart », « voisinages », par le rapport de la plaine et de la montagne et les articulations du relief (M. Sorre, *Les Pyrénées*, 1922, p. 73 sq. et, pour l'Andorre, J.-A. Brutails, *Etudes sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age*, 1891, pp. 263 sq).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

lors d'une phase de participation à la grande histoire. Plus heureux que leurs voisins Hintata, qui y ont perdu l'existence tribale et jusqu'au nom, les Seksawa ont ainsi pâti de la loi commune, si lourde aux acteurs du Moyen Age maghrébin. Pour eux, la rançon ne fut pas de disparaître, mais de subir ce cantonnement montagnard. Ils s'y sont cependant maintenus, opposant aux forces de désagrégation d'autres forces, que cette analyse tentera de déceler.

Aujourd'hui encore, leur émigration, leur hydraulique, leur élevage révèlent des lignes de mouvement qui manifestent en pleine vitalité le rapport plaine-montagne : rapport méditerranéen type. Or, par ses formes végétales notamment, leur pays, comme le reste du Haut-Atlas, constitue à beaucoup d'égards un rappel méditerranéen. *Vox clamantis in deserto :* au pied de la chaîne, voici déjà la tache désertique de Chichaoua, avec ses terres jaunâtres et caillouteuses, sa pluviométrie indigente et ses populations d'allure saharienne.

Bien entendu, il serait par trop schématique de supposer que dans ce drame séculaire, les gens de la plaine, Mérinides et Arabes, ont, par la force guerrière et la séduction culturelle, refoulé et dissocié un antique rapport méditerranéen. Il y a certes du danger à de telles simplifications. Mais comme s'éclairent ainsi le passé des Seksawa, ses reliefs archéologiques et, à l'arrivée en plein XXe siècle, les instinctives tentatives de remembrement qu'ils opposent encore aux blessures de l'histoire (1)...

(1) Nous voilà ainsi ramenés à l'histoire : F. Braudel, *op. laud.*, p. 38, n. 1, regrettait que l'étude de la transhumance sur le pourtour de la Méditerranée n'ait pas été suffisamment menée sur le plan historique.

[p. 121]

II

MATIÈRE ET CONTOURS DU TRAVAIL PAYSAN

LE CHAMP ET SA PERSONNALITÉ

Vieille et profonde notion que celle du champ. Une tradition millénaire la colore de sentiment. Des études aussi rigoureuses que celle d'un Roupnel peuvent s'envelopper de lyrisme sans pour autant perdre contact avec la science. De nombreuses générations ont cherché dans les *Géorgiques* à la fois les règles les plus précises de l'agronomie méditerranéenne et un charme qui, loin de rien ôter à l'exactitude des discours, l'amplifie et la prolonge. Cette rare conjugaison entre « vérité et poésie » s'explique par la synthèse qui s'opère de valeurs intellectuelles, pratiques, affectives, où se fondent la terre, l'homme, ses outils, son histoire, sa vie solennelle ou familière. Et de cette synthèse, l'élément de base c'est le champ.

Mais qu'est-ce qu'un champ, dans le Haut-Atlas (1) ? Sera-ce le domaine individualisé, continu dans l'espace et le temps des Romains ? Ou la parcelle longue des plaines nordiques, liée en faisceaux par les obscures ententes de l'*openfield* (2) ? Ou les mêmes soles de lanières retrouvées, dans un tout autre milieu, et sans doute parmi de tous autres environnements par Weulersse, en ce *muchâr* proche-oriental dont l'appellation (mais non la réalité) reparaît chez les Chleuhs (3) ? Ou le clos bocager, qu'évoque paradoxalement par certains traits, malgré sa sécheresse, avec ses bois et ses enclos, le pays H'àh'a ? Ou le *sallus* méditerranéen ? Arrêtons-nous à cette dernière forme. Elle est si propre à l'antiquité maghrébine qu'une des premières lignes de recherche qu'on puisse imaginer serait de contrôler si, dans la réalité actuelle du Sud marocain, rien n'y correspond. Or on peut affirmer sans crainte que, comparaison pour comparaison, ce n'est

(1) J. Berque, Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle), *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 359 sq., sur les différents noms du « champ ».

(2) M. Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, 1931, pp. 21 sq.

(3) C. r. du livre de Weulersse, Le pays des Alaouites, *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1943, III, pp. 116 sq. ; Latron, *ibid.*, 1941, p. 122 et 1943, III, p. 117, n. 1.

pas au *sallus* mais à une forme rurale diamétralement opposée, et qu'ont restituée les magnifiques photographies aériennes du *limes* constantinois, que feraient plutôt penser nos observations dans cette partie de l'Atlas.

Rien n'apparaîtra plus proche des ensembles de parcelles « en rayon de miel » (1) découvertes par le survol du *fossatum* romain, que les ensembles analogues, irrigués par toute une arborescence de rigoles, de nos hautes vallées. Sans doute là et ici le problème n'est-il pas identique. Les techniques dépeintes par J. Baradez s'appliqueraient encore mieux à la plaine subdésertique ou au Dir qu'à l'horticulture montagnarde. Mais la forme des terroirs est là. Même agglomération de minuscules quadrilatères en aval d'un bassin. Même art de la levée de terre coupant et dirigeant le développement des eaux. Arrêtons-nous à cette analogie superficielle, tout juste propre, si l'on veut, à imager l'exposé, et sans poser la question qui vient tout de suite à l'esprit. J. Baradez attribue sans discussion toute cette technique à la romanité. Ce que l'on pourra conclure du présent historique, c'est que, dans une tout autre partie du Maghreb, championne de l'isolationnisme africain, des formes analogues ont fleuri. Que de différences, d'ailleurs ! La *centuriatio* est, dans ces confins de la Romania africaine, la base même de l'agglomération parcellaire. La borne précise, le cadre géométrique, l'art de l'arpenteur sont les compléments obligés du fonds. Rien de plus contraire à la notion que se fait d'une limite notre montagnard. On pourrait presque dire, non sans quelque paradoxe il est vrai, que la limite du champ n'est pour lui nullement topographique, mais d'un tout autre ordre, que nous allons essayer de définir.

Aux antipodes de ces parcelles montagnardes, examinons d'abord le champ des molles plaines atlantiques marocaines : dans le Ghârb par exemple (2). Ici l'unité agraire est proprement la force sociale, dont le signe visible en même temps que l'unité de mesure est la *zawja* « attelée de labour ». Un paysage diffus, une grande démesure de terre arable, très anciennement défrichée, semblent n'opposer au développement de la propriété que les exigences de développement rivales. Milieu neutre où chacun, théoriquement, s'épand à la mesure de sa force. Il porte, de soi, à un libéralisme de compétition. On conçoit qu'en un tel milieu, mouvante, rétractile soit la limite du fonds. Si le champ est épierré, les pierres sont groupées en monceaux, *kerkur*, *k*ʷ*erkur* non sur la

(1) J. Baradez, *Fossatum Africae*, 1949, pp. 173 sq.
(2) J. Berque, *Etudes d'histoire rurale maghrébine*, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

périphérie, mais à l'intérieur. Or ce monceau prend assez fréquemment une fonction magico-religieuse, celle de *maqâm* « mansion ». Au bout de cette évolution s'entrevoit le bétyle sémitique. Il peut être opposé au Dieu-Terme latin.

La basse vallée, à Bul^c^wân et Tuz'z'umt, où les cultures intercalaires s'épandent assez largement sur deux niveaux très bien marqués, amanderaie en haut, oliveraie en bas, possède quelques enclos. Le mur de pierre sèche, *ad'erras* revient fréquemment dans le pays, pour toutes sortes d'usages.

Les noms les plus intéressants pour l' « enclos » sont *agellay* et *urli*, ce dernier vocable ayant des acceptions multiples. Mais la forme se raréfie à mesure qu'on pénètre dans la moyenne vallée. Elle ne convient guère à l'égalitarisme cantonal. Elle suppose des faciès plus larges que n'en offre l'amont, et aussi un genre de vie qui n'est plus celui du riche-homme de la montagne. Elle ne saurait valoir ici comme type. Même dans le bas secteur, d'ailleurs, elle cadre avec de tout autres conceptions : on le verra à propos du terroir de Bul^c^wân lui-même, qui pourtant constitue l'extrême concession du système Seksawa aux choses du Dir. Là, comme à Tuz'z'umt, on peut longuement circuler sous l'amandier ou l'olivier sans observer de limites décelables dans la topographie, voire signalées matériellement.

Second type : les cultures de thalweg frayées dans la pierraille, et disputant une existence précaire aux crues automnales. Très souvent, des bandes parallèles sont repérées par des rangées de blocs. L'épierrage concourt à l'établissement de limites et de digues. A grand-peine parfois. La moindre crue remet tout en cause. Des exemples remarquables peuvent être observés en face de Bul^c^wân même. Ils portent un nom arabe *lulja* : cultures de bas-fonds, cultures aventureuses sans cesse perdues, et quémandant de l'inondation qui les ravage une humidité nourricière. En plus haute vallée, en a. Lh'sen par exemple, le système devient plus original. On trouve, d'une part, l'île de blocs fortifiée, renforcée d'arbres, et d'autre part la culture à longue submersion. Il s'agit là d'une forme un peu spéciale : agriculture de chance et d'exception que ces *akriun*, où l'effort humain recommence inlassablement son humble édifice devant la menace, mais aussi le bienfait de l'eau. Certes, le dévalement torrentiel charriera les galets, démolira les murs, emportera les semences : mais parfois aussi il les respecte. De toute façon, il humecte le sol et dépose du limon. Chance à courir...

Troisième type : l'agriculture en sec, sur hautes croupes ou essarts forestiers. C'est un complément important de l'hydrau-

lique. Mais nous sommes trop mal renseignés sur la pluviométrie d'altitude pour en analyser exactement les conditions. Toujours est-il que les emblavures dépassent la cote des 2.000 m. dans le Tasila et l'Azuran. Le seigle et l'orge y atteignent de bons rendements. Cela explique que la compétition pour l'usufruit de ces terrains soit vive. Et qu'elle soit honorable. C'est une compétition entre communes et entre notables plutôt qu'entre concitoyens. L'éloignement est une prime aux riches et aux audacieux. Seul de son *ikhs*, tel ou tel individu se lance à des valorisations ou défrichements, qu'il étaiera bien entendu de titres. Pourtant la servitude d'une vocation communautaire reste assez vive pour imposer dans certains cas l'allotissement. Si tels de ces terroirs, comme le Tasila, sont très appropriés, d'autres, comme l'Azuran des Imt'-ddan suggèrent toute proche la coutume de la répartition entre *ikhs*-s. La vocation de chacun de ceux-ci s'affirme nettement encore par exemple dans l'*albur* des a. M'hnd.

Ailleurs, et un peu partout où règne le domaine forestier, la vivification par essartage ou épierrage sera souvent invoquée comme source de droit : le plaideur recourt dans ce cas au verbe arabe *l'uwwe*, et effectivement joue alors pour lui un principe musulman, celui de la « vivification ». Mais dans quelle mesure est-ce là institution ancienne ? Il est difficile de le préciser. Peut-être trouvera-t-on plus d'authenticité, et à tout le moins d'originalité, dans les coutumes régissant certaines plaines du Dir, de part et d'autre d'Imintanout. La saison venue, s'organise une course au labour. Le premier qui marque le guéret en a la jouissance pour l'année. En Seksawa, bien qu'elle ne fonctionne nulle part de façon aussi avouée, cette pratique se sous-entend de tout ce qui ressortit à la notion de *muchû'* « communal ». Et cela avec une évidence juridique susceptible d'imposer encore la répartition entre *ikhs*-s quand l'acuité de la compétition ou l'exiguité du terroir ne permettent plus à l'ancien système de fonctionner à la satisfaction générale. En a. Lh'sen est usité le mot *lghimer*, plur. *lghwamer*, pour désigner quelque chose comme la zone de légitimité d'une famille ou d'un fonds (1) : en général projection géométrique de celui-ci sur l'espace neutre qui le borde, friche ou maquis forestier. Et ce ne sera pas notre moindre surprise que de rapprocher le mot, ainsi interprété, de ce *ghâmir* que les actes fonciers du

(1) Ailleurs en Seksawa, et aussi en Demsira, etc., s'emploie le mot chleuh de *az'lag*, plur. *iz'lagen*. Transposée à l'échelon de la collectivité, cette notion d'aisance ou de dégagements n'est pas loin de celle de *muchû'*. Ajoutons aussi, comme procédant du même fond de « prédroit », celle d'*ad'erg* « voie de passage pour les bêtes », ar. *medurz*.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Nord marocain opposent au *'âmir*, comme l'agriculture en puissance s'oppose à l'agriculture en acte, ou la vocation éminente d'un sol à la possession individualisée.

Ce champ de l'*albur* est beaucoup plus vaste que celui des fonds de vallée. Une dizaine de fois, en moyenne, si l'on en croit les évaluations faites lors des partages successoraux. Il est, d'autre part, tout pénétré par la nature sauvage. Livré tour à tour à la jachère et à la culture, à la friche, au pacage, aux plantes adventives, il ne se détache pas nettement de l'espace qui l'entoure. Enfin sa vocation juridique, sa forme, les techniques qu'il appelle, varient en fonction de l'altitude. Ces classements en hauteur sont une spécialité de cette société de montagne. La tectonique et l'érosion y ont ménagé, peut-être encore plus qu'ailleurs dans cette partie de l'Atlas, un relief par niveaux successifs. Le rez-de-chaussée de la plaine du Dir, l'auge parfois spacieuse des lits de torrents, entaillés de rebords progressifs, les vastes replats herbeux, contredits par l'acuité de la chaîne axiale : chacun de ces étages inspire une nouvelle figure du champ, de l'agriculture, du droit et des mœurs.

Mais à ce monde de l'horizontalité ainsi ménagé par la nature au sein de la montagne, s'en oppose un autre où règnent la verticale, l'oblique, le surplomb. C'est celui du terroir irrigué, construit par l'homme. Il est tout en redans, circonvallations. Murs et terrasses, escaladant la pente, superposent leurs petits plans soigneux. L'ensemble s'oppose par la couleur, le caractère, la densité toponymique, la présence humaine à ce qui l'entoure. Voilà le type majeur de cette économie et aussi de cette histoire. Le terroir irrigué n'est pas seulement un substrat matériel. C'est un symbole social (1).

Observons l'ensemble dit Bukhemsin, où chaque groupe des a. Lh'sen a sa part. Il s'étale sur la rive gauche, entre Awinas et Buteghradin, à mi-flanc de montée, et se compose de deux plans, que coupe diagonalement le sentier. Nous sommes en mars. Une végétation luxuriante d'orge commence déjà à épier. Nulle solution dans la masse. Seulement, par éclairage rasant, s'y devinent quelques différences de niveau, selon la quantité d'engrais qu'ont apportée les divers propriétaires. C'est à peine si un œil expert distingue, dans un quartier aussi homogène, les cent cinquante parcelles qui le composent. Une telle distinction, à qui n'en a pas l'idée préconçue, s'avère impossible. C'est à la base même des tiges d'orge, et entièrement dissimulées par la tallaison, que rampent des

(1) Au sens précis que définit pour ce terme G. Gurvitch, *La vocation actuelle de la sociologie*, 1950, p. 74.

limites idéales : lignes abstraites dont seuls les angles sont indiqués par une modeste pierre fichée dans le sol, *awullu* plur. *iwulla*.

Seul le quartier a une personnalité, dans la toponymie comme dans le paysage. Mais il n'est pas unité d'appropriation, à moins qu'on ne le pose comme « champ collectif », ce qu'on ne saurait faire sans abus d'expression. Les parcelles qu'on y discerne ressortissent bien à une propriété moléculaire, si j'ose dire. Mais elles n'ont guère d'existence topographique. Ce ne sont que des miettes de patrimoine.

DIVISIONS ET ORGANES DU CHAMP

Tout abstrait qu'il soit, ce fractionnement joue son rôle. Mais sa force n'est pas liée à une démarcation matérielle, à la consistance d'une superficie. Elle tient plutôt à une affinité verbale. Telles et telles parcelles, dispersées dans le terroir, sont réputées la part légitime de telle ou telle famille. Cette qualification est leur seule défense. Rien de plus frappant lors des litiges de bornage. Ce qui s'affirme dans la procédure, ce n'est pas la valeur concrète d'une limite, c'est, pour ainsi dire, l'autonomie d'une cellule. Belle différence avec le type méditerranéen du *fundus*. Ces parcelles se définissent moins par un cadre spatial déterminé que par l'emboîtement d'un ayant-droit entre d'autres ayants-droit. La modicité des superficies aidant, l'identification de chacune n'est pas locale, mais onomastique. Les noms subdivisent un quartier qui est lui-même une division du terroir. De même la *laqbilt* se divise en sous-groupes, qui se subdivisent en familles. Toponymie et anthroponymie se combinent donc pour former, avec l'aide d'autres facteurs, un système diversifié et étagé qui se définit par l'emprise de classements verbaux sur des morceaux de pays, par l'association de noms à des sols.

Serrons de plus près l'identité de cette cellule patrimoniale que représente la parcelle. C'est en général un minuscule quadrilatère inséré parmi une multitude d'autres, et défini par cette insertion même. Sa superficie est d'une modicité qui confond. Quelques mensurations expérimentales donnent en moyenne :

Hoirie de l'*ikhs* des a. Watchaw (a. Musa)	30 m²
— si Âbdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 –
Cheikh Wakrim u Lh'âjj H'fid' (ibid.)	70 –
Famille Chkku (Imt'ddan)	26 –
Terroir d'Agersili (Idma)	102 –
— de Z'init' (id.)	200 –
— de Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 –

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Une telle exiguïté, aggravée par la dispersion sur des aires dépassant parfois le kilomètre en longueur, suscite mille embarras techniques. Non moins que l'irrigation elle impose le minutieux travail de la « houe » *agelzim*. Ce ne sont, à toute époque de l'année, que paysans courbés, « interrogeant la terre », pour reprendre une magnifique expression classique, et rebordant le moindre méplat du relief, le moindre angle de la périphérie, afin d'y étaler l'aubaine de l'eau. Si la forme quadrangulaire est fréquente, l'agriculture ne néglige pas les formes mineures. Ainsi du « pédoncule » d'humus, *ad'ar*. Parfois quand même, un « redan » *lighmert* reste délaissé. Mais d'une façon générale, et sauf les cas de roulement de soles, comme à Agersili ou aux a. Mh'nd, l'espace cultivé sous le canal est plein, sans fissure. C'en est même là la caractéristique qui l'oppose aux taches espacées de culture en sec, visibles de loin sur la colline. Ces champs-ci sont de forme irrégulière, tandis que les parcelles irriguées, alignées en balcon, ou tassées dans un fond humide et comme juteux, ne se fractionnent qu'abstraitement et selon un système de quatre orients, d'essence onomastique.

Mais cette parcelle exiguë est souvent elle-même un composé. Selon sa superficie, et qu'elle soit ou non de niveau, elle pourra se fractionner en « lobes », *tisiril* ou *tiril*, eux-mêmes divisés en « carreaux » d'irrigation, *uz'unen*. Ou bien la rigole versante donnera directement sur l'un de ceux-ci. Cette divisibilité peut aussi résulter des exigences de la culture en eau, ou de la destination maraîchère ou céréalière. Bien des variétés, traduisant initiative et possibilités individuelles, viennent ici diversifier, de même que l'apport de fumure, la bande continue et homogène que porte la banquette. Mais cela n'apparaîtra qu'aux effets, après tallaison. A ce moment, on l'a vu, les repères d'appropriation s'enfoncent sous la verdure, mais l'ensemble vu d'en haut fait l'effet d'une pièce d'écailles. Les nuances de vert comme la puissance germinative diffèrent selon la propriété sous-jacente. Un œil exercé peut alors déchiffrer tout le réseau foncier.

La hiérarchie d'organes décrite plus haut s'établit donc ainsi à partir de la base (1) :

— le carreau, première unité technique ;
— la planche d'irrigation, groupant quelques carreaux (facultative) ;
— la parcelle, première cellule foncière, groupant quelques planches ou carreaux ;

(1) Se reporter, pour la nomenclature chleuhe de ces différentes formes, à notre Glossaire notarial..., *R. a/r.*, 1950.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

— le quartier, unité à la fois topographique, sociale et technique groupant un certain nombre de parcelles desservies par une prise sur la rigole, mais pouvant s'étager sur plusieurs banquettes ;
— le terroir, unité topographique et politique : morceau de paysage approprié par l'agriculture du groupe, et distribuant, on le verra, entre les divers quartiers dont il se compose, un échantillonnage bien réglé des patrimoines d'*ikhs*. Ce terroir se compose lui-même en « pays » avec l'habitat du groupe, rassemblé ou morcelé, et son emprise sur les sols et les végétaux, plus dense au fond des vallées, plus clairsemée dans les *ilburan* (plur. d'*albur*) qui surplombent le village à la verticale, noyés dans la sylve montagnarde.

Dans un tel système, l'appropriation privative descend, selon les modes propres à l'irrigation, jusqu'à l'individuation la plus forcenée du travail et du sentiment, de la peine et de la persistance de l'homme, donc de ses droits. Tout au contraire les cultures en sec, larges et intermittentes, se font sur le *muchâ'* ou *muchâ'*, une espèce de collectif. Mais ces deux types s'opposent ensemble à la disponibilité de la forêt ou du pâquis, seulement réglée par les droits politiques et l'équilibre international. Pourtant, dans le terroir irrigué lui-même, un ordre règle la distribution parcellaire. Les qualifications d'origine et de parenté sont ici plus essentielles que les limites et, dirait-on, que le terreau lui-même. Ce lopin, presque dénué de matière, tient et vaut surtout comme illustration d'état civil.

Ainsi peut-être s'explique l'acharnement de cet homme à ses complications, à ses modes déficitaires. Tout se passe, sur ce môle historique des vieilles civilisations sédentaires du Maghreb, comme si une société paysanne recherchait, dans le paradoxe économique, l'exercice d'elle-même.

MAGIE OU TECHNIQUE ?

Le travail humain n'a pas seulement à compter avec les ressources ou la résistance du milieu. Outre les eaux, les sols, les plantes, il doit compter avec un pouvoir bénéfique ou maléfique, diffus dans les choses ou se précisant en figures. Et tout autre sera l'appréciation à porter sur l'activité du groupe paysan selon la marge de spontanéité, de démarche consciente et d'efficace qu'il s'arroge par rapport aux amis ou aux adversaires invisibles, et selon le degré d'existence qu'il leur reconnaît. On a beaucoup insisté, en ethnologie marocaine, sur les caractères « magiques » de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

l'agriculture. L'œuvre d'E. Laoust offre à cet égard une mine d'informations. La « mort du champ » et beaucoup d'autres faits rituels y sont décrits, avec la référence sinon aux Seksawa, du moins aux proches Mtugga, chez qui ont été relevées de caractéristiques coutumes de moisson. La nécessité de restituer au sol son énergie, sa *baraka*, d'expulser ou de maintenir loin de lui les forces mauvaises — ces « deux pôles de la croyance populaire » — animeraient des rites et des cérémonies qui « constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines » (1).

Grave hypothèse, que ce n'est ni le lieu, ni l'objet de cette étude d'infirmer ou de confirmer. Imbue des théories alors récentes de Frazer, succédant à ce livre de Doutté sur *Magie et Religion* qui fut le coup d'essai, et le coup de maître de ce genre d'investigations au Maghreb, l'enquête d'E. Laoust vaut d'ailleurs par la curiosité linguistique et une intuition d'ethnologue qui restent des modèles. Mais elle n'a guère, sur ce second plan, été continuée. Tous motifs d'individus mis à part, il y a là quelque chose d'un peu inquiétant. On peut dire en un sens que ces interprétations, auxquelles il faut ajouter, pour le Maroc, celles de Westermarck et certaines de celles d'H. Basset, constituaient un point d'aboutissement (2). Elles ont inspiré aux chercheurs plus jeunes à la fois admiration, défiance et lassitude. Résultat sans doute regrettable. S'il y a peu de chance d'ajouter, en matière marocaine, d'autres découvertes que de détail à celles de ces grands anciens, certains problèmes se posent, guère effleurés jusqu'ici, et qu'une critique, fût-elle immodeste, aura du moins le mérite d'énoncer. C'est à quoi répondront les notations suivantes, qui sont loin de prétendre épuiser le débat.

Souvent les faits, minutieusement collectionnés par ces ethnologues, sont indiqués sans contexte statistique. Le sacrifice d'inauguration du labour à Bwabbût' est-il généralement pratiqué, ou procède-t-il d'une attitude exceptionnelle, ou seulement particulière ? Voilà ce que la suggestive description des *Mots et Choses* ne dit pas (3). Et pourtant voilà qui serait essentiel pour reconnaître si le fait ressortit au *magique* dans le sens étroit du terme, impliquant une activité semi-clandestine de spécialiste, ou au *religieux*, c'est-à-dire met en cause une fonction sociale générale, avec référence au divin.

(1) E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, 1920, p. 321.
(2) Le livre de Laoust a paru en 1920. Celui de Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, en 1926 ; celui d'H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc*, en 1920.
(3) E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses*, pp. 315 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

D'autre part, le commentaire qui prête aux gens d'ici les célèbres croyances à un esprit du champ s'appuie-t-il chez E. Laoust sur des expressions indigènes ou des inductions de savant ? Certes, ainsi posée, la question est captieuse. Mais enfin, si les notions de *baraka*, de bon et de mauvais augure, et plus généralement celle de sacré, dans son ambiguïté spécifique, ressortent d'une masse de faits de croyance et de langage, on n'en trouve jamais l'expression consciente. Ce qu'on entend professer, au contraire, et à satiété, c'est l'explication rationaliste : « Nous faisons cela parce que c'est une bonne recette pratique », ou bien « parce que nous sollicitons ainsi la faveur céleste ». Ou encore, des dénégations : « Nous ne faisons jamais cela. » Certes, il n'y a dans ces formules qu'élaboration et réinterprétation. Mais elles correspondent à la couche de l'Islam, qui est profonde. Et le propre d'un phénomène maghrébin, c'est justement de ressortir à ces divers ordres d'idée. L'explication de Laoust est donc légitime, dans la mesure où on la complète par l'explication contraire.

D'ailleurs, si l'on donne au mot *magie* le sens restrictif où il a été entendu plus haut, et qui est celui d'Huvelin par exemple, il faut avouer qu'une analyse préoccupée avant tout de morphologie, comme la nôtre, néglige assez systématiquement l'aspect « magique » des choses maghrébines. Mais, d'une part, l'acception de Laoust est beaucoup plus large, et entend à la fois magie au sens strict, religion et folklore. D'autre part, si beaucoup des faits qu'elle vise sont seulement coupables d'avoir été interprétés sans contexte statistique, il n'en existent pas moins. C'est déjà beaucoup. Plût à Dieu que la collection s'en fût accrue depuis Westermarck et E. Laoust du même élan qui anima ces grands découvreurs ! Les développements ultérieurs qui seront consacrés aux structures religieuses et juridiques des Seksawa resserreront ces distinctions. Mais d'ores et déjà, et bien qu'encore une fois, la discussion de la thèse frazérienne, appliquée aux phénomènes maghrébins ne soit pas notre propos, il faut lui faire, en tant qu'évocatrice (ou créatrice) d'une partielle mais incontestable vérité d'atmosphère, le sort qu'elle mérite assurément dans toute description d'une vie rurale.

Les « travaux et les jours » s'ordonnent, dans toute l'Afrique du Nord, selon la double division de l'année en mois du calendrier julien, aux noms curieusement latins, et en « mansions » *manâzil* de treize jours chacune, basées sur l'astrologie (1). Enfin, à côté

(1) C'est en tout cas un genre extrêmement ancien dans l'Occident musulman. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech* (1256-1321), 1948, d'ailleurs sur prototype cordouan, et, semble-t-il, sans référence

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

des vieilles fêtes rurales, comme la « bonne année » *yenneyr*, ou la « chandeleur » *lânçra*, les fastes musulmans, suivant l'année lunaire, et par conséquent décrochés des deux premiers rythmes, introduisent aussi leurs périodes fériées ou chômées. D'où un système complexe. L'étude qu'on en ferait pour un milieu donné serait suggestive. Mais elle ressortirait plutôt au folklore. A première vue, ce sont plutôt des similitudes avec le reste du Maghreb, même arabe, que des particularités qui en constitueraient ici le problème principal (1). On en détachera, comme plus adaptées au caractère de notre travail, deux recherches : d'abord sur le déroulement de la campagne agricole ; puis sur les fonctions dévolues, au sein du groupe, à tel ou tel des sous-groupes.

LE CALENDRIER AGRICOLE

Malgré la folle irrégularité des pluies, malgré l'élément de constance qu'introduit l'irrigation, le paysanat de l'Atlas reste fidèle à la notion de période agricole. Question de cycles végétaux sans doute : la croissance de l'orge dure six mois ; celle du maïs trois mois. Et probablement aussi, question de hautes eaux et d'étiage. La baisse des sources, en ce pays sans neiges permanentes, force les cultures à s'ajuster à la diminution du débit de mai à septembre. C'est donc à bon droit que l'on peut ici suivre la description classique du déroulement de la campagne mois par mois.

Chutanbir (septembre) est un prélude. S'il pleut, on le met à profit pour labourer, en dépit de la date du « labour faste » *amud ih'allan* qui ne tombe que le 17 *uktuber* (octobre). Plus les semailles sont hâtives et plus abondante la récolte, pense, non sans raison, le montagnard. « Septembre, affaire-toi » lui sussurre le proverbe : *chutanbir chuch t'ebber*. De toutes façons, c'est le moment où l'on prépare le fumier, les instruments ara-

maghrébine. Cf. aussi Joly, *Arch. mar.*, III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, *Description de l'Afrique*, Schefer, t. I., pp. 112 sq.

La généralité de cette croyance aux *manâzil* est attestée par le fait qu'un petit traité que leur consacre un lettré de Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, *Natijal al-cumr*, éd. égypt., 1930, bréviaire de contons érudits et de conseils de bonne femme, avec nombreuses références agricoles, se vend dans toute l'Afrique du Nord, et, dit-on, en Egypte même. Il serait intéressant de savoir si le « calendrier mahonnais » utilisé en Algérie par marins et paysans, a un lien quelconque avec ce folklore musulman.

(1) Nous retrouverons à diverses reprises la même communauté maghrébine, sous-jacente, en quelque sorte, à des développements régionaux. Pour parler comme A. Varagnac, l' « archéocivilisation » de l'Afrique du Nord est une. De là vient peut-être que l'ethnologie soit si peu efficace pour rendre compte des véritables caractéristiques des diverses régions. L'originalité n'est pas dans le « fond », elle est dans les traitements qu'il a subis, c'est-à-dire dans l'histoire.

toires. On gaule les noix, on cueille la figue de barbarie. Les éleveurs des hauts cantons tiennent leurs troupeaux à l'alpage : ils les y garderont, sauf intempéries excessives, jusqu'au moment de la transhumance hivernale. Septembre s'est achevé, en 1951, sur l'*àchura* ou *amàchur*. Rites du feu, rites de l'eau dans les villages. On saute par-dessus des brasiers ; on s'asperge d'eau. Dans certains villages a. Lh'sen, on se bat à coup d'*azzunt'i* « orties ». Rite ou jeu ? La fête déclenche une épidémie de mariages et de procès.

Uktuber, mois classique d'ouverture du cycle céréalier. La pluie tombe, les torrents se réveillent. *Wa-nna iran amud, yasi-t-ann*, « quiconque veut semer n'a qu'à le faire ». Le 17 inaugure les emblavures : il y a une génération encore, nul n'eût osé enfreindre la prescription. L'expérience contemporaine a prouvé qu'il valait mieux profiter de la pluie : « mais c'est que les choses ont changé ». Un *amghar*, gros cultivateur, déplore devant moi que ce principe, qu'il croit d'essence religieuse, soit de plus en plus transgressé, tandis que les pratiques d'ouverture du labour, avec distribution de fruits secs, bris de pain, etc., qu'il qualifie dévotement d'idolâtrie, *laçnam*, restent en honneur. Aussi bien ne heurtent-elles aucune opportunité économique. Le bon vieux temps s'éloigne.

Nuwanbir, « novembre ». Sauf pendant la période néfaste des treize jours de *lqàleb*, les labours continuent. Du 17 octobre au 10 décembre, c'est la culture « précoce » *amenzu*, puis « moyenne » *arbài*. La cueillette des olives commence en a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

Dujanbir. « Voilà décembre : le froid clôt la discussion », *Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal*. Cette société est en effet mal outillée pour le supporter. La neige couvre toutes les hauteurs. Cependant, à partir du 10, commence la céréaliculture « tardive », *amazuz*. Elle durera, en principe, jusqu'au 20 février, en pays Seksawa et en plaine. Parfois beaucoup plus tard encore, jusqu'en mars même, et presque jusqu'aux premières moissons : telle est l'immoralité du jeu que le hasard climatique impose au cultivateur ! Les montagnards continuent à envoyer leurs bêtes en plaine. La stabulation pour les bovins, le pacage à court rayon autour du village sont le lot de celles qui restent.

Yenneyr « janvier ». Après les cérémonies immémoriales du nouvel an solaire, le paysan qui a terminé ses semailles respire : *inna ira ku-yan ikk*, « où il veut, qu'il y aille », proclame le dicton qui néglige, et pour cause, les tâches patientes du désherbage, malheureusement trop peu en honneur, et l'entretien des plantations. Celle-ci vont toutes seules, à ce qu'on croit. Et cependant, l'homme avisé sait que la campagne déjà avance : *tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr* : « Gare au soleil de février, laboureur de janvier. » Voici venir le moment de commencer à nettoyer les rigoles, et de couper pour la pâture « l'orge en vert » *àg^{w}las*.

F^{w}brayl, « février », décidera du sort de la campagne. Le proverbe l'assure *igh iswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr*, « février pleut : guérison des maux » ; février sec : aggravation. Chez l'éleveur, la saison du laitage commence. Le « petit lait », *aghu*, le « beurre », *udi*, viennent à point pour

permettre « la soudure » entre les provisions qui s'épuisent, le souq qui enchérit, et la récolte encore incertaine.

Mars, « mars », commence l'emblavure des maïs précoces, du mil, encore çà et là pratiqué, et le maraîchage. L'époque des plantations est finie. La tonte et la castration, toutes deux très primitives, sont entreprises. En a. Âbdella notamment, l'effet des premières chaleurs aidant, la moisson, si j'ose dire, mûrira en chaîne : guère de pause entre l'*amenzu* et l'*amazuz*. Dans les hauts cantons, la fraîcheur persistante dissocie les deux périodes. Mars est absolument décisif : *mars as-tt-id ih'yu, negh tt-inn iluh'* : « il vivifie ou perd tout ». Autres dictons significatifs, *mars imerc ten-d a^{w}kk*, « mars les rassemble toutes » (la suite des saisons), ou bien : *inna mars i-yiran : ggawrat igh enghligh*. « Mars dit aux autres mois : Paix vous autres, si je viens bien. »

Ibril, « avril », le 15 commence officiellement la moisson. En plaine du moins. Car la montagne attend toujours. C'est ce qu'exprime un adage pittoresque : *ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal*. « De la bouillie en plaine, du vide dans les chambres de la montagne : si un rat y tombe d'une solive, il reste sur le carreau ». « Sous les gerbes » même de l'orge, le maïs *n-ddu tadla* est paraît-il le meilleur. La culture des légumes s'intensifie : aubergines, tomates, courges, navets, partout du moins où règne encore cette variété. Les a. H'adduyws donnent une irrigation à leurs champs de montagne et récoltent ce qu'ils ont en plaine. Inversement, et depuis mars, les premiers grains récoltés en plaine ont servi à ensemencer les soles d'orge d'Agersili, débarrassées de leurs neiges. D'une façon générale, à partir de la moyenne vallée vers l'amont, c'est le moment où, les torrents baissant à vue d'œil, on commence à mettre en eau les séguias. Jusque-là, chacun se servait à discrétion, là où la pluie, ou l'humidité due au long enneigement, ne rendaient pas toute irrigation inutile ou nuisible. Pour l'éleveur, c'est le retour de la transhumance de plaine. Continuation de la tonte et des castrations en a. Âbdella et a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, « mai » : c'est à peine le printemps dans les hauts cantons, où commence, vers le 15, la culture de l'orge précoce. L'éleveur vend sa laine et des bêtes sur pied. Il se méfie du pacage matinal, où la rosée recèle *lghechch*, « la douve ». Du 1er au 13, c'est « l'aldébaran » *ddabaran*, moment important dans les rythmes agricoles. On considère qu'à partir de ce moment la fructification des amandiers est définitive, ce qui entraîne maintes conséquences dans les mœurs et l' « année judiciaire ».

Nunyuh, « juin », marque en a. Âbdella les débuts de la récolte de maïs. Le céréaliculteur doit avoir engerbé toute sa moisson sur les aires de dépiquage. Le 14, qui coïncide avec la fête de *lânçrt*, clôt les emblavures de maïs tardif.

Lulyuz, « juillet », voit un peu partout les dépiquages, les arrosages du maïs, la culture du navet, des carottes et maintenant des pommes de terre. En Bas Seksawa commence la cueillette des amandes. A partir du 10, les éleveurs des hauts cantons gagnent les alpages. Ils y resteront

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

tant bien que mal jusqu'à la descente hivernale, malgré des phases de stabulation.

Ghucht, « août », mois des vannages. Le maïs est moissonné en a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen et a. Musa. Il ne le sera qu'en octobre dans le Haut Seksawa. Le paysan s'affaire à l'irrigation de ses navets et de ses carottes. Les oliviers fructifient. Mais c'est aussi, d'une façon générale, la saison des grands rassemblements, des frairies patronales dont le cycle embrasse tout le Dir occidental.

Mois de clôture : *mayuh, nuyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu ; ghucht, uhu*, « mai, juin, juillet : vas-y ; mais août : fini ». Mais c'est aussi le mois de la rétribution : *ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan iskummern*, « la mauvaise étoile hante la meule du paresseux ». Adage moralisateur qui ne fait pas illusion : chacun sait que, même en pays d'irrigation, le hasard des météores conditionne encore, en grande part, la vie de la végétation. Outre la sécheresse et l'eau, c'est le vent qui disperse les fleurs de l'amandier ; le brouillard qui provoque la fumagine de l'olivier, sans parler de l'éclosion des parasites animaux.

Cet exposé s'est surtout attaché à retracer le déroulement de la campagne avec la succession des différentes activités. Il est frappant que la confrontation d'un tel calendrier agricole avec ceux qu'établit parfois notre agronomie nord-africaine (1) révèle, compte tenu de la particularité d'un milieu montagnard, beaucoup de concordances. Cette particularité échelonne selon les altitudes la succession des dates convenables à chaque culture, à chaque récolte. Elle dédouble le registre par la distinction des façons précoces et tardives. Que de précision et même de subtilité ! Entre cantons superposés, les divers termes du système s'articulent et s'emboîtent. Ils permettent à l'orge récolté en a. Âbdella d'être semée en Idma, ou au paysan d'Iguntar de moissonner chez autrui pour de l'argent, avant de moissonner chez soi. Encore une « liaison verticale » entre cantons qu'avait oubliée notre chapitre sur l'organisation de l'espace Seksawa.

DIVISION DES FONCTIONS AGRAIRES

En matière d'ethnologie descriptive, méfions-nous en français du présent dit narratif : « les *ail* X font ceci ou cela ». Et méfions-nous-en surtout s'il s'agit des Chleuhs qui ont, pour répondre à ce genre de question, le fameux « mode d'habitude », employé pour rendre la répétition ou l'intensité de l'idée verbale, mais, soyons-

(1) Cf. notamment Rivière et Lecq, *Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique*, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., sur le calendrier du cultivateur nord-africain, et, p. 578 sq. (généralités agricoles sur la région).

en sûrs, sans la moindre préoccupation de contrôle statistique (1). Là où l'informateur pense un : « il y a des gens qui... », l'ethnologue enregistre une règle générale, pour la joie des interprétateurs de seconde main. Et pourtant il est d'une très grande importance que la pratique soit le fait de l'ensemble, voire de la majorité du groupe, ou seulement d'un spécialiste qualifié, voire d'un aberrant.

C'est à ce genre de vérifications qu'on s'est livré à propos d'une question déjà traitée par les auteurs (2) : celle de l'*initium* agraire, elle-même parfois, mais non toujours, liée à celle des jours fastes ou néfastes et des rites saisonniers. D'intéressantes différenciations entre familles s'en dégageront, et il est donc d'un grand intérêt de savoir jusqu'à quel point de généralité cette pratique s'observe en Seksawa. Elle n'y a pas gardé, notons-le, de dénomination spéciale. Le terme d'*anflus* est tombé en désuétude. On est dit seulement *bab llkhir*, c'est-à-dire doué de « bonne main » ; et plus encore, ce pouvoir s'exprime par des périphrases : *ifulki kh-lyuga*, « il est bon pour la culture », etc. Ce flou verbal est peut-être, mais non certainement, un trait de décadence. Quoi qu'il en soit, voici les résultats d'un dépouillement, qu'on a voulu exhaustif.

1° Idaw Geryun :

Village de Targa Ufella (le dernier avant la montée du Tichka) : tous les habitants descendent d'une seule origine, les antiques a. Châib. C'est peut-être pour cela qu'il n'y a pas entre eux de discrimination. Tirage au sort pour inaugurer les irrigations. Le premier samedi de mai, une chèvre noire est portée sur une certaine roche dans la montagne, et sacrifiée. Si le sang ruisselle, l'augure est bon.

A Ighelmellen, les Ih'muchcha, famille survivante des Iqorran, premiers occupants, inaugurent l'irrigation et l'alpage. Libations propitiatoires, dites *ifyed'*.

Rektu wasif : les a. Âbdelkrim ont l'*initium* pour l'eau.

Zaouia de Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi : ce sont les a. Umetjar.

Ikis : *initium* général (et non seulement pour l'eau) des a. Uâziz.

2° Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws) :

Igersafen : a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal : a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo et Uzaga : les a. Th'emjit jouissent d'un *initium* général, attribué à l'ancêtre Amer u H'addo. Période réputée néfaste : *Lmunah'is* ou *Ih'h'yalen*, et le *lqdleb* : on ne se rase pas, on ne laboure pas, on est en deuil.

(1) Cette erreur de nuance apparaît dès la traduction des premiers textes marocains réunis par S. A. Boulifa, et est devenue une loi du genre.

(2) Signalée pour la première fois, semble-t-il, en ce qui concerne le Maroc, par E. Laoust, *Mots et choses*, p. 313. Pour l' « ambiance » générale, cf. aussi E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, t. II, chap. XVI.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

2° Tasa (d°) :

Villages de Fensu et Tasa : les a. Ggahi ont l'*initium* pour l'eau, sont chargés de l'*ifyed'* : même interdiction que ci-dessus. De plus, pendant cette période, on ne peut laver le linge. Les a. Umghar : *initium* pour la guerre.

4° Idma :

Les a. Ilarzg d'Usikis ont l'*initium* pour la mise en eau des rigoles. Les Iseqqalen s'abstiennent de toute entreprise le lundi : une fois qu'ils avaient voulu ce jour-là monter à Agersili, il leur mourut des jeunes filles. Les a. Ikru d'Ad'erd'ur et de Wanchkrir ouvrent le labour. Voici pourquoi. Les Idma étaient restés six ans sans pluie, d'autres disent sept ans. Les *ikhs* se relayaient pour guetter les nuages à l'horizon. Quand ce fut le tour des a. Ikru, la pluie tomba, à la joie générale. D'où l'usage actuel. Les *ikhs* qui, dans les autres villages, ouvrent le labour, sont : pour Usikis, les a. Ilarzg ; pour Taselli, les a. Lh'sen.

5° En Imt'ddan, les a. Uchikar ouvrent le labour, et mettent en eau les rigoles. Les ait Ubaqa égorgent la vache de Lalla Aziza.

6° En ait Mh'nd, les a. Bakhkha ouvrent le labour.

7° En ait Musa, aucune qualification de ce genre.

8° Ait Lh'sen :

Wanz'id'. Labour : a. H'sayn ; irrigations : sacrifice à sidi Lwâli au premier vendredi de mars ; récolte : a. Mulid ; guerre : a. Berka.

Butéghradin. Labour : 1. a. Messâud (dimanche) ; irrigations d° ; récolte : d°.

Au matin de l'*yenneyr*, bataille entre *ikhs* à coup de touffes d'orties.

Agadir. Labour : a. Naçr (dimanche) ; récolte (d°) ; irrigation : a. Hammo ; sauts dans la flamme la nuit d'*amâchur*. Bataille à coups de touffes d'orties.

Awinas. Labour : a. Amar ; récolte d° ; irrigation a. Umâli. Aspersions entre *ikhs*-s au matin d'amâchur ; dîner de bouillie le soir de l'*innair*.

Ighilen. Labour : a. Messâud (dimanche) ; moisson : d° ; irrigation : a. Lechger. Même coutume que ci-dessus.

Tabratjut. Labour : a. Mençur (dimanche) ; moisson d° ; irrigation : a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Coutume des aspersions au matin de l'*amâchur*, et de la bouillie la nuit de l'*Yenneyr* ; bataille à coups de mottes d'herbes.

9° Ibuban :

Amasin. Labour : a. Addi u Lh'sen (dimanche) : irrigation : d° ; moisson : d° ; guerre : d°.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Labour : a. Wakrim Uâli ; moisson dès la remise du « vendredi » de sidi Mh'and.

Tugg Lkhayr. Labour : a. Bumellut' (dimanche) ; irrigations : a. Bihi u Addi ; moisson : a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Labour : a. Ali Wakrim : irrigation d° ; moisson : a. Lh'sen Wakrim et a. Âli Wakrim ; guerre : d°.

10° Iguntar. Labour : a. Lâsri (dimanche) irrigation : sacrifice à sidi Mh'nd : moisson : a. Lâsri, guerre : Ineqqacher.

11° Sekrat :

Amsgerdat. Labour : a. Urjdal (dimanche) ; Irrigation : a. Wârab. Coutume de la bouillie. Moisson : a. Wârab. Coutume de l'*amâchur* ; pas de lessive, pénitence.

F-umazir. Labour : a. H'emmo (dimanche) ; moisson : a. Çalh' ; irrigation : d°. Coutume d'*amâchur* comme ci-dessus, pour les a. Çalh' seulement.

Tagddut. Labour : a. Bihi (dimanche) ; moisson : a. u Lârj (dimanche) ; irrigations : a. Ukhezzaz ; pénitence : pour les a. Bihi le jour d'*amâchur*.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Labour : a. Musa (dimanche) ; moisson : a. Warir (dimanche) ; irrigation : d°. Coutume d'*amâchur*, pénitence des a. u Musa.

12° Ait Âbdella. Cette *taqbilt*, importante par la masse, la richesse, l'habitat, et nombreuse par ses *ikhs*-s, ne reconnaît à aucun de ces derniers l'*initium* en matière agricole. Seuls les a. Wanz'id', descendants de sidi Musa, le saint de la haute montagne, dispensaient le bon augure en matière d'expéditions militaires.

Une question se posait tout d'abord quant à la généralité de ces pratiques : généralité à laquelle porteraient à croire le genre de l'exposé qu'en font les ethnographes, et peut-être aussi la façon même qu'ont de les décrire les informateurs locaux. En second lieu, quel caractère leur prête-t-on : sacré ou profane ? Distinction ardue que seule pourrait sans doute éclairer une véritable analyse statistique et philologique. D'une pareille enquête, il n'est évidemment ici pas question. Quelques faits seulement ont été épinglés, à titre d'invite, en quelque sorte, à une recherche spécialisée.

La qualification d'un *ikhs* à inaugurer certaines activités du groupe, agricoles principalement, mais aussi guerrières, est établie dans tous les hauts cantons. En revanche, elle fait défaut en a. Âbdella et a. Musa, ce qui ne saurait étonner, vu l'histoire heurtée de ces deux groupes, vulnérables à l'étranger. L'*initium* peut donc se ranger, avec toutes sortes d'autres traits matériels ou spirituels, qu'on a relevés au passage, parmi les composantes de la physionomie montagnarde. Une différenciation se fait jour entre deux ou trois *ikhs*-s, ayant chacun vocation particulière. L'exemple le plus riche est offert par les a. Mh'nd, mais aussi par beaucoup de villages a. Lh'sen. Ces partages se font en effet aussi souvent à l'échelon du village qu'à celui du canton, sans qu'on puisse démêler les raisons de ces inégalités d'ampleur. Dans une certaine mesure donc, le facteur local, nourricier d'étroites particularisations, à l'échelle du hameau par exemple *lmud'a*, joue sur le fond constitué par une vie sociale et politique dont l'organe est la *taqbill*. Trait ancien, ou évolutions récentes ?

Il est très difficile de discerner les raisons du choix de tel ou tel *ikhs* dans telle ou telle compétence. Naturellement, le rôle de l'inexpliqué est ici, par définition, majeur. Cependant, le cas des Ih'mucheha en I. Geryun, des a. Ikru en Idma, des a. Bumellut' en Ibuban, montre que ce choix n'a rien à voir avec le prestige politique.

Il s'agit là, en effet, de descendants de populations vaincues. C'est plutôt l'idée de pouvoirs attachés à l'ancienneté dans le pays, l'idée de légitimité, qu'on évoque alors. Dans d'autres cas pourtant, rien de tel. Ce qui entre en jeu semble le vestige d'anciennes personnalités rituelles, devenues inexplicables. L'étiologie en est parfois cherchée, et donne lieu à des légendes. C'est le cas des Idma : il reste exceptionnel. Dans la plupart des cas, on peut seulement supposer les motifs de la vocation : antiquité, d'où légitimité (thème de l'autochtonie) ; sainteté, puissance, ou au contraire benoîte pauvreté. On touche certainement là un fond antique, mais fruste et presque inintelligible. Il n'en reste de concret qu'une notion d'inégale qualification entre *ikhs*-s.

Aussi indistinct est le sens prêté à cette pratique de l'*initium*. On en attend le bon augure : c'est le genre de bénéfice très vague qu'on prête aussi à d'autres cérémonies agraires, celles de l'*yenneyr*, de l'*amâchur* ou de cette *tafaska* au nom presque certainement méditerranéen (« la Pâque »). Mais sans plus. Ces usages sont qualifiés d'idolâtrie *açnâm* par leurs fidèles mêmes, qui savent fort bien et spontanément les distinguer des rites de l'orthodoxie, du culte des saints, ou des pratiques communales.

Il ne peut être ici question d'analyser l'aspect subjectif de ces pratiques. Entre elles d'ailleurs des différences éclatent. Les libations d'*ifyed'*, là où elles s'observent, doivent à la référence démonologique une précision et une vivacité caractéristiques. Que l'interprétation soit de bon aloi, c'est une autre question. En revanche, les batailles à coups de mottes de terre, de touffes d'orties, de cruches d'eau (1) ressortissent au jeu, et tendent à n'émouvoir en Seksawa que la jeunesse, comme notre carnaval. Ailleurs, au contraire, chez les Frûga par exemple, la cérémonie déchaîne, un jour durant, toute la communauté, et les aspersions se compliquent de joutes équestres. Sur ces usages, chacun a son opinion. Le superstitieux, le plaisantin, l'esprit fort, le faraud de village, le traditionaliste en ont une, chacun à sa façon, et sans

(1) Bonnes observations de F. Gorjon, Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc, *Bull. EPM*, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (pour une région toute proche de la nôtre).

manifestement qu'aucun d'eux ne se croie engagé par le groupe. Nuance importante. Il arrive que, défiant les enthousiasmes berbères de notre ethnologie, les populations arabes déploient une richesse de coutumes bien plus générales dans l'application, et plus chaudes de croyance, que nos montagnards (1). Il en est ainsi des feux de la nuit d'*amâchur* (ar. : le ᶜAchûrà) : les *choᶜâla* des Ud Bessebâᶜ font rougeoyer la plaine, tandis que les *tijuffa* des Seksawa, et surtout des Dwiran, sont évidemment plus rares et moins fréquentées. Cette fête, celle du Milâd prophétique et de l'Aid Lkbir ont d'ailleurs servi de traits d'union entre bien des rites indigènes et l'orthodoxie qui légitime. Ainsi les a. Abdella font des feux d'*amâchur* le rappel de ceux dont survécut miraculeusement Abraham, lorsqu'il y fut jeté par Nemrod. Les distributions de fruits secs, au moment où l'on met en train le labour, sont générales en Seksawa, mais teintées d'une nuance avouée de fantaisie et de gratuité : elles « font bien », sans plus. De deux cantons voisins des Nfifa, dans le Dir, l'un, l'Amejnas, ne connaît guère qu'une infime minorité à pratiquer cette coutume ; et celle-ci, tout à côté, dans l'Wâd l-Ibûr, rencontre, sous le nom pittoresque de *jawjaw*, une application universelle et chaleureuse.

On trouve donc, de *laqbill* en *laqbill*, de village en village, pour ces différents ordres de faits, les degrés de généralité, d'intensité affective et de coloration en « sacré » les plus divers. Mais jamais ce degré n'est tout à fait celui du rite. Jamais non plus il n'est seulement celui de la simple amusette folklorique, comme naguère encore c'était le cas chez nous des feux de la saint Jean.

Ce qui frappe, en tout cas, ou aurait dû frapper les observateurs, là où règnent des pratiques d'*initium*, c'est justement l'antithèse entre l'incertitude de leur contenu et les nettes divisions fonctionnelles qu'elles évoquent çà et là. Elles ne sont plus en elles-mêmes aujourd'hui qu'une masse hétéroclite de faits en rupture de contexte. Ce qui demeure d'elles, c'est justement l'inégale répartition qu'elles traduisent entre groupes, ou, à l'intérieur du groupe, entre *ikhs-s*. Leur usure extrême, souvent parvenue — mais pas toujours — au stade du folklore, souvent aussi gardant quelque accent rituel, décourage l'interprétation d'ensemble. A tout le moins ces inégalités dans la constance ou l'effacement, la généralité ou la rareté, laissent-elles entrevoir sous elles deux choses. D'abord une pluralité de personnes. Et d'autre part, entre ces personnes, certains rapports de mieux en mieux observés à

(1) C'est évidemment une impression, que devrait recouper l'analyse statistique.

mesure qu'on pénètre dans l'intimité montagnarde. Ces rapports enfin sont peut-être le vestige d'antiques liaisons entre la structure des groupes, la vie agraire, et une division du travail magico-religieux entre les sujets collectifs. Mais le vestige s'efface sous les reconstructions.

On arrive ici à une idée très importante — on le verra — pour la suite de cette recherche. Une énumération complète a été nécessaire pour l'établir. Faudra-t-il alourdir le présent chapitre par d'autres monographies ? On nous permettra de renvoyer aux publications où nous avons traité de deux sujets dont le développement viendrait logiquement à cette place.

Nous avons d'abord montré (1) à quel point l'agriculture en sec des Seksawa contraste avec leur horticulture irriguée, par les liens qu'elle conserve avec la flore spontanée. L'alimentation ne s'est pas complètement détachée de la cueillette. Le luxe de plantes comestibles, révélateur d'un effort d'appropriation de l'homme au milieu naturel, tranche sur la monotonie des variétés cultivées. Celles-ci ont subi l'influence de l'histoire. En particulier, il est probable que le maïs, à partir du XVIe siècle, s'est substitué comme sole de printemps au mil ; il a fait reculer cette antique culture africaine, liée à l'emploi de la houe. D'autre part, on constate une curieuse inversion des caractères de la céréaliculture et du maraîchage. Tandis que l'orge est traitée intensivement en irrigué, le navet concurrence le maïs dans l'assolement. Si le village paysan n'a véritablement pas de potager, il ne connaît, si l'on peut dire, que des « grandes cultures » en modèle réduit. Une telle recherche était nécessaire à l'intelligence de cette société. Car la vie végétale entoure la vie de l'homme et du citoyen. Que d'échanges entre l'un et l'autre de ces deux règnes ! Il est impossible d'assigner, dans ce milieu botanique, fût-il défendu par la solitude ou l'altitude, une part qui soit restée entièrement soustraite à l'empreinte du « fils d'Adam ». Malgré les démarcations soigneuses qu'opèrent la technique, la morale et l'histoire, nature et société s'entrepénètrent.

Mais l'œuvre du groupe ne s'exprime pas seulement dans ces rapports. D'autres, plus médiats, plus abstraits, se font jour (2). Le principal est celui que traduit le mouvement de l'argent. Cette société est profondément et anciennement monétarisée. L'exportation de l'amande et d'autres produits montagnards est attestée

(1) Un glossaire notarial..., *R. afr.* 1950.
(2) J. Berque, Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental, *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

depuis au moins deux siècles. Elle a sans doute équilibré le déficit alimentaire du Haut-Atlas, sa dépendance de la plaine, par l'importation d'argent. Mais cela provoquait sans doute une inflation paradoxale qui avivait, en ce milieu déjà si porté au débat mercantile, les inégalités sociales et l'agilité de la vie contractuelle. Une économie complémentaire, et, à certains égards, rivale de l'économie paysanne jouait ainsi. Du débat entre l'une et l'autre les conséquences seront graves sur la structure des groupes comme sur les psychologies individuelles.

[P.142]

III

COMPARTIMENTS ET NIVEAUX D'UN SYSTÈME RURAL (1)

ROUTINES OU TECHNIQUES ?

Le premier coup d'œil sur l'agriculture Seksawa y relève maints traits d'avancement. La réfection des terres s'y poursuit solidairement avec l'administration de l'eau. Un rapport étroit est perçu entre l'épuisement de l'humus par la plante et son renouvellement par les fumures. Celles-ci font l'objet d'un soin d'autant plus soutenu que l'usage de la submersion des planches et une tendance à l'abus du module disponible délavent constamment les sols. Expérimentalement, le plus ou moins d'engrais ou d'eau réagit à vue d'œil sur la germination. Toute cette horticulture se place sous le signe du labeur, du courage. Il ne pouvait en être autrement dans un pays de canaux et de gradins, pays de la terre rare, et de la pierre domestiquée.

Différence radicale avec l'agriculture en sec. Une évaluation du nombre d'heures d'activité annuelle demandées par l'un ou l'autre régime apporterait sans aucun doute des éléments décisifs. On aurait là une traduction quantitative de la différence des rythmes humains. Mais elle est impraticable dans le stade actuel de notre connaissance du Maroc (2). Bien qu'on ne puisse la

(1) Cette idée de *compartiments* et de *niveaux* procède de l'hypothèse que le système agricole marocain n'est pas un ; qu'il y a entre ses différentes branches divergences ou décalages. Il me sera difficile de préciser ce qui, dans cette hypothèse, m'appartient, ou revient à mon ami J. Couleau, ingénieur agronome. Dès 1946, en effet, il avançait, dans un travail que nous écrivions en collaboration, l'idée que, contrairement à notre propre système paysan, la céréaliculture et l'élevage indigènes dans les plaines marocaines ne procédaient d'aucune synthèse, mais en somme se développaient indépendamment l'une de l'autre. Cette notion féconde chemina dans mes propres recherches. J'ai tout lieu de croire que les récentes analyses de J. Couleau dans son ouvrage en préparation sur *L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès* reprendront cette hypothèse dans un grand luxe d'observations agronomiques et sociales.

(2) Et pourtant comme elle serait utile au moment où approche la « mise en eau » des immenses superficies dominées, dans le Tadla ou les Doukkala par les nouveaux barrages. Si ces recherches semblent encore inentamées au Maroc, on peut se référer à un milieu géographique, l'Espagne du *regadío*, où sont données les précisions suivantes. En sec, moyenne d'une personne occupée à l'hectare ; en irrigué, 9 de plus. Naturellement, la productivité alimentaire

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

chiffrer, il est hors de doute qu'une énorme aggravation de densité caractérise, par rapport à l'économie de plaine, celle de la montagne.

Une concentration de travail et de vie, la volonté marquant tout, une agronomie délibérée, aiguisant les pratiques ancestrales d'une pensée capable d'évaluer l'action des facteurs et des causes — de tels aspects sont fréquents et décisifs. Mais ils ne s'observent pas uniformément dans tous les cantons. Si l'hydraulique fournit un critère commode de classement de ces petites sociétés, d'autres facteurs y concourent qu'on ne retrouve pas partout au même degré. Leur réunion idéale ferait de ce montagnard un être économique parfaitement adapté à son milieu, et qui en exprimerait, par l'élevage et le labour, l'arbre et le jardin, toutes les ressources possibles. Mais il n'en est rien. Adaptation du groupe à son milieu naturel, réalisation d'équilibres, mise en œuvre d'une économie propice à la grande histoire que postuleraient d'autres aptitudes de ces sociétés : tout cela en est resté à un niveau mesquin, précaire, ou plutôt s'est consolidé dans la régression. Pourquoi ?

CRÉATION DE SOLS, COLLECTE D'EAUX

Le travail de base, en montagne, est la conservation et même la création des sols. Il se confond avec une autre tâche essentielle, celle de la régularisation des eaux. Examinons donc simultanément ces deux activités, que ne distingue pas l'agronomie indigène.

Dans un tout autre milieu, celui des plateaux présahariens, péristyle bordant au S. ce monde méditerranéen que la Romania fit énergiquement progresser en Afrique, de telles techniques ont été remarquablement décrites (1). Sera-ce confusion géographique, ou fausse et paradoxale assimilation historique que de se reporter à cette description avant de passer à celle du Haut-Atlas ? Suivons J. Baradez lorsqu'il rejette en tant que norme fondamentale de l'économie d'irrigation la question des isohyètes. D'une part, en effet, rien, dans l'état actuel, ne nous fixe avec assez de précision sur la hauteur des précipitations en montagne. Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est qu'elles *doivent* être beaucoup plus abondantes que dans

est mise en rapport avec cette densité de l'occupation humaine : la valeur en calories de la production en irrigué est à peu près proportionnelle. Cf. José Terrero, El regadio en la España peninsular, *Estudios geograficos*, n° 39, mai 1950, p. 254. En Algérie, le nombre de journées annuelles d'emploi est évalué en sec de 14 à 18 (céréales) ; en irrigué de 21 à 25 (céréales), à 175 (arbres fruitiers), à 175 (maraîchage). Cf. *Compte rendu de la journée technique du 10 mars 1951 de l'Association des anciens élèves de l'I. A. A.*, p. 10.

(1) J. Baradez, *Fossatum Africae*, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

J: Berque MW11 Shluh

le Dir, à Imintanout. Et pourtant ce n'est pas le cas pour Taddert, en Haut Dwiran, où des mensurations ont été faites, dans un domaine contigu aux Seksawa (1). L'étonnante variété écologique de cette face de l'Atlas doit enseigner sur ce point la prudence. Le compartimentage y descend parfois au terroir, au « recoin ». En plaine même, c'est bien moins la quantité d'eau que sa distribution en cours de campagne qui prévaut. D'une façon générale, la tranche de 250 à 300 mm., théoriquement requise pour la céréaliculture en sec, se retrouve à coup sûr sur les hauts terrains que parsèment les cultures *albur* des Seksawa. Mais là même d'autres facteurs interviennent : l'enneigement par exemple, l'hygrométrie, la ventilation, l'exposition. D'autre part, dans l'économie de vallée, c'est l'emploi des eaux de ruissellement qui compte, plus largement encore que celui des eaux de source.

Celles-ci jouent un rôle dans la saison sèche. Mais leur débit reste hors de comparaison avec le flot que charrient, de façon discontinue en été, continue d'octobre à avril, d'énormes collecteurs : le lit du fleuve, ses affluents, et toutes les ravines qui s'y jettent. Les sources, et surtout celles qui jaillissent de résurgences dans le lit lui-même, apportent, malgré leur baisse sensible l'été, un appoint vital. Ainsi de la source dite de Sidi Mh'and dans le lit du Seksawa en aval de T'abya. L'essentiel n'en réside pas moins, et par la masse de vie qu'elle dispense, et par l'intérêt corrélatif que lui portent les techniques indigènes, dans la collecte des eaux sauvages (2).

La proportion entre ces deux ordres d'apports est difficile à estimer. L'optique locale les distingue mal. Tout pour elle est affaire de « ravines », *ighezralen*, plur. de *ighzer*. Elle apprécie à leur valeur les sources, que magnifie souvent une légende de saint. Mais, chose curieuse, elle ne les met pas en rapport avec la naissance des rivières. C'est ainsi qu'il est impossible de faire préciser d'où sort le Seksawa. Question oiseuse sur le plan de l'objectivité. Incertitude instructive pour peu qu'on s'attache à serrer l'interprétation indigène afin d'en tirer tout ce qu'elle peut apporter

(1) J. Dresch, *Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous*, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

(2) E.-F. Gautier a consacré un magnifique chapitre à la circulation superficielle des eaux dans *Le Sahara*, 1928, pp. 71 sq. Mais il appartenait à J. Despois de souligner l'importance de cette irrigation par eaux accidentelles, complètement négligée par J. Brunhes, et qui joue le rôle principal en Afrique du Nord. J. Despois, *La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe*, 1940, pp. 292 sq. ; communication au Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, sur L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord. Exemple des plaines du Hodna, *Actes du Congrès*, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq. et *Le Hodna*, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

d'indices. Ce qui compte le plus c'est l'irrigation à base d'eaux accidentelles. Son rôle devient vital dès la fin de l'été, dès l'hiver même, pour peu qu'il soit sec, comme ce fut le cas en 1952. Or ce flux charrié par les ravines se perdrait en mascarets fangeux et dévastateurs sans l'action de l'homme. La tâche va donc consister à étaler le flot à la fois dans l'espace, d'où gain de superficie, et dans le temps, d'où ralentissement du débit et meilleures possibilités d'absorption.

Ce travail est permanent ou saisonnier, ou même seulement épisodique. Les torrents ne sont jamais pérennes, si ce n'est dans leur plus haute section : ainsi du Seksawa jusqu'à Z'init'. Survient l'orage, *rrâda*. Il met brusquement en eau les innombrables ravines de la montagne. C'est la crue. On l'attend de longue main. Une dérivation a été pratiquée à un point favorable du lit. Toutes les rainures, tous les plans du sol, naturels ou artificiels, concourent à la même tâche. Une science consommée des pentes et des niveaux se manifeste. Elle coupe le sol en ados, en alvéoles, pour guider le flot, utiliser ses moindres gouttes. A cette spécialité proprement montagnarde, le piémont oppose la sienne, celle des « épandages » de crue *lfid'*, et plus rarement *engi*, plur. *angyun*, et celle de l'organisation de l'impluvium *lmejbed*, *iriq*. La forme majeure n'en est pas moins celle du « canal » *larga*, plur. *lir"ggin*, naissant d'une « retenue » *uggug* aménagée sur le lit du torrent, ou, plus rarement, d'un « bassin » *chcharij* ou *afraw*, où dégoutte une source. Complexe est d'ailleurs le rôle du bassin : accumulateur, il est aussi partiteur, de même que le canal se divise en sous-multiples jusqu'à l'infime dépression pratiquée entre deux ados, et combine ainsi adduction et répartition.

La montagne connaît un certain nombre d'autres types. Il n'y a pas à vrai dire de rigole de ruissellement qui coupe une pente pour drainer les eaux d'averse. La brusquerie des précipitations en montagne, la déclivité des pentes causeraient alors des dégâts qui rendraient inutilisable le conduit.

Là où il n'y a pas trace de lit permanent, où la toponymie ne mentionne plus, fût-ce à titre d'hyperbole, ni *asif* ni *lwâd*, la moindre déclivité « ravine » *ighzer*, « mare » *lamd'a* ou « creux » quelconque *talal*, sert à l'aménagement d'un trou d'eau au confluent des lignes de pente. Ainsi en Ibuban. Enfin, dans le lit lui-même est parfois opéré le captage de ce que nous appellerions des résurgences. On creuse un puits, que complètent des galeries souterraines, ou l'on bâtit un mur qui touche par ses fondations à la nappe souterraine : c'est ce que les a. Abdella appellent *ah'riq*, plur. *ih'riqen*.

L'optique indigène ne voit pas de différence, mais seulement des degrés entre ces méthodes. Pour elle, il ne s'agit pas de distinguer, comme nous faisons, entre ces ressources selon leurs origines : cours permanent, ou souterrain, ruissellement accidentel, source, accumulation, résurgence. Ce qui compte c'est la question des sols et des plans qui concentrent, de façon plus ou moins abondante ou précaire, les eaux venues on ne sait d'où, mais toujours, plus ou moins directement, du ciel. Cette homogénéité d'origine se double, dans la pratique, d'une homogénéité d'utilisation. Pour le fellah, il n'y a qu'une différence d'intensité, ou plutôt de rythme entre l'irrigation permanente et l'accidentelle. La question des sols et des plans, primordiale en amont du bassin, le redevient en aval. Bassin de réception et bassin d'épandage sont symétriques. Ils ne se distinguent qu'en ce que le second, où prédomine l'ouvrage de l'homme, est infiniment plus concentré. Ce trait n'est pas négligeable dans une économie où l'initiative du groupe adhère étroitement au cadre naturel. La technique rurale, corrélative de la structure sociale, s'adapte, jusque dans le détail, à l'espace où vit le groupe. Et en même temps, elle le façonne.

On mesure dès lors à quel point collecte de l'eau et création de sols ne font qu'un. Le traitement du problème mécanique de la pente entraîne automatiquement qu'on cherche à étaler le débit sur les plus larges méplats possibles : naturels s'il se peut ; mais aussi artificiels. Si la pente est trop forte, quasi verticale, on l'entaille d'escaliers et de banquettes. Des lacis de surface arable s'étireront alors en courbes de niveau, se superposant les uns aux autres par des murettes de pierre sèche ou des talus : *imaran*, plur. de *imiri* dans le premier cas, *igenzwan* ou *igenzalen*, plur. de *agenza* dans le second. C'est là une forme fréquente. La plus ample application qu'on en puisse ici citer est celle d'Agersili. Il n'est pas rare que plus d'une centaine de degrés, comme par exemple à Asikis, édifient jusqu'à mi-pente un escalier de géants. Cette configuration résout du même coup ce que nos ingénieurs appellent le problème de la colature. Mais elle le résout mal. Bien que l'humidité excédentaire descende de gradin en gradin, ou s'accumule dans les drains que constituent les murs de pierre, et subisse par surcroît une intense évaporation, le lessivage des terres est inévitable. Le rendement est donc relativement faible malgré l'eau et l'engrais.

Ainsi, donc, lutte contre la vitesse du flot, elle-même résultant de la pente, donc aménagement de la pente en paliers gradués le plus largement possible. Lutte et contre les fatalités météoriques, et contre la pénurie de sols arables : les deux choses se conjuguent.

Et comme, dans le cas le plus fréquent, c'est de ressources non permanentes, mais brusques et violentes qu'il s'agit, tout ce travail nécessite, à côté d'une stratégie permanente de l'eau, des tactiques dont la sagacité étonne.

Tel est le caractère propre de l'hydraulique montagnarde. Elle ressortit presque tout entière à cette technique des eaux « imprévues » sur laquelle J. Despois a justement attiré l'attention. Dans quelle mesure dès lors faut-il, comme J. Dresch (1), distinguer une irrigation de dérivation et une irrigation d'accumulation ? Certes, l'accumulation des eaux est une notion qui n'est jamais absente. Même sur un cours intermittent, l'obstacle léger constitué par l'*uggug* commence à créer un petit réservoir. Ailleurs ce réservoir prend forme et fonction : humble « trou d'eau », *afraw* ou véritable « bassin », *chcharij*. Mais la différence réside moins dans la réception de l'eau à l'arrivée que dans sa distribution. Que l'eau arrive à l'état de flux continu, ou intermittent, ou sous forme de résurgence, ou de concentration du ruissellement d'une pente, le problème n'est en somme et toujours qu'un problème de collecte. A la sortie, au contraire, une différence radicale oppose le débit continu — évidemment concevable lorsque la réception l'est elle-même — et le débit discontinu, qui vide périodiquement le réservoir. Dans le premier cas, le rôle de celui-ci n'est que de hausser le plan d'eau, tandis que dans le second, ce rôle se double d'un autre : celui de concentrer des ressources temporaires en vue d'une utilisation massive, quoique rapide. Question de niveau dans le premier cas. Dans le second, question de débit. Accumulateur dans un cas, partiteur dans l'autre, le bassin est à la fois l'un et l'autre. La distinction entre les deux opérations serait donc subtile, si tout l'accent ne portait sur la seconde dans l'optique locale. Fort experte à recueillir à la surface du sol le complément d'eaux que la pluie refuse, la méthode indigène révèle infiniment plus de compétence et d'opiniâtreté à en assurer la distribution. Elle déploie à cette occasion des merveilles d'industrie et de malice. On sent qu'elle s'ingénie à raffiner, à subtiliser s'il le faut, pour transformer en débits à répartition infinitésimale l'aubaine irrégulière des eaux. Elle veut faire de l'équité sociale avec des hasards naturels.

(1) J. Dresch, *Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas*, 1941, pp. 12 sq., ouvrage dont la cartographie remarquable, autant que les commentaires, ont constitué pour notre propre recherche un cadre géographique et un utile moyen de recoupement. Dans le même ordre d'idées, citons, du même auteur, en collaboration avec J. de Lepinay, le guide sur *Le massif du Toubkal*, 1938, pp. 55 sq.

Une centaine de séguias représentent, pour les Seksawa, une réalisation d'une ampleur considérable, bien qu'elles ne soient que très rarement maçonnées. La Talh'archt des a. Âbdella franchit plusieurs aqueducs, dont l'un d'une hauteur de 8 m. Elle est si large que chaque année, au moment du curage, le vieil *amghar* Ah'med u Lah'sen y faisait flotter, de la prise à la terminaison, un fagot d'épines sans qu'il accrochât nulle part. La chose est restée proverbiale. Parfois, le long d'une paroi schisteuse, la conduite est menée en surplomb, franchit des tunnels sous roche. Les saints mêmes s'y emploient. Mais ni la prise, simple barrage de pierre sèche, ni le tracé, qui serpente capricieusement, car on laisse le courant faire à sa guise, ni le franchissement des creux, souvent réduit à une simple « gouttière » de bois, *lqend'ert*, ni le bassin de distribution *chcharij*, lequel se réduit fréquemment à un trou non bétonné *afraw* — rien de tout cela n'est durable. Une infiltration favorisée par le choc axial de l'eau sur des parois concaves, l'absorption par les plantes insuffisamment faucardées, des pertes nombreuses enfin dans un système dont les vannes sont faites et défaites à la pioche, avec un peu de boue : autant de déficits continus, dont l'addition a tôt fait de tarir le fluide. Aussi les séguias abandonnées sont-elles nombreuses, en Moyen Seksawa notamment, dans le secteur maudit qu'habitèrent jadis les a. Gasa. On peut suivre, de loin en loin, comme fossilisé sur la pente, leur réseau pour toujours stérile. La décadence des champs, la pétrification, si l'on peut dire, de tout le paysage, sanctionnent la négligence. Rien n'est plus mélancolique. L'indigène évite de revivifier des lieux selon lui démoniaques. Il ne s'acharne pas à refaire. Il cède la place.

Grande est donc la fragilité de toute cette infrastructure agricole. Elle ne tient qu'au prix d'un soin constant. Il faut racommoder à tout moment ce qui n'est pas bâti pour durer et qu'il faut pourtant faire durer. Véritable tonneau des Danaïdes où s'engouffre le travail des générations ! Rien n'est plus propre à conférer à cette humanité, en même temps que la notion de l'effort, celle de sa précarité. Un acte de volonté permanent est nécessaire à toute survie. Mais cette volonté se dépense souvent à faux, dans la vanité de perpétuelles reprises.

Même imperfection dans les procédés de captage. Le vocabulaire, si riche en matière de végétaux, reflète cette médiocrité. On ne désigne le plus souvent les terres, *akal*, que par la couleur. A peine quelques dénominations telles que *ilqqi*, « argile », *rrmel*, « sable », *afur* ou *afza*, « calcaire ». Ce qui est plus grave dans la pratique, c'est que l'idée de la perméabilité ou de l'imperméabilité

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

des roches ne soit ni conçue ni mise en action. C'est à peine si l'on remarque qu'une certaine terre, dite *aqeryan*, employée comme revêtement d'un bassin, ne « boit » plus l'eau après une journée ou deux. Tout au contraire la terre rougeoyante, dite *amachcho* (1), « terre de chat », a toujours très soif. Non seulement donc on ne bétonne pas, sauf s'il s'agit d'une construction intégrale en pierre et chaux, mais le creusement des puits et la recherche de l'eau en profondeur n'obéissent qu'à des routines irrationnelles et, qui pis est, d'un empirisme lui-même malhabile. Chaque puisatier a ses procédés pour détecter s'il est arrivé à « la tête de l'eau » : succession d'un gravier pulvérulent au sable, apparition de « racines » d'eau sur les parois si l'on continue à creuser, chaleur croissante, extinction d'une flamme d'allumette avec intense production de fumée, etc. La croyance est que l'eau est retenue par une dalle, au-dessous de laquelle se trouve l'habitat de serpents, eux-mêmes responsables de la chaleur !

Au fond du puits hasardeux, au flanc de la roche privilégiée, le filet d'eau sourd où et comme il veut. Nulle notion de niveaux auxquels doive obéir le profil de la rigole. Le piquetage est fait par tâtonnements, avec contre-épreuve par le cheminement spontané de l'eau — d'où la scrupuleuse fantaisie du premier tracé. Enfin on a recours à l'étranger. La conscience de cette médiocrité est telle que, pour tout travail délicat, on fasse appel, à grands frais, aux artisans de Marrakech, dont la corporation se recrute de l'autre côté de l'Atlas, dans le Todgha et les oasis. En matière d'hydraulique, comme peut-être pour certaines formes architecturales, le Haouz et le Sous sont tributaires des *h'arral'in*. Manifestement, l'ingéniosité des montagnards s'est plutôt axée sur l'adduction et la distribution que sur la création de l'eau. Je sais bien que cette « création » pose des problèmes difficiles, où l'agronomie européenne et son « génie rural » ont perdu en art de l'utilisation empirique et surtout de l'organisation collective ce qu'ils gagnaient dans le domaine du kilowatt. La présente analyse, s'attachant à jauger autant que possible à leur exact niveau les diverses parties d'un système économique, se devait d'en souligner réussites et imperfections. L'hydraulique indigène de montagne, tout comme celle de piémont, est plus un art des plans et des surfaces que de ces profondeurs qu'atteignent couramment les hommes des oasis.

(1) Telle serait donc l'origine de l'appellation Tizi Umachcho, à mettre en rapports avec la teinte caractéristique du permotrias.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

EMPLOI DE L'EAU

Nous voici au stade où l'eau, quelle qu'en soit l'origine, est concentrée dans le réservoir, pour en repartir à point nommé. Elle en sort par un canal, qui dessert un ou plusieurs quartiers *tamazirt*

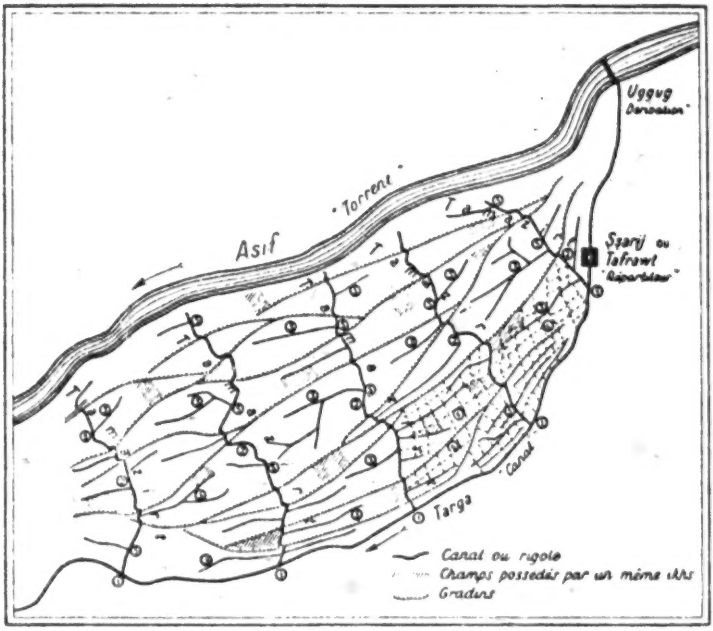


FIG. 7. — Schéma de l'irrigation d'un terroir de vallée

Du *ççarij*, ou *chcharij* « répartiteur », part le « canal » *targa*. Il se divise en « rigoles de distributions », *asaru*, 2, plur. *isura*, lesquelles partent de « prises principales », *açder*, plur. *icdar* ou *içdran*, ou encore *ighin*, plur. *ighaniwin*, 1. Sur ces rigoles fonctionnent de petites vannes de terre, *taghamut*, 5, plur. *tighuma*, donnant sur les « rigoles versantes », *isura*, 3. Des planches d'irrigation, *tisiril*, *tisaratin*, se répartissent elles-mêmes en une ultime subdivision agraire, le « carré d'irrigation » *uzun*, plur. *uzunen*, 4.

ou *lighmert*, chacun s'y rattachant par sa « prise » particulière *açder* ou *ighin*. Celle-ci alimente une rigole d'amenée, qui, par des prises secondaires, alimente d'autres rigoles. Ces rigoles sont dites « de distribution » ou « versantes », selon qu'elles donnent, directement ou non, sur les planches à irriguer. Ce sont les *asaru*, plur. *isura*. En fait, toute une arborescence liquide se ramifie depuis le grand canal, branché sur un réservoir, jusqu'aux dernières rainures. Là

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

des « ados » *abadu*, plur. *ibuda*, déterminent en fin de compte le petit quadrilatère de niveau, irrigable par submersion, la « planche » *uz'un*.

Naturellement, la répartition de l'eau entre ayants-droit appelle un fractionnement infini. Elle s'opère presque toujours selon un rythme dans le temps. Le cycle est d'ampleur variable selon les groupes : semaine, dizaine ou quinzaine de jours. Il comprend ainsi un certain nombre d'unités de base dites souvent *liferday* (sing. *laferdil*), « la journée entière » ou « la demi-journée », distribuées en « parts », *lawala*, plur. *liwaliwin*. Pour chaque *lawala*, il y a une multitude d'ayants-droit, qui ne bénéficient chacun que d'une fraction ou sous-fraction. L'évaluation en est faite parfois à l'aide d'instruments tels qu'une sorte de clepsydre, dite *lal'l'açl*, ou encore par jaugeage dans le réservoir.

Mais comment agit cette eau distribuée de façon si sagace, une fois parvenue à l'échelon d'utilisation ? Là encore, décalage brusque de la technique. A l'aboutissement, on ne trouve plus que le procédé de la submersion. Ses lettres d'authenticité africaine sont d'ailleurs immémoriales, puisque c'est la méthode même qu'ont pratiquée, jusqu'à une époque récente, les paysans du Nil (1). La longue saturation du sol et de la plante par l'eau est jugée ici le seul mode efficace. On pratique une première inondation, préalable au labour : c'est l'*adunkal*. Puis une seconde, destinée à « casser les mottes » : c'est le *lirz'i wul'l'ib*. Puis d'autres « d'abreuvement », *isswi*. Proches de la plaine, les a. Âbdella en pratiquent trois pour l'orge, ce qui est conforme aux données de notre agronomie expérimentale du Sud. Mais plus haut, les a. Lh'sen et surtout les Idma les multiplient aussi souvent que possible : jusqu'à 10 et même 12 fois. Peut-être parce que le fractionnement du module est chez eux plus poussé, chose difficilement vérifiable en dehors de l'investigation spécialisée. Mais bien plutôt par croyance aux vertus de l'eau. La foi en cette panacée durement acquise, merveilleusement distribuée, est si vive, que, dans les lits largement étalés, comme en a. Lh'sen ou Sekrat, se pratique sur un terroir de cailloux et graviers, une sorte de forcerie de plantes sous inondation permanente : cela s'applique au lin alimentaire, aux prai-

(1) J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 1903, p. 310, citant divers travaux. Voir surtout *Description de l'Egypte*, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq. et le livre récent de Muh'ammad Fahîm, *Uçûl az-zirâca*, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. Le manuel de Rivière et Lecq, *Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique*. 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., marque les effets nocifs d'une irrigation mal régie, les modules précis nécessaires à chaque culture (p. 193).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ries de fauche, et parfois à l'orge (1). Véritable céréaliculture en rizière. Le procédé est dit *lanuri*. Mais l'abus de l'eau entraîne maintes conséquences fâcheuses, pour les sols qu'elle délite, et pour la plante qu'elle étiole. Il est vrai qu'à côté d'une optique de rareté, sensible même en ces montagnes, et qui explique dans une certaine mesure que toute mise en eau soit fête et bombance, et se complaise dans l'excès, une économie compétitive incite chaque attributaire à disposer à fond et jusqu'au bout de sa part lorsqu'elle lui échoit. C'est l'ivresse succédant à la soif.

Une telle irrigation, tantôt prodigue, tantôt insuffisante, impose, du fait de son incertitude, de harassantes tactiques. Elle contribue ainsi à forger l'énergie de ces sociétés. Mais, dénuée d'installations profondes, liée aux hasards de l'orage, accidentelle dans sa matière, elle reste une technique d'expédients. Son caractère hasardeux que n'a pu pallier, mais qu'aggrave le luxe de la répartition, limite sa valeur créatrice. Elle s'inspire d'une magnifique équité sociale. Mais elle relève plus de l'astuce que des traitements de fond. Elle fait alterner la satiété et la privation. Elle réduit le rendement de ses disponibilités mêmes, et démoralise une gigantesque dépense de volonté et d'efficacité collectives.

A cette précarité, tantôt triomphante et repue, en période d'abondance, tantôt souffrante, en période de sécheresse, un coup fatal peut être porté par la pénurie ou par l'aisance de terres. La première dessèche les rigoles, efface les gradins, ne laisse sur place que des reliques : ruines habitées par les démons, troncs noirs et convulsés des anciennes plantations : ainsi dans l'ancien domaine des a. Gasa. Mais l'aisance inflige les mêmes désastres (2). C'est ainsi que l'acquisition de labours en plaine, formule infiniment plus rentable, et répondant peut-être d'ailleurs à un atavisme montagnard, a visiblement réagi sur les pentes qui entourent Z'init'. En même temps qu'à l'ouverture de nouvelles possibilités en plaine, cette décadence répondait à celle du lieu d'asile, où jadis de nombreuses familles réfugiées devaient braver un siège indéfini. Partout, aujourd'hui, les banquettes ont fondu sur les parois. Les encoches qu'on voyait autrefois très haut sur les flancs

(1) Déjà observé par E. Doutté en Gund'afa, *En tribu*, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. aussi J. Dresch, *op. laud.*, sur le Toubkal, p. 59.

(2) Quand nous serons plus armés pour approfondir les notions subjectives qui découlent de ces traits d'économie, on sera peut-être amené à analyser la notion particulière que cette société se fait de la « mesure » : c'est la vie de l'horticulteur sur gradins lorsqu'il échappe aux inconvénients comme aux profits de l'oppression. Autre notion importante, dans cet ordre d'idées : la publicité du champ, exposé aux regards de la commune, mais qui ne doit pas exciter l'envie ni le « mauvais œil ». D'où, à certains égards, la disposition du terroir.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

du Tamjlocht et du Mzawt, accrochent à peine l'ombre verticale de midi.

Le facteur historique, le facteur psychologique ressortent à plein de cet exemple privilégié. Mais d'autres causes, moins liées à l'événement, agissent aussi. Le déboisement, par exemple, la ruine des sols. Un contraste éclate entre la vallée principale et celles de Taddert et des a. Lh'sen, qui l'encadrent à l'O. et à l'E. Pour des raisons difficiles à discerner, le terreau des pentes a ici mieux résisté que là. Il reste couvert d'une petite brousse buissonneuse, et de plantes de pacage, qui ont ailleurs disparu. La terre est demeurée plus riche, et n'affecte pas, de loin, ce luisant poli qui se fait jour entre les arbres du Mzawt. La décadence des sols et la ruine des hauts champs sont manifestes dans la vallée principale. En amont de Lalla Aziza, cimetière d'amandiers. En aval, côté Imt'ddan notamment, abandon visible des champs en balcon qui montaient aux deux tiers de la crête, et des plaques d'*albur* sur les hautes croupes. Une couleur du sol, une végétation différente, des « rideaux » caractéristiques marquent encore ces places. On y lit les effets d'un déboisement ancien, qui a sans doute une cause déterminée. Il y a eu sans doute jeu accumulé de facteurs naturels et humains pour ruiner cet axe historique des Seksawa. Mais au delà des causes individuelles, il en est une permanente : la vulnérabilité du système. Ni banquettes, ni barrages de cailloux et de branches, ni rigoles de terre, ne résistent à un moment de faiblesse ou d'oubli. La perte des hauts pacages entraîne aussitôt, par la raréfaction du bétail, donc des fumures, la stérilité du sol. Les discordes internes engendrent immédiatement, par l'abandon des rigoles, la sécheresse. Ce système savant, mais posé plus qu'ancré sur le sol des aïeux, subit alors la rançon de sa précarité : il meurt sans même laisser de grandes traces. Cette horticulture ne subsiste que d'exception. Logée dans un cadre éternel qui nous fait voir la permanence où il n'y a qu'ingéniosité, elle est esclave, en même temps que maîtresse de l'homme.

UN GÉNIE RÉPARTITEUR

Collecte ; irrigation : entre les deux, une phase d'accent purement social, celle de la répartition. Et d'autant plus essentielle que le milieu révèle à cette occasion une éblouissante, une exorbitante virtuosité. On distingue trois styles au moins.

La première méthode, la plus liée à l'intimité montagnarde, est celle de la distribution gentilice. Négligeant les pertes par infiltration, fuites, évaporation, elle conduit l'eau à tous les champs

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'un même *ikhs*, fussent-ils éloignés les uns des autres. Et ils le sont en règle générale. Elle saute donc les vastes entre-deux qui les séparent. Elle est discontinue dans l'espace. Elle fait alterner dans le temps le tour de chacun des *ikhs*, et le fait revenir selon une périodicité particulière à chaque groupe. Ce rythme est naturellement fonction de l'abondance du débit attendu, du nombre des *ikhs* et de préférences locales pour telle ou telle série.

1° Le dernier village vers l'aval à appliquer ce système est Tuz'z'umt. A Tuz'z'umt, en effet, et pour celle du moins des deux séguias qui lui est propre (la Targa n-Z'alt, venue d'Agawz), la répartition s'opère en 12 tours d'un jour chacun (de l'*'açr* à l'*'açr*) allottis entre les *ikhs*-s. L'autre séguia, la gigantesque Talh'archt, commune à tous les a. Âbdella, obéit à d'autres principes. Mais à partir de Tuz'z'umt vers l'amont, domine la répartition gentilice.

En voici des exemples frappants, empruntés au Haut Seksawa.

2° Il y a en Iguntar 9 séguias. Soit, d'amont en aval :

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

Le tour d'irrigation est déterminé « par tirage au sort », *s-tekchchut't'*, en présence de toute la *jemâa*, entre les membres représentant chacun des *ikhs*-s. Ce tirage a lieu chaque année. La durée des tours est proportionnelle à une superficie évaluée en longueurs de roseaux, et dont le comput est pédiodiquement rajusté. Un vieux document — telle est du moins son apparence et l'induction qu'autorise son contenu, car il n'est pas daté — mentionne probablement le dernier de ces computs. La frairie qui a suivi a coûté une cinquantaine de réaux, avancés par des notables. Le partage, qui règne encore actuellement, du rôle d'eau en douze jours, revenant inégalement à chacun des *ikhs*-s, est fixé très précisément dans l'acte.

Or, les propriétés de chacun des *ikhs*-s bénéficiaires sont enchevêtrées avec celles des autres. Nulle correspondance entre la topographie et le rythme de répartition.

En effet : à l'exception des a. Naçr, qui ont leurs terres groupées aux alentours immédiats du village de Tagenza, les 4 autres *ikhs*-s sont tous représentés dans chacun des quartiers, mais semble-t-il sans côté déterminé où se grouperaient les parcelles de leurs ressortissants. L'enchevêtrement paraît être de plus en plus grand d'amont en aval. Sur l'ensemble des quartiers, et réserve faite de ce qui concerne les a. Naçr, deux seulement ne groupent pas l'intégralité des *ikhs*-s : Tamayust et Talâint u-wdi. Tous les autres contiennent tout un échantillonnage d'*ikhs*.

3° Il y a à Fensu 10 séguias. Certaines viennent de la haute vallée de l'asif Uziwal, d'autres de la direction de Tasa. Cette abondance d'eau fait que la part est d'un jour et d'une nuit. Onze tours, y compris celui de la mosquée. Ces tours sont dévolus aux *ikhs*-s, qui se répartissent

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

l'eau entre les foyers au prorata des surfaces. A l'échelon supérieur, qui est celui de la répartition des tours entre *ikhs*-s, la topographie ne compte pour rien, chaque *ikhs* irrigant à son tour ses fonds disséminés sur plusieurs quartiers.

4° A Tasa, trois séguias et deux ordres de répartition. L'un porte sur les séguias Imengad' et Anngar, l'autre sur la Ti-n-wammam. Voici chacun de ces deux ordres :

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'âib, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus un tour dit ass i-ymengad', privilège, d'ailleurs aliéné, de celui qui aménagea la source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sâid, a. Lh'sen, a. Châib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (privilège individuel).

L'irrigation roule par *ikhs*-s, mais à l'intérieur de ceux-ci, elle s'ajuste aux superficies, et donne lieu en cas de besoin à tirage au sort, selon le procédé général.

Une seconde méthode est dite *laghamul s-lghamul*, « vanne par vanne ». Sans se soucier de l'appartenance à l'*ikhs* elle irrigue par grandes pièces continues et attenantes à telle ou telle vanne. L'ordre observé entre celles-ci est de l'amont vers l'aval. C'est une forme de décadence, de rupture. Elle peut être due, soit à une abondance particulière des eaux, rendant inutile le roulement par *ikhs* (explication donnée à Lalla Aziza, où cette seconde méthode fonctionne depuis quelques années), soit à l'excès des litiges et revendications privatives, soit encore au gigantisme du système.

Le second motif a agi, en 1949, au village d'Ad'erd'ur, qui, pour couper court à un contentieux menaçant, a ainsi réparti l'eau de la Tzemzgart. Il existe, pour tout l'ensemble du réseau de l'Amerdul, une revendication de ce genre : elle n'a pas encore eu gain de cause. L'ordre des aïeux, ici, tenait encore bon.

Le troisième motif ressort du cas des a. Lh'sen.

Ces conquérants d'un des affluents de la moyenne vallée ont gardé une vitalité qui, par une belle correspondance, se lie aussi à la relative conservation de leurs sols, à la consistance du boisement sur les parois et à l'abondance des eaux. Ils ont 14 séguias, outre ce que Wanz'id', le plus élevé de leurs villages, tire d'une source à lui propre. Malgré l'étirement en longueur de tout ce système, la base de la répartition n'est pas topographique. S'agissant d'un important groupement, les *ikhs*-s sont ici groupés en deux sous-groupes, ait Mençur et ait Ddaud, chacun des deux ayant chaque année, en alternance avec l'autre, le privilège de commencer. A l'intérieur des deux sous-groupes, c'est le système « vanne par vanne » qui fonctionne. Les terres de chacun des deux s'enchevêtrent tout au long de la vallée, de Buteghradin jusqu'à Tabratjut, aux confins des a. Âbdella. Mais ce système gentilice ne joue que sur les quatre premiers jours de la semaine (à partir du dimanche, jour réputé favorable dans

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

cette *taqbilt*). Le reste de la semaine, ce sont des portions déterminées de la vallée qui reçoivent l'eau : on en distingue trois. Enfin, la lointaine Tabratjut possède, avec d'autres villages en amont, une séguia spéciale, partant du lieudit Ukhriben.

En somme, il y a ici combinaison du système gentilice et du système basé sur la continuité de quelques grandes soles. Le calendrier d'irrigation, qu'on a essayé de figurer ci-dessous, donnera une idée de la complexité, en même temps que de l'harmonie du système.

Bénéficiaire du tour d'irrigation	Jour de la semaine						
	D.	L.	M.	M.	J.	V.	S.
1) ait Ddaud.	Depuis le matin	Jusqu'à l'*dçr*					
2) ait Mençur.		A partir de l'*dçr*	Toute la journée				
N. B. Il y a roulement annuel entre ces deux sous-groupes.							
3) Tronçon de la vallée entre Bukhemsin et Zzit u Bachtut.				A partir de l'*dçr*	Toute la journée	Jusqu'au matin	
4) Tronçon de la vallée entre Amelwan et Urti n-Sâïd d'en bas.						Toute la journée	
5) Fonds desservis par la Targa Wukhriben.							Toute la journée
6) Fonds desservis par la Targa Wukhriben. Tabratjut. Awinas, Agadir.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Une troisième méthode subordonne l'irrigation à l'appréciation de l'*amazzal* qui juge discrétionnairement du besoin qu'en éprouvent les cultures. Dans une société de génie aussi contentieux, on s'étonne qu'une telle méthode soit possible et ne déclenche pas d'inextinguibles litiges. Il n'en est rien : c'est qu'on est là sur un plan d'ordre rural, pré-juridique en quelque sorte.

C'est selon cette troisième procédure qu'était traditionnellement administrée à la séguia Talh'archt, des a. Âbdella, jusqu'à une réorganisation administrative intervenue il y a quelques années seulement. L'*amazzal* était choisi dans la vieille famille des a. L'anayt d'Ilutjan, dont les membres occupent aujourd'hui encore, sur le tertre de Tigudar Ijjawn, face à l'agadir n-Lmakhzen, des lieux que la tradition met toujours en rapport avec un « Caïd 'Abdallah Sseksiwi », sans doute le roi du XIVe siècle. Ces persistances légendaires donnent une idée des fondements d'un tel ordre rural, et de ce qui en fait la solidité.

De fait, l'organisation observée en a. Âbdella n'est sans doute pas une forme de décadence. Mais, plutôt, tout comme en a. Lh'sen, une forme d'amplification. Ces deux *taqbilt*-s ont dépassé l'échelle cantonale. Un autre rythme, dès lors, les régit.

L'ORDRE D'IRRIGATION COMME DOCUMENT

D'ailleurs, là où il y a décadence, tous les signes n'interviennent pas simultanément, non plus qu'ils n'affectent de façon égale les divers ordres de phénomènes. En a. Âbdella, une certaine distribution du terroir entre *ikhs*-s, malgré la mobilité de la vie foncière, la désagrégation du milieu, et l'absence d'un rôle d'eau, est encore déchiffrable. En règle générale, pourtant, le rythme gentilice de l'irrigation subsiste encore, quand le jeu des facteurs de changement a défiguré l'ordre des patrimoines. Un peu partout, le tour d'eau révèle un ordre ancien.

Cette discordance entre l'évolution de la propriété foncière et le cadre immuable de l'hydraulique, lui-même lié à la structure du milieu, et à une certaine scansion du temps, est d'un vif intérêt documentaire. Elle révèle peut-être un ancien stade de cette culture montagnarde et permet de retrouver, sous la variété individuelle qu'ont accumulée, triomphant de bien des obstacles, héritages féminins et mutations, le rudiment authentique. En second lieu, elle agit de soi comme frein conservateur. L'eau n'est nullement « attachée au fonds » comme le prétendent nos livres. Mais le fonds et l'eau, corrélativement, sont attachés au groupe. Qui vend ou amodie aliène une part de personnalité collective, ce qui est grave. De plus, l'évasion du droit d'eau hors du tour de l'*ikhs*, l'intrusion d'un tiers dans le rôle des « fils de l'oncle » causent une perturbation que l'organisme collectif s'efforcera d'éliminer. En effet, ces mécanismes supposent de délicates connexions entre tous les éléments d'un ordre agraire. L'un d'eux vient-il à manquer ? C'est une cause de conflit et d'échec dans ces opérations de grand style que constituent l'entretien des rigoles, la mise en état des vannes, la pulsation du précieux fluide selon une impeccable

4: Berque MW11 Shluh

minuterie. Tout décalage entre l'appartenance gentilice et la tenure du sol suscite donc des réactions qui tendent à l'éviction, pacifique ou non, du corps étranger. Ventes fermes ou résolutoires, héritage par les femmes rencontrent l'opposition de nouveaux mécanismes conservatoires. On peut dire en ce sens que le système de répartition de l'eau est une véritable machine à légitimité.

Quand les forces de mutation l'emportent, soit par leur action propre, soit par la décadence de la communauté, ou simplement sa démission technique devant trop de complexité, le vieux moule éclate. Les tours d'eau seront désormais basés sur autre chose : l'appréciation d'experts, ou la continuité topographique. Au terme de cette évolution, la part d'eau, attachée à un certain fonds, vagabondera de main en main selon les aléas des transactions individuelles. Pis encore, complètement détachée, elle fera elle-même l'objet de ventes et de prêts, de nantissements ou de spéculation : ces deux derniers stades n'apparaissent pas en Seksawa, non plus que dans les groupes voisins. A plus forte raison n'y observe-t-on pas le stade suprême que constitue cette enchère de l'eau dont Brunhes a donné, pour la valencienne Elche, une si forte description (1).

Ce qui frappe, au contraire, dans l'Atlas, c'est une prodigieuse organisation. Une discordance est même manifeste entre les rythmes sociaux quasi parfaits, ou postulant la perfection, qui président au partage, et la médiocrité de la matière comme de l'outil. Le bel équilibre, la science consommée de la répartition tranchent sur la précarité de toute cette hydraulique. La disproportion entre les constructions sociales et les techniques matérielles éclate. Elle surprend d'autant plus l' « Européen », ou le « moderne », que généralement la méticuleuse harmonie des premières échappe à l'analyse. Ainsi le prestigieux ouvrage de Brunhes, nulle part dans la section qu'il consacre au Maghreb, ne découvre de modalités collectives dans l'administration de l'eau (2). Sur le plan des techniques mêmes, il est passé à côté d'un

(1) *Op. laud.*, p. 98. Autres exemples cités par Joaquin Costa et autres, *Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España*, Barcelone, 1902, t. II : le marché de l'eau à Alicante, pp. 135 sq. La *hila* porte aussi le nom de *dula*, évidemment arabe : *da'la* = chl. *tawala*. Pour l'Espagne même, peut-être aurait-il eu intérêt à rapprocher l'étrange mesure d'irrigation dite *hila* ou *hila*, de ce que nos Mez'ud'a appellent *lme ref* et les a. Âbdella *lmçerf*. Les premiers en donnent une définition précise : c'est le « module d'irrigation dont le plein emploi pourra être assuré par l'unité de travail agricole habituelle », savoir l'ouvrage d'un homme en deux jours ou de deux hommes en un jour.

(2) *Op. laud.*, pp. 73, 251. N'est-il pas significatif qu'à l'inverse des préoccupations du géographe français, Joaquin Costa, *Colectivismo agrario en*

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

problème important, celui de l'utilisation des eaux accidentelles. Il semble qu'on trouverait au Maghreb, dans des conservatoires comme l'Atlas ou les oasis, l'explication de formes applicables à l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen, et notamment au seul secteur européen où elles aient gardé quelque ampleur : cette Espagne qui, en cela, s'est montrée obstinément fidèle à l'héritage de l'Occident musulman.

Dans la partie du Maroc ici étudiée, la disproportion entre l'édifice social et son substrat matériel est-elle un trait d'origine ou de décadence ? Ce contraste entre une organisation aussi parfaite (1) et un module total qui, pour les Seksawa, ne paraît pas excéder 250 ls. pour plusieurs centaines de kilomètres de séguia et une douzaine de milliers d'habitants, met-il sur la voie d'une authenticité ou dénonce-t-il au contraire les effets de l'histoire ?

FAÇONS ET FUMURES

Le labour diffère du bas au haut de la montagne et par l'outillage et par les façons.

Par l'outillage d'abord. La houe *agelzim* joue un rôle croissant d'aval en amont. Son domaine, c'est l'horticulture, les façons intercalaires, et le cas échéant, les parcelles trop exiguës pour permettre les évolutions de l'araire. A Bulᶜwân, elle n'intervient que comme instrument de fignolage sur les bords, ou bien aux endroits où la charrue, allant et venant, est obligée de délaisser certains recoins pour tourner. En a. Mh'nd, au contraire, elle est le complément obligé de la charrue, si bien que le labour se fait ordinairement en association à deux, l'un tenant le mancheron, l'autre l'outil à main.

On emploie en Bas Seksawa l'attelée classique à deux bêtes, *zzuja*. Mais dans le domaine montagnard, il n'y a plus qu'une bête,

España, Madrid, 1915, fasse une large place aux traits communautaires (pp. 532 sq.) ? Indépendamment des tendances de l'ouvrage, l'atmosphère de l'institution semble mieux rendue dans les descriptions espagnoles.

(1) D'où l'inextricable difficulté des litiges pour le partage de l'eau en régime d'administration européenne. Les exemples abondent, qu'on ne citera pas. Pour nous en tenir au plan scientifique, la meilleure description que nous ayons trouvée, et qui vise d'ailleurs un secteur voisin, celui des Idaw Mh'mud, est donnée dans un travail inédit (Arch. d'Imintanout) du lieut. Oqbani sur *La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana* : observation attentive, décrivant de curieux procédés de tirage au sort, mais seulement au stade d'aboutissement ; l'auteur semble être passé complètement à côté de toute référence à l'organisation par *ikhs*. Pour le S. algérien, j'ai trouvé de précieuses notations dans D. Moulias, *L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique)*, 1927, où l'on remarquera de suggestives précisions sur les conflits sans fin — conflits d'aveugles et de sourds — entre une réglementation légaliste et la réalité coutumière dans le S. algérien au cours du XIXᵉ siècle.

lferd. Toutefois, c'est toujours l'homme qui laboure, et jamais la femme, comme cela arrive dans l'extrême Sous. Un sondage statistique donne, pour chacune de ces deux formes d'attelage, *zzuja* et *lferd*, la répartition suivante :

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Charrue à deux bêtes	287	76	58						421
Charrue à une bête..		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
TOTAUX	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1.405

La répartition s'ordonne selon la ligne de pente. L'amont ne connaît que le *lferd*. L'aval que la *zzuja*, ce qui était logique et attendu. Pour les *taqbilt*-s intermédiaires, entrons dans plus de détails :

	zzuja	*lferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
Soit	48	116	pour les a. Lh'sen proprement dits.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanämmert	1	5	
Soit	9	27	pour cette *taqbilt* vassale.
Ibuban :			
Talburt	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
Soit	2	66	pour cette autre *taqbilt* vassale.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
Soit	17	64	pour cette autre *taqbilt* vassale.
a. Musa	58	12	

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

La limite des deux types, ou plutôt leur frange d'interférence peut être nettement figurée par une ligne qui suivrait d'E. en O. la petite plaine de Tabratjut, en aval de Z'init', et la vallée de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen. Cette symétrie est d'autant plus remarquable qu'elle ne correspond ni à une différence de richesse agricole, ni à un changement dans la disponibilité de superficie. Il est certain, par exemple, que l'aisance de sols est bien plus forte en a. Mh'nd qu'en Iguntar : or ces derniers possèdent des *zzuja*-s. Il s'agit donc d'autre chose que du simple jeu de conditionnements physiques.

Cette impression est confirmée par le fait que ce seuil d'outillage est doublé d'un seuil technique et lexicographique. En montagne, le mot *tiril* ou *tisiril* désigne la planche d'irrigation, rebordée d'ados, aplanie, apprêtée pour l'eau. En a. Abdella, le même mot désigne le « marquage » initial du guéret (1) avant semailles. La pratique commune est en effet celle de l'ensemencement direct avant labours. On comprend dès lors le sens de ce quadrillage, ou plutôt de ce découpage en bandes parallèles dont l'ensemble affecte la forme d'un gril, et que l'on voit, à l'automne, diviser les champs en travail. Une démarcation du jet de semences, une discrimination peut-être entre zones où l'on forcera plus ou moins la densité du grain — et l'on sait que dans l'agriculture marocaine ces variations peuvent aller du simple au double, selon des qualifications de sols le plus souvent obscures à notre agronomie — tout cela se comprend : aussi bien est-ce là une technique consciente et complètement définie par le fellah. Or, dans le Gharb, où le *glib*, « premier labour », précède le plus souvent les semailles, et où le jet direct *ᶜala ujeh* ne se pratique que sur sole de sorgho *bernicha*, la technique préalable du marquage existe aussi. Sont ainsi déterminés de petits carrés ou *ml'ira*-s dont l'explication n'est absolument pas perçue par le paysan.

Les nécessités de la circulation de l'eau, tout cet art de plans, de déclivités, de sillons développent les façons agricoles en irrigué. Au contraire, en sec, elles se bornent, comme partout dans le reste du Maroc, à un grattage d'enfouissement, d'ailleurs bien adapté à la nature de beaucoup de ces terrains. On pratique néanmoins l'ameublissement du terreau par binage *llkerbil* ou *llneqqich* autour des oliviers, mais sans utiliser un outil spécial, comme on le fait en Tunisie et même dans l'Aurés.

L'imperfection du système se manifeste surtout par la rusti-

(1) Bibliographie sommaire de cette obscure notion dans J. Berque, Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle), *R. afr.*, 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

cité des assolements (1). Le nom même de ce qui pourrait y correspondre chez les agriculteurs évolués du Gharb ou des Doukkala, la *bernicha*, n'est connu que d'une petite minorité. A noter cependant qu'un *amghar* de piémont cite, à ce propos, mais en arabe, un axiome désabusé : *lberninch ih'iyyed l'innich, l'innich ma idir lberninch*, « l'assolement éliminerait la pauvreté : mais la pauvreté est incapable de le mettre en œuvre ». Le manque d'espace disponible exclut en irrigué la jachère. Mais celle-ci est pratiquée, dans un système à ample et lâche rotation, se combinant avec essartage et écobuage en sec. Adage : *ad assiki ij'j'i*, « jachère », ou plutôt, « friche engraisse ».

D'une façon générale, deux campagnes se cumulent en une. Dans la mesure du moins où les ressources en eau laissent escompter le succès d'une emblavure de printemps, c'est le maïs qui, sur la même parcelle, succède à l'orge. Ou même le navet, pratiqué en grande culture. On ne peut que comparer la médiocrité de cette méthode binaire avec les rotations culturales à 5, 6 ou 7 termes, où l'orge et le maïs sont insérés avec le haricot et le tabac, dans des milieux pareillement montagnards, comme les Pyrénées méditerranéennes. On verra à quel point la gamme des cultures est pauvre, ou s'est appauvrie en Seksawa. Quant au blocage de deux campagnes en une, il est censé découler de l'exiguïté des terres disponibles. Bien mieux, on en tire gloire, et système. Rien ne vaut, dit-on, « maïs sous gerbe », *asengar n-ddu ladla*, c'est-à-dire celui qu'on ensemence avant même l'enlèvement des javelles. Il est vrai qu'on pense que la fumure réparera tout. A peine si deux secteurs plus vastes, comme Agersili et a. Mh'nd pratiquent un battement par soles bisannuelles. Mais le problème ne se réduit pas sans doute à celui de l'espace utilisable. Aux approches de la plaine, à Bul'wân, par exemple, il y a pareillement superposition du maïs à l'orge, sans l'excuse de l'exiguïté. La rotation pratiquée à Agersili et en a. Mh'nd, et seulement là, paraît répondre à un ensemble de conditions, parmi lesquelles un caractère de plénitude et d'intégrité du système montagnard, plutôt qu'à une conception agronomique.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'épuisement résultant de cette exploitation sans trêve est combattu par le fumage. Fumier et eau sont les deux

(1) Comparons, par exemple, avec le Roussillon, M. SORRE, *Pyrénées méditerranéennes*, 1913, p. 304 ; avec l'Andorre, BRUTAILS, *Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age*, 1891, pp. 5 sq. ; la huerta valencienne, et l'instructive rosace de cultures figurées par BRUNHES, *op. laud.*, pp. 56, 65, 66 ; J. Caro BAROJA, *Pueblos de España*, Barcelone, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (intéressante bibliographie sur l'irrigation).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

grands recours, objet d'un soin passionné, d'une attention sans relâche, d'une administration sans mesure. Par là on estime remédier à toutes les disgrâces du milieu, aggravées par les vices de la méthode. Expédients universels. La fumure du sol est en Seksawa une pratique raisonnée, et l'avantage qui en résulte évalué en termes d'économie mercantile. Le cas est d'autant plus frappant que, dans le vieil ordre rural, nombre de choses sont soustraites au commerce : le lait par exemple, qui ne se vend jamais, et la paille, qu'on laisse sans garde sur les champs. Mais l'engrais animal, non seulement fait la contrepartie tacite des pactes de transhumance ou de vaine pâture, mais même peut donner lieu à des comptes chiffrés.

Ces particularités apparaissent en pleine lumière dans une sentence arbitrale du *fqih* Belwâh', du Bas Demsira, magistrat dont les appartenances montagnardes (il naît dans la sauvage vallée des a. Mh'nd u Musa, que le Bwibaun sépare de nos a. Lh'sen) rendent les avis très révélateurs de l'optique d'un milieu acharné à transiger entre la loi et la coutume ancestrale.

Il s'agit du litige entre un *sâkin*, « domicilié précaire », et le maître de la maison, qui soudain lui demande un loyer d'équivalence. L'autre rétorque en réclamant le prix du fumier de ses bêtes. Le *fqih*, à grand renfort de citations d'*'Amal*, arrive à établir que la première demande est infondée, et la seconde fondée. Il se réfère sciemment à la coutume rurale, qui ne connaîtrait pas de loyers pour ce genre d'installation : sans doute (et bien que ce soit inavoué) parce que de tels pactes ressortissent à la clientèle, et par suite recèlent une antinomie intime avec le droit contractuel. En revanche, il n'en est nullement de même de l'engrais animal : c'est une denrée qui revient au propriétaire des animaux et ne saurait, d'autre part, entrer comme contrepartie gracieuse de l'hospitalité.

Une telle espèce fait mesurer l'importance que revêt, dans ce système, la fumure. Le grand liant, si j'ose dire, de l'économie paysanne européenne, savoir la corrélation entre l'élevage et la culture, se retrouve donc ici, évident et chiffrable. L'accumulation du fumier, dans l'étable *agrur*, ménagée souvent au rez-de-chaussée de la maison, sa manipulation et sa mise en place par tas avant les labours d'automne et de printemps, sa dispersion sur le champ : autant de pratiques auxquelles s'adonne avec ardeur le cultivateur de haute vallée. Forcément, elles traduisent des inégalités de moyens, car tous n'ont pas le même effectif de bêtes à l'écurie ou en stabulation. Par là elles diversifient cette agriculture. Beaucoup plus que la nourriture ou l'habit, c'est

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ici le fumage des terres qui dénonce les hiérarchies sociales.

Un début de science des engrais se fait jour chez les meilleurs paysans. Ils connaissent le « trou à fumier », ou même recueillent dans leur *agrur* débris végétaux et matières fécales, et en font, dans une humidité propice, une sorte de compost. Ils distinguent selon les provenances. Le fumier d'ovins est le plus « chaud » : son effet dure trois ou quatre ans ; celui de bovins, disent-ils, plus « froid », ne vaut que pour une campagne. Certains, taillant à la pioche les couches solidifiées qui s'accumulent parfois pendant plusieurs années, jusqu'à former une carapace infiniment appréciée et qu'on appelle *afghyus*, les additionnent en lits superposés : entre deux couches de fumier d'ovins sont étalées des couches de fumier de bovins et d'équidés. Ce feuilleté, c'est déjà de la haute agronomie. Elle s'observe, entre autres, en a. Mh'nd.

Mais pourquoi faut-il que, comme en matière d'eaux, l'apport de la précieuse substance soit compromis par les procédés d'emploi ? Cette société ne connaît que le fumier longtemps exposé au soleil « par petits tas », *s-tgud'iyin*, en quinconces sur le champ, et qui y reste indéfiniment à attendre la pluie. Cette croyance aux vertus de l'insolation se retrouve curieusement au moment de la moisson. Les « javelles » *imadaghen* demeurent de longues semaines sur le champ, avant d'être transportées à l' « aire », *anrar*, plur. *inraren*. Après quoi — du moins sur le Dir — les pailles seront derechef transportées et ensilées dans de petites huttes en pierre sèche, dites *aqerbus* (1). Lorsqu'il y a sur la plaine abondance de ces curieux silos, ponctuant l'esplanade de chaumes dont ils marquent les appartenances individuelles, l'ensemble fait de loin l'effet d'une étoffe parsemée de boutons-pression. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce va-et-vient est si peu économique qu'on est tenté de le mettre en rapport, quant aux origines, avec quelque rite d'exposition du fruit sur le sol, ou d'appropriation par le signe. Il est certain, en effet, que la vertu d'un fumier soumis à une telle insolation s'affaiblit. Sur ce point, le paysan du Dir est en retard sur celui des *Géorgiques*.

ÉLEVAGE ET ARBORICULTURE

Au moins partage-t-il avec lui la croyance dans la parfaite spontanéité de l'arbre. Alors qu'il consacre tout un livre à la vigne, le poète expédie en quelques mots l'olivier : *contra non ulla*

(1) *Taqud'it*, « le petit tas » de fumier, est à mettre en rapports avec l'étymologie donnée par G. S. Colin d'*aqerbus* : lat. *acervus*, « le tas ». Ce parallélisme de signification n'est pas sans intérêt.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

est oleis cultura..., et il passe aux arbres et arbustes sauvages fournisseurs de baies et de feuilles. De même, rappelons-nous que les Seksawa sont des forestiers. Ils ne conçoivent pas l'arbre cultivé en discontinuité avec l'arbre de la *tagant*, auquel il se mêle si souvent. Des espèces communes font transition entre l'un et l'autre type : par exemple, le caroubier, aux gousses précieuses. A un moindre degré le chêne à gland qui nourrit bêtes et hommes, voire la modeste et serviable opuntia *aknari*. La forêt, en quelque sorte, est le lieu où se rejoignent deux techniques, et deux esprits : l'élevage et l'horticulture. Et ce n'est pas par goût du paradoxe qu'on a intitulé le présent paragraphe d'un binome de termes qui jurerait tellement dans la conception européenne. Pour celle-ci, en effet, l'animal est l'ennemi de l'arbre. La chèvre surtout. Nous ne sommes pas dans la zone côtière où l'arganier supporte parfois, et sans en périr, de si amusantes garnitures de bêtes broûtant ses frondaisons. Mais ici-même les extrémités de jeunes branches, les glands, les baies de genévrier, fraîches ou conservées, offrent au troupeau une mine de pâtures. Véritable « prairie aérienne » (1). Il est vrai que cette conjonction entre l'élevage et l'arboriculture cède aussitôt à de véhémentes différences de style, allant jusqu'au contraste : mais ce contraste n'est précisément pas de type européen. Dans l'Atlas c'est l'élevage qui est savant et soigneux, et l'arboriculture désinvolte, et, comme nous dirions, extensive.

Le troupeau donne l'impression d'une profonde adaptation au pays. La rusticité des caprins, leur agilité à pourvoir à leur subsistance dans les reliefs les plus difficiles et les plus pauvres, en font un adversaire redoutable de la forêt. Les bovins sont petits et rustiques. Les ovins appartiennent à la même race que ceux du Tubkal, du Tidili, du Sirwa : membres découverts, buste relativement haut sur pattes, profil busqué chez le bélier. Le pourcentage des robes noires correspond à une recherche systématique de la part de l'éleveur : début de sélection. Celle-ci, à vrai dire, opère le plus souvent à rebours, les bêtes les mieux en chair étant justement destinées à la boucherie. L'agneau gras est en effet soit un petit dépôt qu'on monnaie, soit la matière de nombreux rites familiaux ou sociaux. Économie fiduciaire ou de bombance viennent donc ici limiter la technique de l'éleveur. C'est d'ailleurs là un trait maghrébin général.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la pratique de l'abri, l'ensilage des pâtures, la

(1) L'expression est algérienne : Rivière et Lecq, *op. laud.*, t. I, p. 235. *Cf.* t. I, *ibid.*, pp. 207 sq. et aussi, t. II, pp. 13 sq., une excellente description de la flore fourragère spontanée en Afrique du Nord.

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

culture des fourrages, les mises en défens, dotent le système de tous les éléments d'une organisation moderne. L'animal s'acquitte à merveille de son rôle de fournisseur de viande, de substances à filer, et de matières grasses *tamudit*, rencontre terminale avec le produit de l'olivier. Le lait n'est jamais consommé directement ; un préjugé, maintenu par les femmes, s'y oppose, dans le but avoué de tout faire passer en beurre. La conservation de cette denrée, soumise à salage et à fusion, est indéfinie : elle passe pour s'améliorer avec l'âge, tout comme un cru de vin. Certes, nos sociétés pastorales étendent ces ressources par la substantielle gamme des fromages, qu'on ne connaît pas ici. Grave lacune : c'est à peine si, en cours d'alpage, les bergers fabriquent plus ou moins clandestinement, en additionnant au lait le suc de la figue ou celui de certaines plantes, ce qu'on appelle la *takʷmmart* (1). Le procédé est en retard, non seulement bien entendu sur les nôtres, mais même sur ceux des transhumants arabes d'Afrique du Nord ou des Touareg. D'autre part, et bien qu'elle n'ignore pas une méthode barbare de castration, la technique indigène encourt la critique par sa confiance aveugle dans le croît biologique, sujet à de si terribles aléas. La chèvre, le mouton, et, à un degré bien moindre, le bovin, ont pris valeur monétaire, symbolique en quelque sorte, et leur multiplication n'est réglée ni sur les possibilités du pâquis ni sur l'incertitude climatique. Autre trait général au Maghreb.

Ce sont là graves faiblesses. Mais la cohérence et le soin l'emportent chez l'éleveur, et par rapport aux autres compartiments de son économie, et par rapport aux éleveurs de la plaine.

En regard, précarité de l'arbre.

Amandiers, oliviers et noyers prospèrent ou dépérissent sans travail qui leur soit propre. Naturellement, ils participent, comme toutes les autres cultures, de la préoccupation de l'eau. On remarque, par exemple, les amandiers étant dévolus à une zone plus haute que l'irrigué, le soin avec lequel souvent ils sont accolés à un mur de soutènement en pierres sèches, afin de recueillir l'humidité qu'il concentre. Presque constamment, on ménage une « cuvette », *lanul*, plur. *luna*, au pied des oliviers : un angle concave, tracé par une petite rigole de ruissellement, épouse la déclivité de l'*impluvium*, là où l'eau de séguia n'est pas amenée par gravité à tour de rôle.

Mais nul choix des variétés d'amandiers : celles qui escaladent les pentes moyennes, et témoignent d'ailleurs d'une rusticité

(1) C'est le nom même que lui donne le dialecte ahaggar. Les Touareg connaissent et utilisent le fromage durci, susceptible d'être emporté et concassé.

1: Berque • MW11 Shlûh

méritoire, ne procèdent d'aucune sélection. Ce sont des bâtardes composant des dizaines d'origines. Le rendement en est normalement infime, encore que parfois éclate la surprise d'une abondante fructification. L'aléa est immense. Il entre dans les calculs des bailleurs de fonds. La vente en vert, dite *bayʿ u-ssalam*, à taux usuraire, draine anciennement l'amande vers Mogador, en même temps qu'elle approvisionne d'argent liquide le riche homme de montagne. Autour des oliviers, les « drageons » *ayyawn* (plur. de *ayyaw*) sont soigneusement sauvegardés. Ils passent pour signe de vigueur tout comme l'excès de frondaison : on les compare à la barbe de l'homme. L'esthétique indigène opte non pour le tronc unique et épais, mais pour le bosquet de rejets qui, finalement, se développe sur chaque pied. Bien entendu, ni greffe, ni taille. L' « oléandre » *tazemmurt* est laissé à son rôle décoratif, et, pour nous, de rappel méditerranéen : car l'*oleolentiscetum* des botanistes a presque intégralement disparu ; il ne subsiste que par rares plaques dans la région d'Imintanout. Maladies et parasites désolent toute la plantation. Pour le tout, cette société rurale — pauvreté bien significative — ne possède qu'un vocable, le *bu-zeggʿagh*, c'est-à-dire « le rouge » : et bien entendu n'y peut rien. La cueillette est un gaulage brutal, qui annule les espérances de l'année suivante. D'où une productivité en général biennale. Quant aux noyers, l'écorçage des racines pour la recherche du *sswak* (cf. nom du noyer *tsswikt*), voire même l'abatage prématuré, désolent les plantations. A ces trois espèces se réduisent les ressources du verger. La rareté du figuier, en particulier, est remarquable. Et malgré l'altitude, pas de pommiers ni de cerisiers. Çà et là, en haute montagne, quelques pêchers ou abricotiers. Ils donnent lieu à une assez savante conserverie, à Ikis notamment. Mais on peut penser que l'actuelle monotonie des espèces est un trait récent et que leur variété était plus grande autrefois. En tout cas, quelques indices en subsistent dans les secteurs que d'autres traits permettent de considérer comme ayant mieux sauvegardé une originalité ancienne : ainsi les I. Geryun et Sekrat. En I. Geryun on retrouve en pleine terre les rejetons d'antiques pommiers *lh'lu* et cerisiers *asemlal*.

Un vif contraste oppose donc au champ, qu'on fait, l'arbre qui se fait lui-même. D'où, dans une société à techniques rurales pourtant fermes, une relative et paradoxale disgrâce de l'arboriculture. Celle-ci est confiée à la fatalité, dont les démarches, traduites par la sécheresse qui ratatine le fruit, le brouillard qui développe les parasites, le vent qui fait choir les fleurs, et l'insecte, que Dieu seul connaît, échappent à l'action de l'homme. Parvenu à

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

un tel degré de quiétisme agricole, le montagnard ne plantera plus : pour l'olivier, les drageons se chargeront eux-mêmes de grandir ; pour l'amandier, il a proliféré une fois pour toutes au delà de toute possibilité d'entretien. D'une façon générale, l'effort de plantation est chose des grands ancêtres. Ainsi de ces beaux carrés d'oliviers, qui ceignent des cultures intercalaires, comme on en voit à Taqennurt, au même titre que dans tout le Sud marocain. Qui a planté tout cela ? Mystère. D'aucuns parlent d'Andalous pour l'olivier, de même que toute ruine monumentale fera penser à de mythiques Portugais. Le cas extrême est celui de l'arganier : à vrai dire, il ne touche plus notre secteur, s'étant réfugié loin à l'O. Mais quelle confirmation à ce que l'on vient de dire dans la légende indigène selon laquelle cet arbre ne peut être replanté ! Au contraire de l'arbre, le champ, lui, dans sa matière même, cette terre façonnée en gradins, exigeante en eau et en fumure, procède d'une inlassable volonté. Arbre donné, champ construit.

Alors que chez le paysan méditerranéen l'arbre est individuel — au point qu'en Kabylie la propriété d'une branche se partage à plusieurs — ici l'usufruit comporte une part initiale d'indivision, et la récolte est communautaire. Certes l'arbre est propriété privée (notre secteur ne connaît pas l'arganier collectif). Mais la « cueillette » *azeyg*ʷ*ay* est collective. D'intéressantes organisations interviennent à ce moment. Si, sur le plan immobilier, le verger se répartit en lots individuels, la plantation coïncide en général, et par grandes masses, avec la part d'un *ikhs*. Mais l'éparpillement entre quartiers rendrait, dit-on, au moment de la récolte, la confusion irrémédiable si la cueillette ne s'opérait par bans collectifs. Que vaut l'explication ?

Prenons quelques exemples :

En a. Musa, la récolte des amandes se fait quartier par quartier, dans des limites dont sont responsables des gardiens *imchchurd'a*. Le travail est collectif et échelonné. Les amandes sont mises en tas et ensuite partagées « au couffin », *s-taryalt*, au prorata des droits individuels, et après qu'ont été distraits du tas les préciputs des saints et des salariés.

En Imt'ddan, tétrapole où l'équilibre initial des *ikhs*-s se manifeste par un échantillonnage foncier à peu près régulier sur tous les terroirs, la récolte d'amandiers, faite en commun, donne lieu à la pose de monceaux de fruits (20 par exemple, pour les amandes de Tagunit), qui sont ensuite répartis au couffin entre les *ikhs*-s et, à l'intérieur de ceux-ci, entre les ayants-droit.

En a. H'adduyws, sauf les arbres récents, exploités individuellement, tout le verger est récolté collectivement et le fruit réparti au couffin, après, s'il y a lieu, prélèvement du quint de l'ouvrier. Les *imchchurd'a*

ont parfois des tours de guet, comme au débouché du ravin d'Ikis, et de là font respecter la discipline de cueillette.

En Haut Dwiran, la cueillette se fait sur ban collectif : on « attache » la vallée *qqen*. Puis on la « lâche », *rz'em*, zone par zone. Le travail se fait « par échelonnement » *s-warrabo* entre les *ikhs*-s, dont le nom est ici *arktun*, plur. *arktyun*. La pratique s'applique également au ramassage des caroubes, qui, en septembre, jonchent le sol, sans que personne se permette d'en ramasser.

Ces diverses notations m'amenèrent à grouper, en vue d'une enquête d'ensemble, les experts agricoles des Seksawa, et voici telle quelle, la note que j'en tirai.

« Le verger est réparti en secteurs, et nul n'a le droit de commencer la cueillette ou le gaulage avant l'ouverture de chacun d'entre eux, laquelle est annoncée par les *imchchurd'a* du village, ou par la *jemâe*, selon la procédure classique du ban.

Les fruits sont alors cueillis par l'ensemble des ayants-droit et disposés « en tas » *s-igud'iwn*. Le nombre de ces tas est égal à celui des *ikhs*-s : 12 pour Fensu, 6 pour Tasselli, etc. Puis ils sont répartis au couffin entre les chefs de « foyers » *takatin*. Les plantations récentes et individuelles, les achats ou antichrèses sont exclus de ce mode de cueillette collective.

Le 3-1-49 cette description est confirmée par un ensemble de cultivateurs Seksawa représentant les diverses fractions. Le terme de « famille », de « parenté », *aytma*, *tarwa n-âmmi*, *ulad el-âmm* est seul employé par mes interlocuteurs, à l'exclusion du mot *ikhs*. La coutume Imt'ddan est déclarée générale. Le cheikh ᶜOmar remarque la contradiction existant entre ce mode d'exploitation des arbres et celui, tout individualisé, de la terre. »

Rien ne manque donc à cette notation. Pas même l'expression raisonnée qu'en cherchent les intéressés, ni la surprise qu'elle commence à causer au plus critique d'entre eux. En effet, contrastant avec l'individuation du droit foncier, la technique communautaire de cueillette ne peut que surprendre. Vif contraste avec la société kabyle. A remarquer en effet qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une police de récolte ordonnant, par mesure de sécurité, et pour éviter le maraudage, la simultanéité dans l'action. On observe des conventions de ce genre à Moulay Idrîs du Zerhoun. Mais ici, la répartition individuelle n'intervient qu'à l'échelon de l'*ikhs* et aboutit au tas collectif de fruits. Ce n'est qu'un préambule, mais communautaire, et dont on ne saurait sous-estimer la valeur d'indice, ou de vestige. Plus encore que l'atmosphère gentilice où il plonge, notons l'indivision de techniques arboricoles qu'il révèle. Elle achève de caractériser un système et un niveau.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

VARIÉTÉ CULTURALE

Monotonie dans la céréaliculture : de l'orge et du maïs. Monotonie dans l'arboriculture : des amandiers, des oliviers, des noyers. Et monotonie dans le maraîchage : des navets et des carottes. D'autres cultures peuvent nous intéresser : celle du millet en irrigué, par son caractère résiduel (1) ; celle de la lentille en sec, par son intérêt vivrier ; celle du lin alimentaire, par son archaïsme évocateur (2). L'ensemble n'en apparaît pas moins comme la dégradation d'un état ancien, qui dut connaître une tout autre variété. Cela est vrai non seulement des arbres fruitiers, mais encore et surtout de ce que nous nommons « légumes ». La vallée des a. Lh'sen, dont la conservation et la vitalité sont frappantes, garde toute une gamme de ces cultures : aubergines, courge, piment, tomates. L'actuel succès qu'y rencontre, comme en Idma, la pomme de terre, récemment introduite, est peut-être un signe que cette variété est un trait authentique, seulement mieux sauvegardé là qu'ailleurs. Une nouvelle phase de progrès pourrait la ramener. En tout cas il y a un rapport entre la variété culturale et la vigueur du groupe. Nous saisissons là sur le vif un nouveau trait de ces corrélations entre l'espace, les techniques et la structure sociale, dont les populations de l'Atlas nous font saisir la délicate fermeté.

Poussons l'observation. Le maraîchage ne ressortit nullement ici à une optique de jardins. C'est une grande culture, dont la valeur d'assolement, dans la formule navet sur orge, serait efficace si elle ne portait sur des superficies trop restreintes. La distinction, pour chacune de ces cultures, d'une façon précoce et d'une façon tardive apporte encore un élément d'intérêt. L'aubergine et la tomate donnent lieu à de précautionneux semis, en général proches des habitations. Des dalles plates, ou des entrelacs de laurier rose protègent la délicatesse des jeunes pousses contre le bec des poules et le risque des gelées. Certaines cultures, comme celle de la courge, offrent, selon les cantons, d'instructives diver-

(1) Sur le remplacement du millet par le maïs, au XVIe siècle, cf. J. Berque, Antiquités Seksawa, *Hesp.*, 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. aussi M. Sorre, Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets, *Ann. Géo.*, 1942, pp. 81 sq. ; D. Faucher, *Géographie agraire*, 1949, p. 40, sur les millets sauvages, ou redevenus tels. On en rencontre dans le S. du Drâ (Salvy, La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain, in *CHEAM*, 1944). A cette culture très africaine du millet devait être associé un outil, la houe. Cf. L. Febvre, *La terre et l'évolution humaine*, 1922, pp. 345 sq. ; A. Leroi-Gourhan, *Milieu et techniques*, 1945, p. 125, sur la prodigieuse adaptation des formes de cet outil aux sociétés qui l'utilisent. Notre milieu en connaît plusieurs : *achaqur*, *agelzim*, etc.

(2) D. Faucher, *Géographie agraire*, 1949, p. 302.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

sités. Dans les hauts cantons, elle rampe parmi les quenouilles du maïs. En Idma, elle tapisse les talus séparant les banquettes. Plus bas, elle pousse dans des carrés spéciaux. La menthe, seule de tous les végétaux de la vallée, arbres fruitiers compris, connaît la greffe. On la croise avec l' « origant » *flayo*. Seulement de tels détails ne sauraient emporter une conclusion optimiste : ce ne sont en effet que détails, ou curiosités. Le fait massif est que cette agriculture s'est appauvrie de gamme sans se perfectionner. L'utilisation d'espèces sauvages ou subspontanées n'est plus que résiduelle. La réduction du nombre des espèces cultivées ne traduit pas, comme en Europe, une sélection de types, mais une décadence. La monotonie arrive à un comble, économiquement ruineux. A preuve les néfastes cultures de navet ou de carotte. Ces racines tendent au gigantisme, et sont aussi exigeantes en eau qu'avares de calories.

Tout se passe comme si le repli historique d'un système autrefois ouvert à l'extérieur avait acculé ces populations à une agronomie sans variété ni invention (1). Ce n'est là, si l'on veut, qu'une hypothèse. Ne la risquons que pour ce qu'elle vaut. Mais bien des traits la suggèrent, et l'essai de jugement critique qu'on portera sur le système va s'en ressentir.

ADAPTATION OU NON ?

L'adaptation d'une société à son milieu naturel est « un vieux dogme géographique » (2). Salutaire, car c'est un progrès sur les trop faciles dédains aussi bien que sur les enthousiasmes suspects que suscitent, selon le cas, les économies différentes de la nôtre. Mais aussi, dogme simpliste et défigurant (3). Car le dialogue entre milieu naturel et milieu humain ne se conclut pas toujours par un accord. Il peut y avoir discordance, mutuel préjudice. Toute économie rurale se ramène à un certain type de collaboration entre l'homme et les associations végétales. Il faut, pour la juger, définir les effets de cette collaboration sur chacun des partenaires. Dans le cas le plus favorable, progrès du groupe

(1) Sur cette notation de la décadence, J. Despois, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, 1935, pp. 270 sq.

(2) A. Cholley, *Géographia*, oct. 1951, p. 4.

(3) Tout l'effort de l'école géographique française a été de montrer que l'influence du milieu ne devait pas être interprétée en termes de sec déterminisme, et que l'initiative du social, et sa réaction sur le milieu physique lui-même, si impérieuses qu'aient apparu jadis les conditions de ce dernier (*cf.* Vidal de La Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine*, 1922, p. 105), sont prépondérantes. *Cf. op. cit.*, pp. 108 sq. Cela implique variétés et inégalités de niveau.

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'une part, croissance du potentiel biogéographique, de l'autre, marquent la réussite du type ; médiocrité ou recul du premier, dégradation du second disent au contraire l'échec. Mais les choses sont rarement aussi tranchées. En général un équilibre plus ou moins fécond, plus ou moins ruineux, s'instaure entre les deux termes.

Or nous sommes ici dans l'Ancien Monde, en bordure de la plus vieille histoire classique, dont nos maghrébins sont les frontaliers. Ils sont en retard d'une révolution, la révolution industrielle. Mais ni leurs techniques ne présentent avec celles de montagnards méditerranéens, les Andorrans, par exemple (1), de différence radicale, ni la profusion de rites ne les enferme, comme certains peuples noirs, dans l'inertie matérielle. Dès lors, sur quelles bases juger leur système ? (2). On en sera réduit à confronter entre elles les données établies par l'observation d'un seul secteur : leur hiérarchie dans le système indigène lui-même offrira les critères les moins incertains. On a trop souvent fait abstraction, dans les études maghrébines, des interprétations et

(1) Nous choisissons cet exemple non seulement comme cas « d'analogie montagnarde », mais aussi parce que les soigneuses études de Brutails, que nous citons çà et là, permettent le rapprochement jusqu'en matière de coutume.

Dans le Moyen Age roussillonnais, le potager existe. Mais, parfois, les jardins sont tous groupés en un quartier appelé *horta* (J.-A. Brutails, *Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age*, 1891, p. 20). Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 17 sq., l'ancienne prépondérance de l'orge (avec le seigle et le mil, comme ici) en culture vivrière. Autres traits méditerranéens « archaïques » pouvant intéresser un rapprochement avec notre milieu : M. Sorre, *Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes* : l'insalisance des cultures sarclées se réduisant à la fève en Ampurdan (p. 240), certaines inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

Pour revenir à l'Afrique du Nord, il faut noter entre la formule haut atlasique et celle de la Kabylie une grosse différence. Le kabyle a un potager : ces *thimizar*, « attenants aux habitations » (Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, éd. 1872, t. I, p. 414, et aussi p. 422, où est introduite une intéressante distinction avec les « potagers irrigués » placés très loin du village). Le terme de *tamazirt* est-il à rapprocher du « fumier » *amazir*, et doit-il se traduire strictement par « terrain susceptible d'être fumé » ? C'est à quoi porterait la traduction arabe qu'en donnent les juristes du Sous, par suite d'un calembour pédantesque, dirait-on : *ad-dimna*. Quoi qu'il en soit, E. Laoust remarque, *Siwa*, 1932, p. 274, que, dans le sens général de « pays » le monde berbère se divise en deux zones : *tamart* pour les parlers orientaux et zénètes du N., *tamazirt* pour les Çanhâja et Maçmûda.

(2) Une consultation faite auprès des meilleurs agronomes nous convainc que cette question n'a jamais fait jusqu'ici l'objet de développements théoriques, du moins pour l'Afrique du Nord. Sur un plan général, cf. E. de Martonne, *Traité de géographie physique*, t. III, 5e éd., 1932, Biogéographie, pp. 1245 sq., et surtout M. Cépède, *Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture*, 1946, pp. 347 sq. « Comment juger un système de culture ? » L'équation proposée ne rend évidemment pas compte des valeurs attachées subjectivement par le milieu à telle ou telle production. La notion phytosociologique de *climax* a donc de vigoureuses composantes morales.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

des élaborations de l'homme maghrébin. Ç'aura été un thème constant de nos recherches que de les rétablir à leur vraie place. Et elles nous offrent ici un précieux jugement de valeur : leur préférence pour l'élevage.

Ces antiques sédentaires, ces patients villageois sont avant tout des pasteurs (1). Le troupeau vêt, nourrit, chauffe la maison, et de son fumier refait les sols. Il occupe dans toute cette économie la position majeure. Compte tenu des aléas de l'arboriculture fruitière, et de la médiocrité qui entâche les rendements céréaliers, il est tenu pour la source majeure de subsistance. Central par rapport aux autres éléments de la production, c'est lui qui, dans ses alternances d'alpage sur les hauts, de stabulation au village, et de transhumance au loin, opère la jonction entre la cité de l'homme et l'espace qui la cerne. Il fait en somme l'unité du paysage. Sa valeur de synthèse est ressentie, et il ne faut pas s'étonner du primat d'intérêt que lui confère la tradition. Ses excès — surcharge des pâturages, et, en fin de compte, destruction des sols — ne sont jamais envisagés. Bien plutôt, par l'infinie agilité de ses effectifs, il apparaît comme le procédé le plus propre à éponger les dernières ressources du sol. Les dévastations même de la faim, du froid et de la maladie, passent pour opérer un réglage automatique. En d'autres termes, cette société exploite jusqu'aux dernières conséquences ce qu'on pourrait appeler une écologie de l'animal domestique. Elle trouve dans l'élevage un moyen terme entre sa tendance au maximum démographique et la résistance du milieu (2). Le troupeau exprime un équilibre vivant entre l'homme et le pays. De là vient qu'il soit revêtu de valeurs morales, et probablement rituelles.

Les techniques indigènes s'intéressent en second lieu à l'irrigation. Mais là elles ressortissent plutôt, on l'a vu, à la collecte qu'à la création hydraulique. L'énergie et la sagacité du système à recueillir les eaux sauvages, à les diriger, à les administrer, échouent et démissionnent devant tout essai tenté pour faire surgir des ressources neuves. Ce n'est pas l'insuccès dans ce

(1) Dans un autre milieu montagnard, encore que tout différent, les Alpes françaises, le bétail a été « le principe même de la vie alpine » (Arbos, cité par R. Blanchard, *Les Alpes françaises*, 1925, p. 50). Des alternances pastorales ont formé le plus antique fond de l'habitat (*ibid.*, p. 90). Cf. en ce sens J. Blache, *L'homme et la montagne*, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

(2) Cf. A. Sauvy, *Théorie générale de la population*, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq ; cf. aussi, sur un plan plus directement agricole, les intéressantes réflexions de M. Cépède, *Du prix...*, pp. 246 sq., chap. sur « L'homme et la nature ». L'économie pastorale est, selon lui, « victime du concept d'infinité », p. 258, c'est-à-dire de la croyance à un recours extensif infini aux déplacements du troupeau. Au terme, la « surpécoration », Id., *op. cit.*, p. 258.

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

domaine difficile qui doit ici nous frapper : mais l'infériorité relative qui s'y révèle par rapport à l'art que les mêmes gens déploient pour mener le précieux liquide à des distances et selon des tactiques dont le bonheur nous étonne. Cet art de la circulation porté à la gageure ne devient plus qu'inertie et inconsistance dans la création.

Quant à l'arbre fruitier (1), l'indigène arrive mal à le dissocier de la forêt. Certaines espèces donnent le change, qui viennent d'elles-mêmes, ou sont réputées telles. L'ancienneté générale de la plantation, l'irrégularité résultant de maladies ou de parasites non dénommés, de l'eau, du vent, de la chance, ou de la faveur des puissances occultes, font de l'arboriculture, à tout le moins en ce qui concerne le noyer, l'amandier et surtout le caroubier, une ressource aussi peu construite que celle de la forêt. Il n'en est pas de même de l'olivier, qui, ici, comme ailleurs sur le pourtour méditerranéen, a sa valeur civique, et presque morale. Mais si l'on compare sa technique, l'outillage utilisé, à ce qu'ils sont ailleurs, dans le Sahel tunisien par exemple, la même impression de carence en ressort pour l'Atlas.

Primat de l'élevage, arboriculture de cueillette, irrigation qui est plutôt une collecte et une administration qu'une hydraulique : le fait important est la hiérarchie selon laquelle se conçoit le système. Il est remarquable que ces archaïques sociétés paysannes, les plus authentiquement sédentaires de tout le Maghreb, les plus opiniâtrement cramponnées au sol, et dans lesquelles nous cherchons parfois le vestige de ce que put être à d'autres époques une vie rurale plus largement maîtresse des plaines de l'Afrique du Nord, s'intéressent avant tout au troupeau, et à ses rythmes périodiques. Ce créateur de sols, ce subtil administrateur de l'eau, est irrigateur routinier, céréaliculteur médiocre, arboriculteur évasif, maraîcher pire encore. Par une sorte de paradoxe, sa technicité, qui s'affirme à plein dans les difficiles problèmes de la constitution du terroir et de la distribution de l'eau, mollit dans la mise en œuvre des ressources ainsi dégagées. Elle s'affirme, dirait-on, en raison inverse d'une logique de la mise en valeur.

Peut-on tenter d'expliquer ce primat pastoral ? On sait que, se perdant dans la nuit des temps, dans l'Europe même de l'*open-field*, c'est un phénomène de ce genre qui fournirait l'explication de structures rurales encore caractéristiques. Dans le cas qui nous

(1) VIDAL, *Principes...*, 1922, p. 83, voit dans le primat des cultures arbustives une vieille notion méditerranéenne. Mais il voit aussi profondément dans l'arboriculture en sec, qui ici correspond à l'amandier, au caroubier, un type encore plus archaïque.

occupe, est-ce donc simple survivance préhistorique ? Une telle explication pose plus de problèmes qu'elle n'en résout. Ne nous y arrêtons pas. De même, sera-ce faire avancer le problème que d'invoquer l'existence d'un caractère montagnard, à mettre en relations avec des traits du même genre, observables dans les Alpes et les Pyrénées ? Dans ce cas, ce n'est plus par l'excès d'hypothèse, mais par le trop de modestie que pècherait la réponse. Une explication plus propre au milieu étudié attribuerait les contrastes de cette paysannerie à son hésitation entre des traits méditerranéens, préservés par l'altitude, et les influences africaines désertiques qui la pressent de toutes parts (1). Bien que l'effort des hommes ait constamment conspiré avec le premier des deux termes, le second se révèle peut-être par quelques-uns des traits qui étonnent l'observateur. Comme on voit, nous excluons, comme plus hypothétiques encore, les objections que pourrait inspirer l'agronomie des manuels. Rien de plus arbitraire — ou prématuré — que de chercher à apprécier, dans un milieu aussi peu déchiffré par l'expérimentation moderne, le rendement de telle ou telle pratique. Le paradoxe si frappant de ces emblavures d'orge ou de maïs en gradins irrigués — une céréaliculture en pots de fleurs — s'explique sans doute par l'histoire. C'est un trait de refoulement géographique. Et d'ailleurs l'orge est la moins exigeante des grandes céréales, non seulement en module d'eau, mais en distribution annuelle de ce module. Son choix, à le supposer délibéré, n'aurait rien d'irrationnel. L'orge a le cycle le plus court, ce qui concorde fort bien avec la nécessité, imposée par le manque d'espace, de forcer deux campagnes en une sur les mêmes sols. Enfin le déficit en orge, c'est-à-dire en « pain », est l'épouvantail que chacun cherche à plus ou moins écarter, sans jamais y réussir tout à fait. L'amour des céréales n'est donc pas seulement prévoyance alimentaire. Il est aussi précaution sociale, outil d'égalité.

Malheureusement, grande est la vulnérabilité de l'équilibre indigène (2). Il ne résiste ni à la guerre ni à la paix. La poussée

(1) Un autre milieu « berbère » montagnard, celui de l'Ahaggar, cumule de même en altitude des traits méditerranéens, et plus bas des traits franchement tropicaux. Cette dissociation du milieu végétal implique évidemment une économie difficile et partagée, et postule l'événement historique.

(2) L'équilibre moderne d'une région comme celle des Alpes françaises est la résultante combinée d'une meilleure ouverture aux échanges, d'où élimination du primat archaïque des céréales, d'un aménagement réciproque de l'agriculture et de l'élevage, du champ et du pré, et enfin de l'industrialisation. Cf. R. Blanchard, *Les Alpes françaises*, 1925, p. 52. Ce dernier facteur réagit même sur l'utilisation des données géologiques : c'est ainsi que notre Cantal connaît une industrie de la lave émaillée, des pouzzolanes, des poudres de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

démographique et l'expansion des troupeaux, résultant l'une des progrès de l'hygiène publique, l'autre d'une sécurité accrue dans l'exercice des droits civils, sont en train de ruiner le pays. La déforestation y a joué sur le laps qu'embrasse une mémoire d'homme. Le remède n'est certainement ni dans la coercition du troupeau, ni dans le malthusianisme. Il est dans la recherche d'un nouvel équilibre. Une autre tare, non moins incontestable, de l'économie traditionnelle, c'est sa monotonie. Quelle pauvreté de ces soles, réduites à l'orge et au maïs ! C'est, si l'on peut dire, une monoculture à deux termes. L'absurdité d'une telle alliance de mots rendra bien l'effet déprimant, et finalement ruineux du système. Il n'est pas exclu qu'il inspire à toute la vie locale un sentiment contagieux d'ennui et presque de désespoir.

Il y avait un enfant qui sortait chaque jour. Et le premier objet qu'il regardait, il devenait cet objet ; les pousses des champs, en avril et mai, devinrent une part de lui, les pousses des grains d'hiver et celles du maïs jaune clair... (1).

Seulement, au delà du champ, il y a la montagne. La grandeur du cadre décourage toute médiocrité. L'étroitesse du canton contraint l'homme à l'aventure. Mais ne nous laissons pas aller à imaginer ces sentiments contrastés. Plus tard peut-être des gens d'ici écriront une littérature d'évasion, celle même que vivent maintenant, à leur façon, le lettré barbare et l'émigrant ouvrier...

ponce, des phonolithes, des basaltes prismatiques, du kieselguhr et même des sables volcaniques. Dans d'autres montagnes françaises, c'est du côté de l'artisanat (horlogerie, boissellerie, tournerie, forge) que les populations cherchaient des ressources complémentaires de l'activité agricole. Cf. le très intéressant recueil des communications faites au Ier Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne, Paris, mars 1952. Et aussi pour le milieu pyrénéen, dont la comparaison avec le milieu atlasique ne serait pas absurde, la collection des *Annales de la Fédération pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde* (Toulouse), dont la consultation nous a été précieuse.

(1) Walt Whitman.

[p. 177]

IV

QUELQUES ANALYSES DE TERROIRS

A) Classicisme montagnard : les ait Mh'nd

Les a. Mh'nd sont, avec Iguntar, Wanz'id' et Iwulla, l'un de ces cantons adossés à la barre abrupte qui sépare vers le S. le monde Seksawa du Sous. De l'escarpement sourdent des eaux pérennes, quoique sujettes à diminution estivale. Celles des a. Mh'nd, les plus abondantes, forment un torrent jamais tari qui descend, sous les noyers, vers Ad'erd'ur, la zaouia d'Ammern, et finit par rejoindre la vallée principale à Tabratjut. Sa trouée est parfois difficile : ainsi sous l'ancien village des a. Irz'z'i, dont le nom, rapproché de la racine *rz'*, « être brisé », a donné lieu à un calembour étymologique, inspiré par l'aspect ruiniforme de la roche à cet endroit : les a. Irz'z'i, en lutte avec des Idma, auraient eu leur village fracassé par un éboulis miraculeux. Plus amont, presque immédiatement sous les sources, une cuvette s'étale : c'est le terroir des a. Mh'nd. Les sources : Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, subissent, par les étés très secs, comme celui de 1951, une diminution de 75 %. Mais c'est exceptionnel. La baisse est en général moins forte. Un bassin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, les recueille et les distribue, par un ample système de séguias, à une masse de terrains bien travaillés. Les ondes vives, l'ombrage glacial des noyers et la profusion de verdure font, par les étés les plus torrides, un charmant hallier. Le village, où les *ikhs*-s ont chacun leur quartier, fait face à la montagne et surplombe des prairies de fauche *az'mu*, théâtre tout désigné d'une vie de collectivité active et originale : c'est là qu'on danse et qu'on se rassemble. Dominé, on l'a vu, du côté du Sous, par la barre E. S. E.-O. N. O. de l'Ighran, depuis le Tabgurt (3.205) jusqu'à l'Akyud' n-Zkkat' ; ne communiquant vers le S.-E., avec les Idma et les a. H'adduyws, que par le Tizi Wudud, qui s'ouvre sur les plateaux de l'Amerdul ; avec les hautes terres d'Ibuban, par le Tizi Unluf ; avec le Seksawa, par une vallée aux nombreux étranglements, ce canton a pu développer une individualité extrême.

TRAITS GÉNÉRAUX DE LA POPULATION

Elle se réclame d'une immigration ancienne venue, dit-on, des Ilalen (Sous). Mais parmi les *ikhs*-s habitant aujourd'hui le village, deux seulement, les a. Bakhkha et les a. Umghar, remontent à cette origine. Chacun des deux forme l'essentiel de deux sous-groupes : a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, dualité où la *taqbilt* trouve tension et équilibre internes.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

Respectivement, à ces deux *ikhs*-s s'ajoutent, mais de dignité moindre, et sans autonomie dans les partages d'irrigation, 4 autres lignées d'immigrants. L'organisation d'ensemble se présente comme suit, telle que le rôle d'irrigation la traduit, avec une netteté exempte de préoccupations ethnologiques, certes, mais contrainte à l'exactitude par ses incidences pratiques.

Division générale du groupe	Subdivision en *ikhs*-s de base	*ikhs*-s surajoutés	Origine des *ikhs*-s surajoutés	Tour d'eau
a. Zbayr.	*a. Umghar.*			Un jour.
	a. u Mbark. a. Âbdnnûr.			Trois jours, dont deux pour chacun des partenaires alternativement.
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'oggwa expulsés de Fensu il y a un siècle.	Trois jours, dont deux pour chacun des partenaires alternativement.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin. Imzilen. a. Lkut'ayn.	Demsira d'Iguntar. Venus des Wijjan il y a deux siècles. Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			Un jour.

N. B. Le bassin, dit Cheharij ddu-lma, ne fonctionne que du lever au coucher du soleil. Le rôle d'irrigation porte sur huit jours.

Nous retrouverons plus bas d'autres détails sur l'irrigation. Observons d'ores et déjà que l'ordre en est rigoureusement gentilice. L'adjonction de nouveaux éléments, quoique d'une ancienneté dépassant parfois le siècle, n'a nullement influé sur une structure dualiste qui se reflétait jusqu'aux derniers temps de *siba* dans la rivalité politique entre les deux *ikhs*-s d'origine : a. Umghar et a. Bakhkha. Le premier était voué traditionnellement à la prépondérance municipale. Le second à l'*initiative* agricole. Neutre, l'*ikhs* des Imzilen fournissait des conciliateurs : c'est encore lui à qui a été demandé récemment, par élection tumultuaire, un juge coutumier. Les a. Lamin inauguraient la guerre. Les ait Umghar ayant formé alliance avec les Idma et leur dynastie naissante, les a. Ânunu, ont consolidé leur propre pouvoir, et assuré l'avantage à l'amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, père du chef actuel.

Aujourd'hui, les a. Mh'nd comprennent 120 foyers, auxquels il convient d'en ajouter 44 émigrés, et plus ou moins fixés à l'extérieur. Ces chiffres, lors de l'enquête de 1929, étaient respectivement de 100 et 13 feux. Progression de 1/5 en vingt ans.

UNE ÉMIGRATION ARCHAÏQUE

Cette émigration est un phénomène ancien. Les partants s'installent à demeure dans le pays d'élection, mais gardent leurs terres au pays natal. On les revoit au moment de la récolte. En avril 1951, un effectif de 60 hommes, soit d'un par deux foyers, descendit en plaine pour la moisson. En revanche, l'émigration ouvrière est encore inconnue.

Un tiers environ des a. Mh'nd est installé hors des Seksawa. Ce phénomène, de type ancien, et non encore influencé par la poussée industrielle du Maroc, a sans doute une certaine valeur documentaire. Parmi ces foyers émigrés on en compte : 1 installé à Marrakech, 4 à Casablanca, 3 à Imintanout, 3 à Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 en ait Âbdella, 2 à Ghdir Bnan, 4 en Ud Didan, 3 en Ud Mumna, 4 à Lallaᶜ Ariba, 1 en Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâᶜ), 10 à Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 en ait ᶜAliwach (Mjjat'). C'est-à-dire que tous sont partis vers le N.

Il a paru intéressant de retrouver en plaine, là où ils sont à portée directe de l'enquête, quelques-uns de ces émigrés temporaires ou définitifs.

Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 ans) bien qu'habitant Agadir Inflas (Dwiran) a encore tous ses parents en a. Mh'nd. Depuis quarante ans il a fait la navette entre les deux villages : c'est sans doute son exemple qui a décidé plusieurs de ses voisins à s'établir comme lui dans la plaine. En a. Mh'nd il a gardé des terres, que son fils exploite. A Agadir Inflas il commerce, malgré sa cécité déjà ancienne. Il est marié à une femme des Dwiran et compte finir ses jours en plaine.

Lh'sen u Abdallah n-a. Barka (40 ans) est venu à Takennurt (bas Seksawa) en 1945 (famine). A perdu ses terres en ait Mh'nd, mais ne renonce pas à les revendiquer. Pour le moment, il cultive le champ de sa femme à Takennurt. Son épouse, originaire des ait Âbdella, lui a donné 3 enfants. Il se considère comme établi à demeure : pourtant il a toujours un neveu en a. Mh'nd.

Son neveu Moh'ammed u Âli n-a Barka (30 ans), émigré en 1945 (famine) à Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), y vit sans terre, comme manouvrier agricole. Il a gardé des champs et une maison en a. Mh'nd où il espère revenir un jour. Marié à une femme des a. Lh'sen et père de 4 enfants.

Lh'oseyn b. Lkhd'ir n-a. Âbdennur (50 ans), n'a pas de terres à Ilutjan (Bas Seksawa), mais il en possède en a. Mh'nd où son fils reste pour les cultiver. A Ilutjan, il vit comme associé agricole, a épousé une femme étrangère (Idma), dont il a 5 enfants. Il ne compte pas rester toujours à Ilutjan, mais remonter finir ses jours au pays.

Moh'ammed u Bella n-a. Umzil (35 ans) n'est à Bulᶜwân que depuis un an. Il n'a pas de terres ici, mais en garde en a. Mh'nd d'où l'a chassé la pauvreté. Marié à une femme de chez lui, il compte rentrer à la récolte et ne revenir qu'aux labours prochains, toujours comme associé agricole.

Cas à peu près analogue d'Âbdallah u Moh'ammed (40 ans), travaillant à Agadir Inflas comme khammès de Lh'oseyn u Lh'sen n-a. Barka (40 ans), salarié à Taqennurt, de Lh'sen u Abdallah (20 ans) khammès à Tizi Wargyun, et de quelques autres jeunes.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 ans) s'est fixé depuis sa jeunesse à Bulᶜwân, comme client de l'*amghar*. Il s'est construit une maison et est considéré comme du pays, bien que sa femme soit aussi des a. Mh'nd. Il s'estime définitivement installé. De même, son parent Lh'sen u Ah'med, bien qu'il fasse encore la navette avec la montagne.

Âddi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 ans) vient à Ilutjan depuis sa jeunesse comme khammès. Un jour il épousa une femme d'Ilutjan et acquit des terres sur place. Il retourne cependant en montagne chaque année pour acheter des noix.

Son parent Âli u Moh'ammed (50 ans) qui s'était pareillement marié à Ilutjan, a perdu sa femme et s'est remarié avec une compatriote. Mais il a gardé des terres à Ilutjan où il est définitivement établi.

Ce reportage, fait sur place par L. Robine, qui voudra bien trouver ici l'expression de ma gratitude, renseigne sur une douzaine de cas individuels. La même enquête, opérée à Tafttacht en Chyâd'ma, donne une autre nuance : celle de gens naturalisés plus avant dans une tribu étrangère, mais gardant toujours peu ou prou ce lien immobilier et sentimental avec le village d'origine.

Quoi qu'il en soit, et même s'agissant du secteur limité au débouché du Seksawa dans le Dir, cette émigration, ainsi fixée à divers moments d'âge et d'ancienneté, ne laisse pas d'illustrer l'essentielle mobilité — arrivants et partants — de la population dans le Haut-Atlas occidental. Mais cette mobilité ne modifie ni les rythmes, ni les structures de base.

MISE EN VALEUR DU TERROIR

Le terroir a. Mh'nd, relativement au reste de l'agriculture de vallée, constitue une unité assez puissante, ainsi qu'en font foi les chiffres ci-dessous : céréaliculture : en irrigué : orge, 50 ha — maïs, 25 ha ; en sec : orge 32 ha. Arboriculture : 1.590 amandiers en irrigué ; 5.750 en sec ; 2.230 noyers. Ajoutons un cheptel de 195 bovins, 470 ovins, 720 caprins. Signe d'aisance : 14 mulets.

A chacune de ces activités : cultures irriguées, cultures en sec, élevage, correspondent des secteurs organisés, entre lesquels de notables différences de nature physique, d'utilisation, de rythme social, et même de densité toponymique, introduisent non seulement une division du travail, mais un ordre qualitatif lié à la vie et aux conceptions du groupe.

ÉLEVAGE

Du village, qui est lui-même à plus de 1.800 m., on voit la montagne enneigée pendant une bonne partie de l'année. Comme dans tous les Seksawa, la stabulation, avec pâtures préparées, fourrages fauchés, herbes collectées, pailles emmagasinées, glands et navets de conserve, s'impose pour le bétail, de longues périodes durant. Le pacage s'organise cependant sur deux secteurs, par roulement. L'un, le pâquis de montagne, au-dessus et au S. du village, l'Adrar, est mis en défens de mars

à juin. L'autre, sur l'Ameznir, vers le massif d'Ibuban, est mis en défense de juin à janvier. On connaît cette procédure de la mise en défens, *ig^{w}mi* représentée en bien d'autres cantons des Seksawa. Jointe à la pratique des fourrages fauchés, des pâtures conservées et de l'abri, elle traduit un système cohérent bien adapté.

CULTURES EN SEC

Si l'on excepte quelques labours pratiqués sur le pourtour de l'entonnoir du côté S., le gros des emblavures a. Mh'nd s'étend, en direction du massif d'Ibuban, sur un renflement de terrain de quelque 2.000 m. d'altitude, où, grâce à une pluviométrie favorable, encore qu'indéterminable, et aussi sans doute, à l'enneigement passager, prospèrent l'orge et le seigle. Chose très nette, l'*albur* est divisé en « quartiers », *tigh^{w}mrin*, ou simplement *tismawin*, tels que — si nous suivons, de la crête S., l'arc de cercle qui se présente à nous avec, loin en arrière plan, l'Ilikri — nous trouvons les toponymes suivants : Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (pointements rocheux caractéristiques), un dôme adouci s'épandant de ces roches jusqu'à l'Ameznir, et qui porte le nom de Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

Sur chacun de ces quartiers, d'ailleurs tous appropriés privativement, est affirmée la vocation de chaque *ikhs*, tout comme en irrigué. Mais l'éloignement, la difficulté des transports, et sans doute aussi le caractère de confins que, même à l'échelle de ces cantons, offrent ces étendues, relativement à la densité, à la proximité, et si j'ose dire à la « présence » du terroir irrigué, tout cela fait que les rivalités entre puissants s'y donnent libre cours, excluant peu ou prou les faibles. Mais ceux-là ont conscience de leur droit. En août 1950, interrogeant avec J. Dresch un modeste éleveur rencontré du côté de la source, nous pûmes noter qu'il énumérait, comme son droit foncier portant sur tous les quartiers d'*albur*, les noms suivants :

— pourtour de l'entonnoir : Anammer Udrar (sur le Zkkat'), Inwâlen (sur l'Awrir Iwiggin) ;
— en direction d'Ibuban : Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (vers le Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu-^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ʃsekni ;
— enfin, dans le thalweg : Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

Soit, pour un tout petit pays, une douzaine de quartiers où s'exercera, si l'on peut dire, sa vocation de propriétaire et surtout, en l'espèce, de revendicant : ce « droit » finit par constituer une sorte de chantage permanent du pauvre.

Disons, en anticipant quelque peu, que cette règle a été recoupée maintes fois. Elle s'offre aux gens du cru avec l'évidence d'une loi organique. Elle unit la vie de groupe et garantit son équilibre, par ces tensions judiciaires et morales qui, non moins que le fruit du sillon, en font la vitalité, la virilité, et qui l'assurent contre la précarité et les périls de la vie de montagne.

Toponymie du terroi

Noms de quartiers	Noms d			
Twuttyan (cf. awuttu « limite »).	Talghachit (dérivé d'un nom d'*ikhs*).	Agerd'ʷ Wazar « col du figuier ».	F-usderm-an « sur cet escarpement ».	Iwchchah'en.
	Dar-uzerg « au moulin ».	Ifdisn-an « les murs de pierre sèche ».	Taglagalt-an « l'endroit où stagnent les eaux ».	Uzrar « la soif (lieu très sec il y a du gravi « Imezrar »).
Taqddut « la déclivité ».	Wa-lemri « le miroitant ».	Asdremʷ Wanz'-et't'a « l'escarpement de l'*a.* » (cf. plus bas).	Ihlawen (dérivé d'un nom).	Ush'aq (dér d'un nom).
Tighermin « les champs en gradins ».	Amlal Wuggugʷen « le sablon des captages ».	Taghʷzit n-ait Sâid « le champ des a. S ».	Ughzif n-tghermin « les champs en long ».	Agd'ay n-tgh min « la m des champs ».
Amegdul w-uzddar « le parc d'en bas ».	Bu-ih'chach « les huttes ».	Talh'chut « les galets ».	Dar wad'il « aux vignes ».	Mm - wamim (nom de plant
Amegdul u'ella « le parc d'en haut ».	Amegdul Ichahan « le parc d'I ».			
Tawddwa.	Targa n'ayt Zbayr « la séguia des a. Z ».	Makanʷ uchboro « au delà du retranchement ».	Tamalutl-Leftrug « ubac de L ».	
Anammran « l'adret ».	Adukkʷali.			
Ddu-wanz'et't'a (*anz'ell'a*, « pellicule de mousse sur une pierre ou sur l'eau »).	Taghʷzit m-Mazuz « le champ de M ».	Findus.	Tighedwin-an « les palonniers » (parcelles longues et parallèles).	Mm-ti-leh'la « pommiers ».
Tafarnut « four à pain ».	Tafarnut n-ayt Umghar.	Tafarnut n-a. Bakhkha.		

rrigué des Ait Mh'nd

ubdivisions de quartiers					
Mm-uqelmun « en forme de capuchon ».	Im-tmid'i (timid'i : « le cent de noix »).	Agerd' wad'il « le col de la vigne ».	Agh^{w}zafan « en long ».	Bu-tfaliyn « aux éboulis ».	Tar agharas « sans chemin ».
mi l-lutrat « le débouché du collier d'attelage ».	Ag^{w}mmad' i-yghzer « la rive du ravin ».	Bu-lh'chu « aux graviers ».			
amggaynant « le creux humide ».	Ddu-taswikt « sous le noyer ».	Mm-telggut « aux *aloggo* (genêt) ».			
g^{w}mmad'n - tafrawt « la rive du bassin ».	Ikniwun « les jumeaux ».				
g^{w}dal-an « le parc ».	Aghdaw wagmar « le palonnier du cheval ».				

Toponymie du terroir irrigué des Ait Mh'nd *(suite)*

Noms de quartiers	Noms de subdivisions de quartiers		
Afud-an « le genou ».	Amlal^{w} wafud'-an « le sablon d'Afud'an ».		
Talat n-tenghort « le creux de l'excavation ».	Lluz n-ait Naçer « l'amanderaie des a. N ».	Tinummar l-lmechh'i « les adrets des fruits secs ».	Tagh^{w}zit u-wamalw-an « le champ de l'ubac ».
Tagenza ufella « le talus d'en haut ».	Ddu-Tgenza « sous le talus ».	F-ugenza « sur le talus ».	Amlal n-fu-wasif « le sablon au-dessus du torrent ».
Ddu^{w}-wsderm « sous l'escarpement ».			
Wankutuf.			
Ddu-tg^{w}mma « sous les maisons ».	Ied'ar-an « les vannes ».	Talat n-wkhrib « le creux des ruines ».	
Ddu-wz'ru « sous la roche ».	Amlal i-ymzilen « le sablon des forgerons ».	Ait Lamin.	Ait Bakhkha.
Ughad' « de la chèvre ».	Ibh'irn n-ait Umghar « les champs des a. U ».	Ibh'irn n-a. Lah'sen u Sâid « champs des a. L ».	
Igherman-an « les parcelles ».	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait Abdennur « le champ des a. A ».	Tigh^{w}ziwinn ait Umghar « les champs des a. U ».	Amlal n-ait Umghar « le sablon des a. U ».
Dar - Talmechmacht « à l'abricotier ».	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Umghar « le champ des a. U ».	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Abdennur « le champ des a. A ».	
Tifratin « les petits bassins ».	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait H'sayn « le champ des a. H ».	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Umghar « les champs des a. U ».	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. H'ammu u-Bella « le champ des a. H' ».

Toponymie du terroir irrigué des Ait Mh'nd *(suite)*

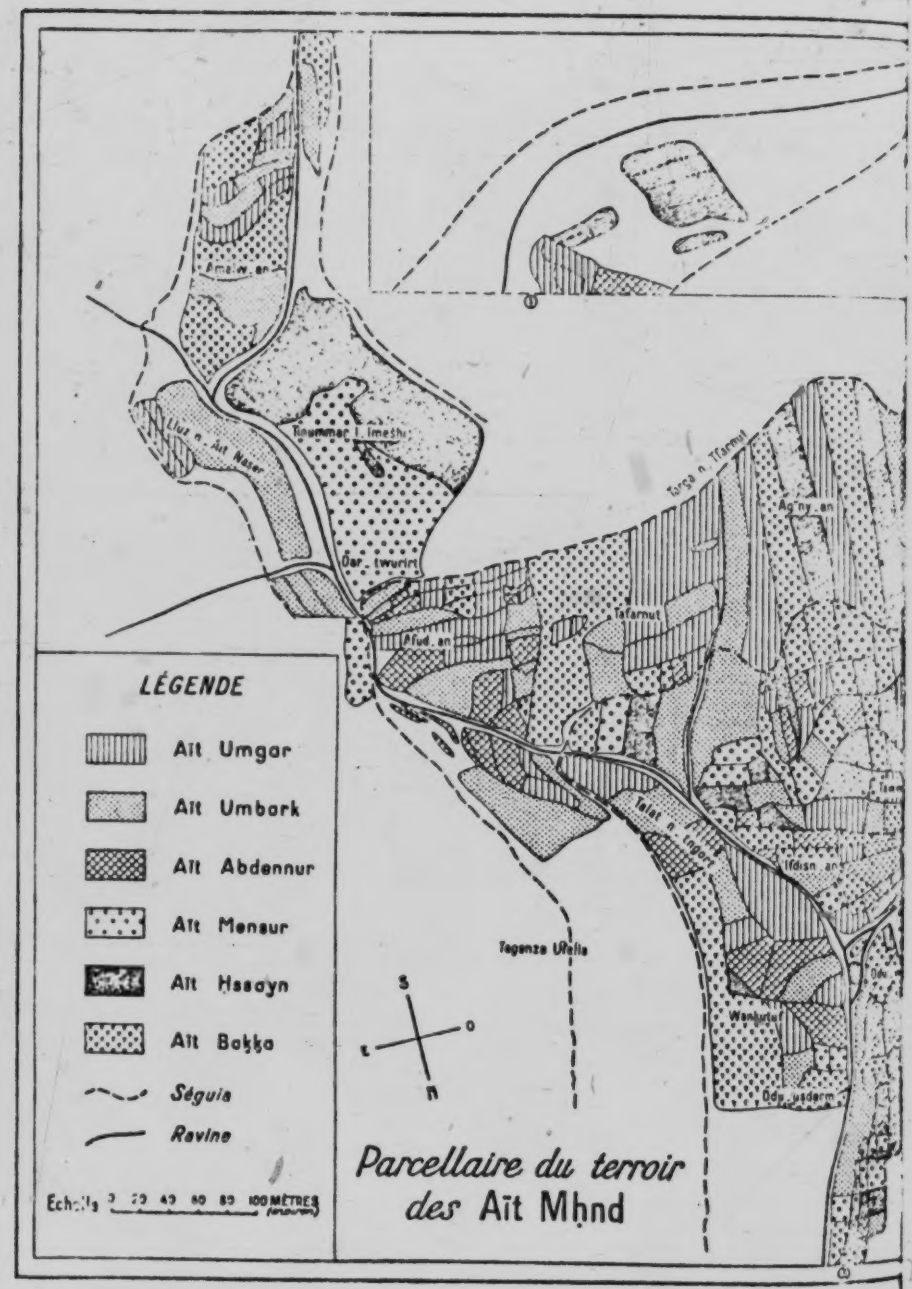
Noms de quartiers	Noms de subdivisions de quartiers		
Iger zegg^{w}aghen « le champ rouge ».	Tigh^{w}ziwin i-ymzilen « les champs des forgerons ».	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Lamin « les champs des a. L. ».	Tagh^{w}zit n-ayt Lkut'ayn « les champs des a. L. ».
Dar-uzerg « au moulin ».	Ibh'irn n-ayt Mençur « les champs des a. M. ».	Ibh'irn n-a. Lkut'ayn « les champs des a. L. » (cf. ci-dessus).	Ibh'irn n-ayt Buirddamen « les champs des a. B. ».
Amettul m-Merzug « le terrain de M. ».	Ibh'irn n-a. Bakhkha « les champs des a. B. ».	Ibh'irn n-ait Mençur « les champs des a. M. ».	
Talat n-tsettuft « le creux de T. ».	Ibh'irn n-T't'aleb ᶜAli « les champs du T'. ».	Ibh'irn n-ayt H'fid u yidar « les champs des a. H. ».	Ibh'irn n Abdella « les champs d'A. ».

CULTURES EN IRRIGUE

Ce qui frappe tout d'abord, c'est l'extrême densité toponymique. Si notre appellation de terroir peut valoir pour l'ensemble, compte tenu du fait que c'est un tout continu, une première différenciation par quartiers apparaît aussitôt. J'entends ici par « quartier » une unité agraire ayant son autonomie d'irrigation. Le terroir des a. Mh'nd comprend quelque 25 quartiers ainsi compris. En voici les noms : Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul, Tawddwa, Annammeran, Ddu-wanz't't'a Tighe dwinan, Ag^{w}dalan, Tafernut, Afud'an, Talat n-Tnghort, Tagenza, Ddu-wsderm, Wakuntuf, Ddutgomma, Ughad, Ddu w-wz'ru, Ighermanan, Dar-talmechmacht, Tifratin, Iger zegg^{w}aghen, n-dar-uzerg 'Amtul m-Merzug, Talat n-tsttuft.

Mais bien d'autres noms, correspondant à des espaces plus petits, pourraient être cités, à l'intérieur du cadre pourtant assez exigu (1/2 ha. environ chacun) que constitue le quartier. Un véritable pullulement toponymique se fait jour entre les mailles. Par rapport au quartier spacieux « d'*albur* », tel Unan, le quartier irrigué *ddu waman* est fort exigu. Mais il est lui-même un vaste multiple d'autres cellules élémentaires, pouvant aller jusqu'à l'humble série de parcelles. Irait-il même jusqu'à la parcelle, si notre étude pouvait descendre si loin ? « Chaque *tibh'irt* a son nom » : tel est du moins l'adage que l'on entend spontanément proférer lors de ce genre d'enquête. Sur le terrain pourtant, il faut constater que si le « quartier » se décompose en noms secondaires, il n'y a pas de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh



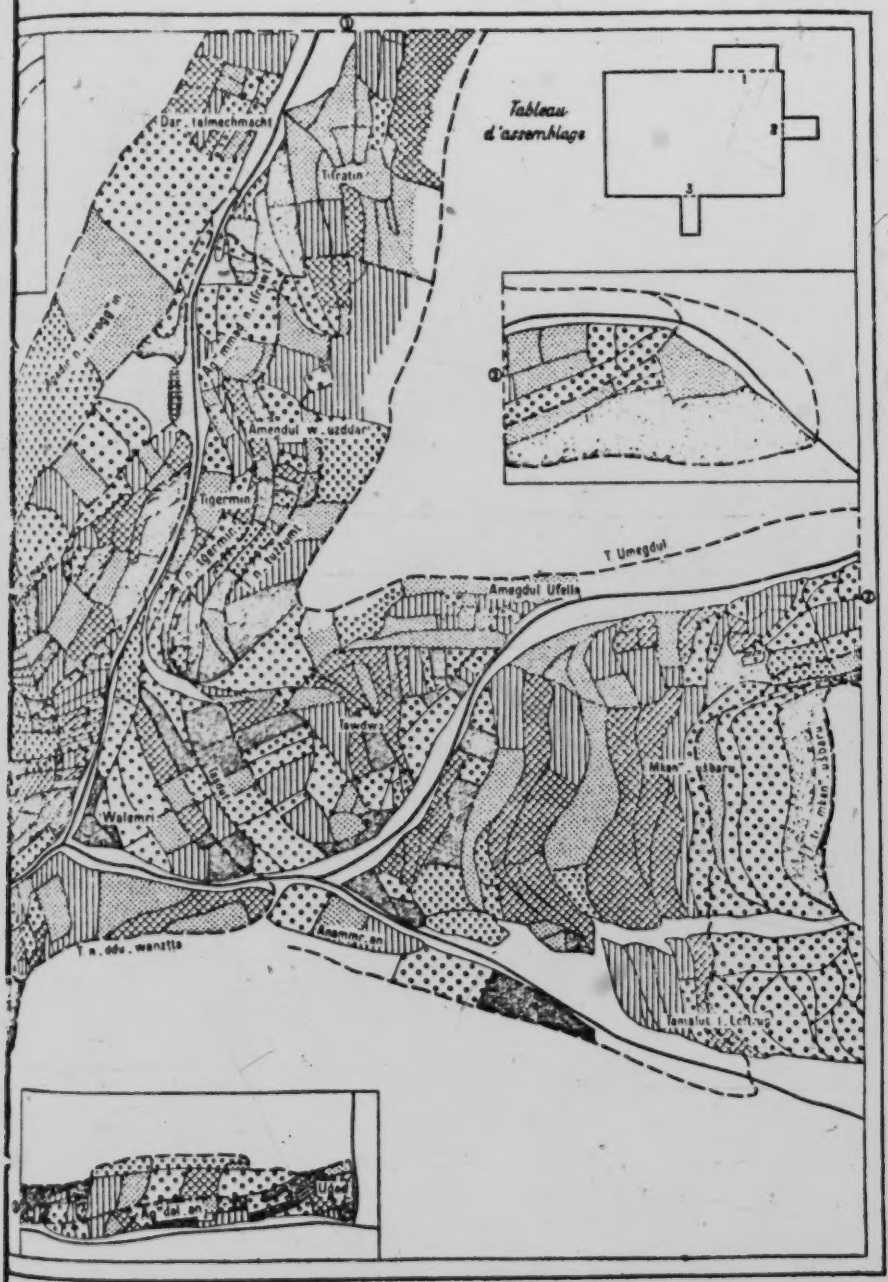


Tableau d'assemblage
1
2
3
Dar . talmechmacht
Tifratin
Amendul w . uzdar
Tigermin
T Umegdul
Amegdul Ufella
Walemmi
Mkan
Tamalut i . Lehrug

nom pour chaque gradin, encore moins pour chaque parcelle. Une densité variable de noms est d'ailleurs remarquée par le paysan lui-même. S'il n'a pas la notion abstraite du « quartier », il la met en action de façon évidente, et l'étiquette des termes de *tamazirt* ou ar. *bot'ira*. On entend parfois *tighmert*, mis en rapport avec ar. *rokna*, « coin », sans doute « coin de terre ». *Tighmert* m'a été défini comme désignant l'angle convexe que forme le saillant du talus délimitant le gradin, tandis que la superficie ainsi circonscrite était dénommée *tawz'z'ut*, plur. *tiwz'z'a*, soit peut-être : « le redan » et « le recoin ».

Le tableau ci-dessus, dressé par information directe sur les lieux, fait ressortir que pour 25 quartiers proprement dits, 80 noms environ d'unités locales inférieures sont connus. Soit 3 ou 4 sous-multiples toponymiques pour chaque quartier. Mais cette densité est fort inégale. Le quartier central de Twuttyan, le mieux irrigué, le plus harmonieusement placé au cœur du terroir, quartier privilégié en quelque sorte, comprend 17 vocables à lui seul.

MÉCANISME DE L'IRRIGATION ET DE L'ASSOLEMENT

Tout cet ensemble n'est pas irrigué par moins d'une quinzaine de rigoles ayant chacune son nom. Les voici : Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul t. n-tuz'z'umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t.n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t. n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessoire, recueille le ruissellement).

On a vu plus haut le mécanisme de l'irrigation. Il ne fonctionne, autrement dit le rôle d'eau *tiwaliwin* ne prend son effet, qu'au moment où l'étiage, aux approches de la sécheresse, impose une réglementation. C'est ce facteur physique qui imposera alors le recours au rythme de répartition. De même, et à l'intérieur de chaque part, au cas où le module est insuffisant pour irriguer simultanément l'ensemble des ayants-droit, il y aura entre ceux-ci tirage au sort. C'est encore cette pure question de fait qui déterminera s'il y a ou non possibilité de cultiver sur chaumes après la récolte de l'orge, et d'étendre ou non le maraîchage. Ce qui, en revanche, ne dépend pas de circonstances extérieures, c'est l'assolement biennal, par soles alternées d'orge et de maïs, que nous observons ici. Ce battement ne porte que sur 4 quartiers, qui sont, à vrai dire, les mieux irrigués et comme le cœur du terroir : Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. Les chiffres donnés plus haut indiquent que l'assolement fonctionne sur quelque 25 ha., c'est-à-dire sur la moitié de l'ensemble des cultures irriguées.

REMARQUES SUR LE PARCELLAIRE

Sur toute l'étendue du terroir irrigué, chaque *ikhs* est représenté par quelques champs dans chacun des quartiers. Sans exception. Malgré ventes, héritages féminins, nantissements, usurpations, etc., cette règle

ressort encore de la lecture d'un parcellaire établi en 1948 (fig. 8), et dont il convient de préciser qu'il est l'œuvre d'un jeune ingénieur agricole ignorant de la coutume, et par conséquent non suspect d'a priorisme. Dans le cas nombreux des *rrahn*-s, il a évidemment noté la situation possessoire. On remarquera, aussi — et cette déformation est intéressante — que les 4 *ikhs*-s surajoutés ont été indiqués comme se confondant avec ceux des *ikhs*-s de base qui sont en quelque sorte leurs répondants : autre trait de permanence structurale. Les informateurs du plan ont évidemment basé leurs propres déclarations sur ce qu'ils savaient, en tant qu'a. Mh'nd, de la répartition de l'eau : confirmation du caractère intégralement gentilice qu'affecte celle-ci. Enfin, la figure ainsi obtenue donne une idée qui reste encore au-dessous de la régularité prêtée par l'interprétation locale à cet échantillonnage parcellaire des *ikhs*-s entre les quartiers. L'examen de ce plan, tel qu'il est, et sous les réserves ci-dessus, n'en est pas moins concluant.

On remarquera la concentration plus dense des morceaux vers le centre (Twuttyan et autres) : évidemment l'alternance entre les soles implique que, dans chacune, chacun soit équitablement représenté. Ailleurs, au contraire, les parcelles sont plus spacieuses. A deux endroits périphériques (Ag"nian et Mkan Uchboro) elles affectent un parallélisme en lanières qui évoque un partage systématique.

B) Autre cas de classicisme montagnard : Agersili

J. Dresch décrit, sous le nom de capture d'Agersili, un phénomène caractéristique des changements de niveaux de base intervenus de part et d'autre de la flexure subatlasique. Toute une ramification de vallées à l'aspect mûr, descendant des flancs du Tabgurt, se prolongeait, par le seuil d'Inraren Z'dinin en une dépression aux pentes molles, l'Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, vers le torrent d'Ammern, où elle se jette à hauteur d'Ad'erd'ur. Mais le système d'amont a été capté par un autre ravin, abrupt celui-là, l'Ighzer Wanchkrir, qui l'a happé par une dénivellation brusque, formant cascade, et l'entraîne vers la vallée principale. Le ressaut est de 300 m. C'est que « la progression de l'Ighzer Wanchkrir a été favorisée par la faible résistance des schistes ordoviciens pincés le long de l'accident subatlasique ». Venant de la source de l'Amerdul et des hauts pâquis du Tabgurt, concentrant l'humidité des neiges qui recouvrent Agersili pendant deux ou trois mois chaque année, un courant d'eaux bondit vers l'aval. Mais, canalisé par l'industrie des hommes, il ne cèdera pas à l'attraction de la capture. C'est dans la direction marquée par la tectonique, c'est-à-dire vers Ad'erd'ur, en suivant le Tzemzgart, qu'il se dirige : l'art a rétabli l'état de choses antérieur au remaniement des niveaux de base et à l'action de l'érosion régressive. D'où une séguia très longue, que le filet d'eau met, dit-on, douze heures à parcourir en entier.

C'est l'artère vitale des Idma. Elle dessert les cultures de leur plus vieil habitat : Asikis en premier lieu, avec ses champs d'Agersili, puis

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir a toujours eu une desserte moins favorisée que les deux métropoles. Un des premiers actes de l'histoire des Idma a certainement été d'apurer juridiquement, par transaction avec les voisins et les anciens occupants : a. Umgan vers le Tabgurt, a. Gasa vers la vallée principale, la situation des terres et des eaux. J'ai donné ailleurs le texte de deux de ces traités, datés respectivement de 1702 et 1703.

Lorsque du Tizi Wudud, sur le flanc Nord du Tabgurt, on observe le panorama d'aval, on a sous les yeux la bifurcation même de l'histoire des Idma depuis deux ou trois siècles. A peu près sans doute ce qui se présenta aux envahisseurs venus de l'Anti-Atlas. Ces lieux sont chargés de passé : de ce passé montagnard qu'ignorent, bien entendu, les chroniques, et que l'observation moderne, devant tant de traits d'une rustique immutabilité, négligerait elle-même si l'on n'y prenait garde. Entre autres indices archéologiques, se pressent, dans un chétif périmètre : la « borne » *tiktit* de Lalla Aziza, marquant la séparation entre Idma et gens de Tasa sur le pâquis d'Amerdul ; la prairie *az'mu* des ait Irz'z'i, où eut lieu un massacre de cette vieille population, nouveaux cananéens de ces nouveaux élus ; les « Aires jointes », Inraren Z'dinin, seuil dominant Wanchkrir de 300 m., à pic, et où s'opéraient les élections annuelles de chefs ; au même lieudit, un édifice de pierres sèches qui serait le tombeau d'une Lalla Azzo nt Âmer, dont le nom plonge le chercheur dans une grande perplexité : ne serait-ce point Lalla Aziza ?

Agersili est, avec son dévalement de terrasses sur quelque 80 ha., le plus bel, et, toutes proportions gardées, le plus colossal exemple de cultures en gradins de cette partie de l'Atlas. Le système s'étend, sur les deux faces d'une ravine, 3 km. durant. Nous le dominerons mieux en nous adossant au flanc du Tabgurt, du côté de la petite source intermittente, dite Talat wuz'ma. Notre vue plonge d'ici dans l'axe. Vers le N.-E. nous apparait, sur la droite, une crête calcaire, pointant en flèche à l'Agadir waleggu. Dans l'arrière-fond, le dôme du Tindri, qui domine Ikis. Sur la rive droite du vallon, deux villages de pierres sèches, Agerd'ayan, le plus important, et Twurirt. Ce qui frappe à première vue dans les cultures, c'est l'alternance de couleurs qu'entraîne, selon les saisons, le roulement des soles.

Le terroir se divise en quartiers, correspondant chacun à une prise principale *açder* sur chacune des 11 rigoles soit, d'amont en aval : targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran sur la rive droite ; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma sur la rive gauche.

Ce terroir irrigué, d'une quarantaine d'ha., appartient aux Idma. Une première analyse y repère leur subdivision en 6 grands *ikhs*-s. Mais, bien que ces 6 noms se retrouvent aussi dans le finage des autres bourgs, en général il y a spécialisation de sous-multiples d'*ikhs*, si l'on veut, entre ces différents secteurs. Ici, ce sont essentiellement les gens d'Usikis qui cultivent, en même temps que plus bas, sur les terrasses profondes du village (un escalier à 200 marches), et, sur la vallée principale, à Imi^{w}Usikis et à Tighwla. L'ensemble de ces 4 terroirs constitue la

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

partie irriguée du finage d'Usikis. Part du Lion. A Agersili, par exemple, parmi les représentants du grand *ikhs* des Iseqqalen, nous distinguons : a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar ; parmi ceux du grand *ikhs* des a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah, apparaissent les Ih'chtrag, les a. bu Mh'nd, les a. Berka ; parmi les a. Ilarzg : les a. Berchman et les a. Lehri. D'autres sous-rameaux apparaîtront à Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir ou Tanssmekht.

Cette spécialisation par secteurs semble être corollaire de l'amplification du groupe. Elle est complémentaire d'une autre règle ordonnant l'équilibre du groupe sur l'espace qu'il occupe, par de minutieux échantillonnages. C'est ainsi que les Idma se répartissent en 5 branches. Elles-mêmes se divisent en 33 *ikhs*, dont deux actuellement éteints. L'ampleur moyenne d'un *ikhs* peut donc être évaluée à 13 maisons, 15 ; 5 foyers, 67 ; 74 personnes. Sur ces 5 branches, 4 sont représentées à Usikis, 3 à Ad'erd'ur. Deux semblent s'être concentrées particulièrement dans un village, par exemple Tasselli ou Ad'erd'ur. Parmi les *ikhs* eux-mêmes, deux sont représentés dans plusieurs villages. L'un, les Iseqqalen, est représenté partout. C'est évidemment le groupe dominant.

Une harmonie, obéissant à des lois simples de représentation équilibrée, se reconnaît donc dans la composition qui règne entre les Idma et leur pays. Mais une harmonie encore plus raffinée règne dans la distribution des terroirs. Comment, dans le cas d'Agersili, se combinent la division du terroir en quartiers en celle du groupe en *ikhs*-s : c'est ce qui ressortira du tableau de la page suivante.

COMMENTAIRES DU TABLEAU

Ce tableau chiffré a été établi par moi-même, à la suite de nombreux recoupements sur place, dont l'un fut fait, en août 1950, en présence de J. Dresch. Il est confirmé en gros par un autre tableau, figuratif celui-là, établi par un lettré d'Ad'erd'ur. La figure indigène se base, non plus sur la division par quartiers, mais sur la desserte par rigoles. Comme le quartier a ici une définition technique, à savoir d'être desservi par une vanne principale, le résultat revient au même. Un flottement toutefois dans le nombre des parcelles : 3.546 selon la première méthode, 3.670 selon la seconde. Un coefficient d'incertitude de quelque 4 % est négligeable. Étudions donc les principaux traits qui découlent de cet ensemble d'indices, chiffrables, on le voit, avec une exactitude suffisante.

LA DISTRIBUTION IMMOBILIÈRE

Les indications de propriété enregistrées ici procèdent surtout de la conscience que le groupe se fait de ses bases foncières, c'est-à-dire d'un commencement d'interprétation qui a tenu compte, dans certains cas, du propriétaire plutôt que de l'occupant. Dans d'autres cas, en revanche, c'est la situation possessoire, basée sur un *rrahn* ou d'une usurpation ancienne, qui a influencé la notation. Notamment s'agissant de la famille de l'actuel *amghar*, les Iseqqalen. Tel quel pourtant, et malgré tous les avatars résultant d'aliénations et d'héritages féminins,

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Analyse du par

Nombre de parcelles appartenant à chacun

Noms des *ikhs*-s	1. Talat-an.	2. Tanluft.	3. Tamsayt-an.	4. Iz'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Irz'.	6. Ftabarin.	7. Talat n-tfrawt.	8. Talburt.	9. Amaluyalch.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Targa wammas.
Iseqqalen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	16
a. Ilarzg	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'sayn		3		29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Âbdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	18
a Ulila			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi			15	8	12					14	16	
TOTAUX	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	155	93	134
Assolement												
Les initiales o (orge), n (navet), m (maïs), indiquent la culture pratiquée sur chacun de ces quartiers pendant les campagnes :												
1948-49	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1951-52	o	o	o + n	o + m	m	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n
1952-53	m	m	m	m + o	o	m + o	o	m	m	m	m	m

ellaire d'Agersili

des ikhs-*s dans chacun des quartiers ci-dessous*

13. Imz'ughan.	14. Firazaten.	15. Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	16. F-tghuni.	17. Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	18. Talaggut-an.	19. Ddugord'an.	20. Awm i-ymi y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	22. Talat Umghar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-Irz.	25. Awrir-an.	26. Talat n-Tfrawt.	27. Ait Yus.	
[illegible]	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1.095
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1.270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3.546
?	o	o	?	m	m	o	o	o	m	o	o	o	m	o	
o+n	o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m	m	n	o	m	m	o	o	m	
m	o	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	o+m	o	m	m		
o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m+n	m+n	m	o+n	o+n	m	o+n	o	o		
m	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	m	o	m	o	m		

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Toponymie d'Agersili

a) Rive gauche

Toponymes	Sens approximatif	Toponymes	Sens approximatif
Targa n-tghauni.	« la séguia des cascades ».	AytYus.	(nom propre).
Imi n-talat i-Ylarzg.	« l'entrée du creux d'Ilarzg ».	Ighzer-an.	« ce ravin ».
Tanluft.	« couleur de rouille d'usure ».	Ddu-wderg-an.	« sous ce roc ».
Talh'yant.	« à la barbiche ».	Asarun-temd'a.	« la rigole de la mare ».
Talat-an.	« le creux ».	Asaru n-aitYirz'.	« la rigole des a. I ».
Adaghas n-talt-an.	« l'abri du creux ».	Ighzer n-aitH'sayn.	« le ravin des a. H. ».
Ddu-f-igheim-an.	« sous le dessus de la banquette ».	Asaru awragh.	« la rigole jaune ».
Tiz'ma y-Ij'anaten.	« les prairies d'I ».	F-tabarin.	« succession de gradins en verticale (*lamart* ou *labart*) « barbe ».
Uggug n-trga n-tsila.	« la tête de la séguia du Tasila ».	Az'ruᵘwawuk.	« la pierre du hibou ».
Talat n-ggud'it.	« le creux du tas ».	Amalu n-talat n-tfrawt.	« l'ubac du creux du bassin ».
Amettul n-eisa.	« le champ de Aïssa ».	Tinummar umençur.	« les adrets d'A. ».
Tighʷza-y-an.	« les parcelles ».	Ddu-wdaghas.	« sous l'abri ».
Agʷerreggʷin.	« entre les séguias ».	Bu-yilf.	« le lieu au sanglier ».
Alkawsu.	« la serpe ».	Targa wammas.	« la séguia des saules ».
Iz'ma-an.	« les prés ».	Uggug n-trga wammas.	« la tête de la séguia... ».
Ighzer ulberj.	« le ravin du château »	Imezughan.	« terre rouge ».
Imi n-tghersi.	« la bouche du sacrifice ».	Talat n-tfrawt.	« le creux du bassin ».
Asaru y-imezran.	« la rigole d'I ».	Bu-lkhukh.	« celui aux pêchers ».
Targa y-Irz'.	« la séguia d'I ».	F-takuj'j'ut.	(mot inconvenant).
Tirwil.	« mince bande de parcelles enserrées entre plusieurs séguias ».	Timezgida n-f-irazaten.	« la mosquée de Firazaten » (*iraza : l'essart*).
Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	« le barrage de l'entrée des prairies ».	Badis.	(nom propre).
F-yighil-an.	« sur cette crête ».	Timutar-an.	« sorte de genêt ».
		Taghuni.	« la cascade ».
		Ighzer n-aitAli.	« la ravine des a. A ».

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Toponymie d'Agersili

b) Rive droite

Toponymes	Sens approximatif	Toponymes	Sens approximatif
Targa n-tussa-irh'h'a-len.	« la séguia de l'esplanade des nomades ».	Talat Umghar.	« le creux du chef ».
Targa n-talburt.	« la séguia du champ en sec ».	Targa w-umalu n-talat u-wmghar.	« la séguia de l'ubac du creux du chef ».
Amalu.	« l'ubac ».	Imi n-tegsart-an.	« le débouché de l'à pic ».
Targa w-umalu.	« la s. de l'ubac ».	Targa-wanammr-an.	« la s. de l'adret ».
Awerz u-wmalu.	« le sablon de l'ombre ».	Talat i-Yburk.	« le creux d'I ».
Berqiqch.	« les prunes ».	Ddu-wswgglegh.	« sous les dalles à sel ».
Talat g-yswggligh.	« le creux des dalles où l'on met du sel pour les troupeaux » *(asswgglagn)*.	Idughas u-wgerd'-an.	« les abris de la butte ».
Amalu n-ddu-wgadir.	« l'ubac du dessous du fortin ».		
Asaru l-lbaz.	« la rigole du faucon ».		
Ddu-turirt.	« sous la colline ».		
Tanikt.	« pierre ayant l'aspect des résidus de fonte ».		
Targa n-tanut.	« de l'entrée du petit puits ».		
Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	« l'ubac de l'entrée du petit puits ».		
Talggut-an.	« sorte de genêt ».		
Targa n-ddu-wgerd'-an.	« la s. du dessous des buttes ».		
Isdram.	« les escarpements ».		
Targa w-umalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	« la s. de l'ubac de l'entrée des prés ».		
Awerz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	« le sablon de l'entrée des prés ».		
Imi n-talat u-wmghar.	« l'entrée du creux du chef ».		

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ce document établit, à un coefficient de recoupement d'environ 75 %, que chaque *ikhs* est représenté sur chaque quartier. Ce recoupement portant sur plus de 25 quartiers, sur 6 *ikhs*-s et 3.500 parcelles, a son poids. Mais des inégalités apparaissent, tant dans la teneur du patrimoine respectif des *ikhs*-s que dans la prolifération de ceux-ci en *petits ikhs*-s puis en « familles ». Soit, pour les Iseqqalen : 7 familles, a. Ilarzg 11, a. H'sayn 2, a. Mh'nd u Abdallah 5, a. Ulila 3, a. Uh'qqi 1 seulement.

La loi d'échantillonnage vérifiée plus haut le serait beaucoup moins exactement (à 52 % pourtant), si nous tenions compte non des *ikhs*-s mais de leurs subdivisions. Elle ne s'applique plus à l'échelon famille. Rien d'étonnant à cela. C'est une règle de droit public, dirions-nous, et non de justice distributive. Elle s'arrête à un certain échelon, qui est celui de l'*ikhs*. Mais la prolifération de certains *ikhs*-s dans certains secteurs, où les autres se réduisent à une représentation de principe, révèle sans doute de complexes symétries. Peut-être y a-t-il eu répartition des villages entre groupes. Tous sont représentés dans chacun, mais dans des proportions variables, et cela produirait des accords reconnaissant à tel d'entre eux la primauté locale. Peut-être y a-t-il eu, au contraire, après un partage égalitaire, des remaniements qui tenaient compte de l'importance de fait prise dans le finage de tel village par tel ou tel *ikhs*.

Dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas, l'analyse immobilière mène donc la question du rapport des familles et des *petits ikhs*-s entre eux, d'une part, avec la mémoire généalogique de la *taqbilt*, d'autre part, et enfin avec la structure foncière et agricole. Rapport complexe et obscur, mais, très certainement, rapport.

LES QUARTIERS

Des mesures relativement précises donnent, pour la partie irriguée d'Agersili, 42 ha. Chacun des 27 quartiers couvre donc en moyenne 1 ha. 55. Ampleur considérable en économie de haute montagne : c'est le triple de ce que nous avons observé chez les a. Mh'nd tout voisins. Très clairs, d'autre part, sont les toponymes. On s'en rendra compte sur la liste ci-dessus, qui ne laisse place à nulle spéculation étymologique, mais simplement note le sens immédiatement perçu et traduit par l'usager. Cette liste comprend, outre les 27 quartiers, 48 autres noms, qui en sont les subdivisions. Il y a des chances pour que l'énumération n'en soit pas exhaustive. Mais là aussi, l'impression d'une densité aux mailles plus larges qu'aux a. Mh'nd, traduisant plus d'aisance d'espace, s'impose. Ces subdivisions de quartiers n'entrent pas en considération, semble-t-il, pour le jeu des soles, caractéristique d'Agersili. Leur nature véritable est donc plus complexe, et sans doute destinée à nous échapper. Elles sont peut-être la trace d'un système antérieur plus raffiné et où l'échantillonnage des lots allait encore plus loin. Peut-être, au contraire, n'ont-elles offert à des agencements historiques qu'un matériel brut et préexistant.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

L'AGRICULTURE

La surface moyenne de la parcelle est de 120 m² en irrigué : on peut arriver là-dessus à une approximation assez précise. Ce chiffre a une valeur symptomatique.

Le second trait frappant, et qui a déjà été signalé, c'est qu'à Agersili, comme en a. Mh'nd, et seulement là, la superficie est jugée suffisante pour qu'un assolement portant sur l'orge et le maïs, mais accessoirement aussi sur le navet, soit pratiqué. Nous avons consigné sur l'un de nos tableaux des indications recueillies sur un cycle de cinq ans. C'est peu. Mais, recoupée dans la tradition locale, fort affirmative sur ce point de technique, cette rotation peut être considérée comme établie. Il en ressort très nettement une cadence à deux temps, le classique assolement méditerranéen, avec intercalation, si j'ose dire, d'une jachère semestrielle : partout ailleurs, en effet, deux campagnes, l'une de maïs, l'autre d'orge, se superposent dans une même année. Outre la relative ampleur des disponibilités en terre, le retard aux cultures d'orge qu'impose à Agersili l'enneigement annuel est peut-être responsable de ce ralentissement du rythme agricole. Il semble pourtant qu'il n'en soit rien. Un autre terroir de montagne, dans l'Aziwal, pratique les semailles tardives (mars). Ailleurs, au contraire, à même altitude, on sème à l'époque habituelle, c'est-à-dire avant la chute des neiges. C'est le cas, notamment, des a. Mh'nd.

Ajoutons que, l'été, la moisson des orges et la traite des bêtes, qui pâturent alors grassement sur les chaumes, provoquent un déplacement général : court par la distance couverte, mais important puisqu'il intéresse, non seulement le troupeau mais aussi les familles. Elles s'établissent dans les deux villages de pierre sèche que nous avions remarqués. La disposition des cultures en soles continues rend possible cette dépaissance. En retour, le troupeau fume la terre.

Le système est donc bien combiné. Son ampleur aidant, et aussi le caractère privilégié qu'il tire de son appartenance au village victorieux d'Usikis, le plus prestigieux des villages Idma, on peut reconnaître en lui un véritable classicisme de l'agriculture montagnarde.

C) Ordre rural et attraction fiscale : Z'init'

C'est le lieu saint des Seksawa, leur asile *lh'orum*. Mais il est à noter que ses habitants, ministres du culte de Lalla Aziza, ne descendent nullement de celle-ci. Ce ne sont ni des *chechref* « chorfa », ni des *ig^{w}rramen*, « marabouts », mais seulement des *lfoqra*, « bedeaux », qu'aucun prestige ne distingue des populations d'alentour. Ils doivent à leur origine profane d'être moins respectés que les descendants de Sidi Mh'nd d'Ammern, ou de Sidi Lh'sen d'Asttif, encore que leur sainte soit la plus vénérée. Sans doute est-ce là un trait d'équilibre ou d'instinctive réserve du groupe à l'égard des dangers politiques que lui eût fait courir une lignée trop puissante de « marabouts ».

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Lorsqu'on considère la zaouia de l'escarpement de 1.000 à 1.200 m. qui la domine, on remarque, en contrebas et en aval du village, un terrain de culture, dit Tamazirt, d'une dizaine d'hectares qui rappelle la forme de l'Ile de la Cité. Il est divisé en tronçons par canaux et chemins, puis subdivisé en quadrilatères plus ou moins spacieux, différant tous les uns des autres par la force et la couleur de la végétation, c'est-à-dire selon la richesse en engrais du cultivateur.

Plusieurs quartiers : Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-tegʷrramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. Ces 26 quartiers n'ayant chacun qu'une superficie moyenne de 40 ares, s'éparpillent en une masse de parcelles individuelles dont on compte un demi-millier. D'où une surface moyenne unitaire de quelque 200 m². Cela est moins microscopique qu'on ne pouvait s'y attendre. La parcelle est relativement étendue par rapport au quartier, lui-même foisonnant et exigu. Mais c'est peut-être une conséquence du caractère assez particulier des rentrées opérées par les propriétaires à l'occasion de fêtes, offrandes, tournées. L'argent est ici brassé et l'investissement relativement considérable. Le budget du groupe est créditeur. De là des achats loin en plaine, qui entraînent corrélativement l'abandon des hautes terrasses et une certaine décadence de la culture montagnarde. Mais il s'agit là d'une évolution tardive. Ne nous y arrêtons pas.

Actuellement, trois *ikhs*-s : a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli se répartissent ces quartiers selon un échantillonnage d'autant plus enchevêtré qu'ils comportent près de 40 foyers d'ayants droit soit :

a. H'ammo.....	22	ayants droit	357	parcelles
a. Lh'sen	10	—	105	—
a. Âli	7	—	65	—

Inégalité entre les *ikhs*-s : les a. Lh'sen et les a. Âli n'ont plus chacun que quelques foyers : malédiction de la sainte. De plus, les a. Âli ont beaucoup aliéné de leurs parts : traduction économique de leur discrédit spirituel. L'inégalité entre propriétaires peut aller du simple au vingtuple. Sept propriétaires à eux seuls possèdent près de la moitié du nombre total des parcelles. Mais la distribution des *ikhs*-s, et même de beaucoup de familles de chaque *ikhs* sur l'ensemble des quartiers n'en est pas moins la règle. Ainsi, sur les 29 parcelles qui composent le quartier d'Imi n-Zennu, on trouve :

a. Âli	2	ayants droit	2	parcelles
a. Lh'sen	8	—	12	—
a. H'ammo.....	10	—	15	—
	20	ayants droit	29	parcelles

En ce qui concerne l'irrigation, on assiste ici au phénomène de rupture de l'ordre gentilice que l'on a déjà remarqué à Ad'erd'ur. Depuis

quelques années, l'irrigation se fait *s-içd'ar* ou *s-tghuma*, « par vannes ». C'est-à-dire par ensembles de parcelles continus. Par pièces de terre, et non par origines. Le phénomène est mis en rapport avec une évolution récente. Raison invoquée : la disproportion écrasante entre le patrimoine des 3 *ikhs*-s rendait par trop désavantageux pour les a. H'ammu, possesseurs à eux seuls de plus de la moitié, une répartition où ils n'auraient eu qu'une part d'eau sur 3. Ces rajustements semblent devoir intervenir dès que, pour une raison quelconque, l'équilibre ancien s'affaiblit. Contre l'ordre gentilice, ils consacrent en somme une opération archaïque d'accumulation de capital. L'inégalité dans la possession de la terre est renforcée par une nouvelle inégalité dans l'usage de l'eau. Ce genre d'aménagement répondant à de spécieuses symétries, en même temps qu'à une meilleure agronomie, rallie toujours le concert des notables. *Mutatis mutandis*, il correspond au progrès des lumières et du libéralisme qui rompit à une certaine époque dans notre propre histoire rurale les vieilles traditions communautaires. L'abandon de l'ancien système pour le nouveau traduit ici une sorte de révolution libérale.

De toutes façons, l'analyse du terroir de Z'init' ne peut laisser aucun doute sur l'ordre qui survit à travers toutes mutations immobilières. Il consacre une exacte représentation de chacun des participants du groupe, *ikhs*-s et même le plus souvent familles, dans chacun sans exception des quartiers qui composent le terroir. Cela, c'est la règle générale. Dans le cas particulier, elle a été troublée par des évolutions — expansions ou décadences — qu'on peut mettre également en rapport avec le mythe de la sainte, mais qui reflètent sans doute aussi plus prosaïquement la constante alimentation du petit groupe des *Ifogra* par les dîmes et les offrandes. Ainsi se sont opérés, par des voies archaïques, mais curieusement concordantes, des phénomènes de concentration dont toutefois, le jeu, en plein XXe siècle, n'a pas encore prévalu sur la vieille loi terrienne.

Enfin, dans l'inégalité économique et même démographique entre *ikhs*-s, inégalité plus prononcée qu'alentour, il n'est pas exagéré de reconnaître l'effet d'un monétarisme plus poussé. Une plus grande masse de disponibilités mobilières a produit des phénomènes de consommation, de circulation et de remploi dont la conséquence a été d'accentuer entre ayants-droit les différences de niveau. Cette différenciation, jouant dans un milieu d'économie précaire, a réagi sur la vitalité du sujet et sur le paysage rural.

D) Le bassin de Tabratjut

C'est le domaine des a. Musa d'en haut *Ufella*, juste en avant du parvis de Lalla Aziza. Cette situation, trop accessible de la plaine, trop vulnérable à la montagne qui l'assiège plutôt qu'elle ne la défend, a retenti sur l'histoire foncière.

Il y a eu ici une captivité de Babylone. Les captifs, c'étaient le « caïd » Lh'sen Chtittihi et ses partisans. Babylone, c'était le lieu d'asile de Z'init'. L'exil dura une vingtaine d'années. C'est lors de la pacifica-

tion de 1927 seulement qu'à la demande de l'autorité française, les a. Lh'sen se retirèrent du pays conquis, lequel fut rendu à la légitimité. Mais ce fut pour tomber dans un contentieux immobilier de l'immatriculation, heureusement tranché à l'avantage de l'indigène par notre Cour d'Appel. En somme, les a. Musa d'en haut, une génération durant, virent leur terroir de Tabratjut livré coup sur coup aux usurpations de type ancien et de type moderne ; à la conquête par le sabre menaça de succéder l'éviction par papier timbré. Et ils ne durent qu'à la compréhension du juge d'échapper définitivement à la ruine.

Le bassin forme une série d'esplanades étagées, selon un dispositif du lit fluvial qui se retrouve toujours, quoique de façon inégalement claire et continue, de bas en haut du Seksawa. Du côté de Tabratjut, les deux niveaux inférieurs sont marqués par une végétation aux deux tons tranchés, traduisant deux plans d'irrigation. En contrebas, c'est le « grand canal », *targa imqqurn*, venant du fleuve, et constant, mais insuffisant. Plus haut, à la racine des reliefs surplombants, c'est la séguia venue d'Aduz (Haut Dwiran), mais dont l'usage est suspendu au bon vouloir de ces voisins. Toute une partie de l'agriculture des a. Musa dépend ainsi des relations de bon voisinage et des sacrifices propitiatoires qui sont faits chaque fois, en cas de besoin, aux marabouts d'Aduz. Cette irrégularité, à phases d'abondance inconditionnelle, quand la rigole coule à flots, et de restriction ou même de disette, fait que l'administration de l'eau ne répond pas à un partage entre *ikhs*-s. C'est soit à la discrétion d'un chacun, soit en cas de besoin, par petits groupes de parcelles contiguës, *s-irubba*, que l'eau est distribuée. Pas de « tour » à proprement parler.

Répartition des quartiers entre ikhs-s dans le terrain des ait Musa Ufella (fig. 9)

1) Répertoire des noms d'ikhs :

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Chali.

2) Répertoire des noms de quartiers :

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaâli.
11. Imiri y-igʷrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-ʷgʷadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

La chose est remarquable, car, par ailleurs, les a. Musa ont conservé une organisation gentilice d'autant plus authentifiante et archaïsante qu'ils comprennent, on le verra, des descendants de H'addo, roi légendaire des Seksawa : les a. H'qqi, auxquels appartient la famille des

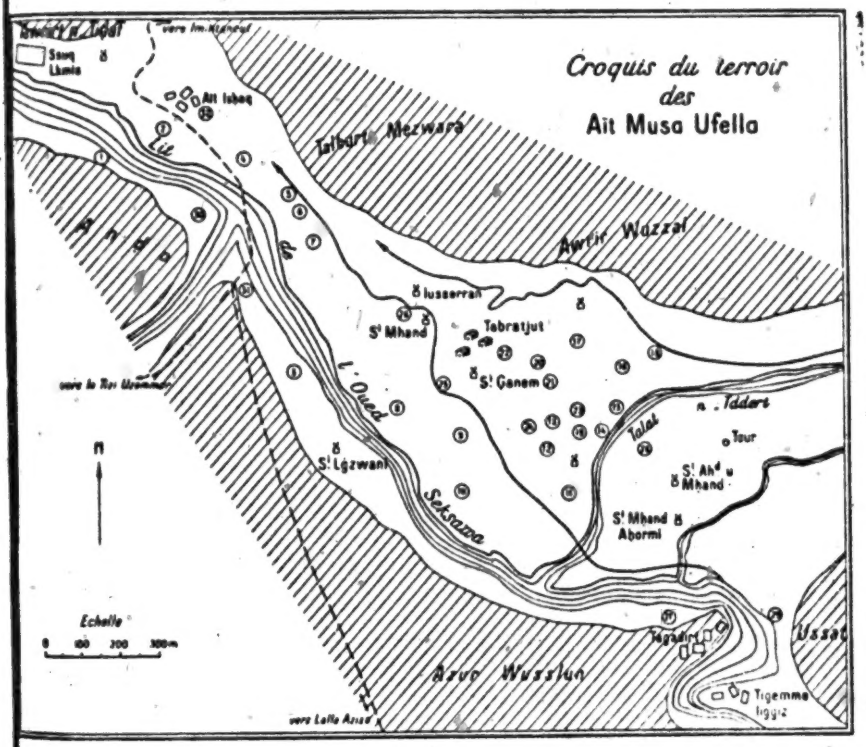


FIG. 9. — La cuvette de Tabratjut (aït Musa Ufella)

Les numéros renvoient aux noms de quartiers portés dans les tableaux du texte.

chefs. Ce n'est pas toutefois seulement entre ces grands *ikhs*-s, au nombre de 4, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', mais entre plusieurs *petits ikhs*-s, au nombre de 14, que se distribue la propriété. Un ordre de répartition est ici évident, et d'autant plus qu'il s'affirme, s'agissant de lignées moins larges que les grands *ikhs*-s, avec une minutie plus poussée qu'à Agersili par exemple. Le tableau ci-après a groupé le nombre de parcelles possédées par chaque famille dans chacun des 33 quartiers.

1: Berque

[P. 202]

MW11 Shluh

Indication des *ikhs*-s	Indication du nombre de parcelles que chaque *ikhs* possède dans chaque quartier (les lettres et le numérotage renvoient aux listes ci-dessus)																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
a	16	15	13	47	64	4	53	45	40	17	25	38	15	7	5	31	4	8	11	15	9	4	39	85	19	47	14	49	37		2	5	783
b				1	3		1	7		1	3	1			1		1	1	1							1	1	8	1				32
c	1	2	3	8	8		12	10	4		4	4	2		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	10	4	16	8	2			121
d	1	2	3	7	8		2	9				4	1		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	8	1	20	6				95
e	7	16	8	9	10		3	17	1	17	3	6	10	5	2	4	7	15	3	1	2	3	3		3	16	9	13	15				208
f	2			3		3	4	5		3	2	4	2	1	2		2	2	2					7	1	5	3	1	7				61
g					1		2	1	1			1											2	3	1				2				14
h	2	1	2	1		1	2	2			1	1		2	3	2			1	3	1	3	2		1	4	1						36
i		4	2	6	4	3	3	6	2				4	1	1	1	1	3		2		6		4	2	18						5	78
j	4	11	5	23	25	1	10	11	11			9	17		1	12	3	5	2	9		16	13	7	11	50	1		1				258
k	1	3	9	7	6	4	8	10				3		2	2	3		3	4	9	3	4	5	6	4	22							118
l	1	2	2	1	4		1	3	2	3	1	3			3	3	2	1		2		1		3	2	4							44
m		1	2		2											3	1				3			2		12						1	27
n	3	1		1	7	1	1	2	2	2					1	3	3	3	1	3		2	1		1	9							47
o																														10			10
p	18	30																															48
q	6	5																															11
r	8	16																															24
Totaux par quartiers.	70	109	49	114	142	17	92	128	63	43	39	74	51	18	29	74	32	45	25	44	26	39	69	117	47	206	34	107	77	12	2	11	

Total général 2.015

1) Le recoupement de la règle parcellaire ne donne que 51 % de confirmation, si nous considérons l'ensemble des 14 familles et des 33 quartiers. Mais un simple regard sur le tableau montre que l'anomalie se concentre sur les 3 derniers quartiers, et les 4 dernières familles. Si on les met à part, la règle se confirme à plus de 70 %. Cela malgré la présence locale d'une famille de chefs, dont l'expansion personnelle remonte à 3 générations. Et malgré la vulnérabilité des a. Musa aux causes de désagrégation du système montagnard, et dont les principales procèdent de la plaine et du pouvoir de plaine. A quoi est due l'anomalie ? A ce que les 4 participants portés en queue de liste sont, pour deux d'entre eux, des a. Sh'aq, population résiduelle, et pour les autres, des allogènes. Quant aux trois quartiers aberrants, ce sont ceux que dessert une troisième séguia venue du torrent des a. Mh'nd : adjonction extérieure au système. La structure est donc logique. Et l'on s'avisera encore mieux de sa perfection, si l'on fait droit à l'explication actuelle selon laquelle c'est le caïd Chtittihi, père de l'*amghar* actuel, qui aurait (vers 1900 par conséquent), rompu l'indivision plus grande éparpillant sur tout le tronçon de vallée a. Musa la vocation des différents *ikhs*-s « d'en bas et d'en haut », et affecté en propre à « ceux d'en haut » seulement *ait Ufella* le secteur actuel. Une vivification de la règle communautaire, une application poussée jusqu'à un échelon plus précis que celui des grands *ikhs*-s en sont peut-être résultées. Le rétablissement des a. Musa sur leur terroir a entraîné un rajeunissement de leur droit structural.

2) L'ensemble du terroir faisant une quarantaine d'hectares, chaque quartier est en moyenne d'un peu plus d'un hectare. Mais il y a de grandes inégalités. Les plus vastes se décomposent en plusieurs toponymes. L'un, Ibh'ir, en comporte jusqu'à 6. Quatre en comportent 5 chacun. Le tableau ci-joint en donne le détail.

3) La superficie de la parcelle moyenne irriguée est de quelque 2 a., comme à Z'init'. Le maïs succède à l'orge constamment dans la bande inférieure, et seulement selon les disponibilités au palier supérieur. Observons que chaque foyer possède en moyenne une dizaine de parcelles. Mais il y a de grosses inégalités : pays de seigneurs, pays usé, pays à remaniements.

4) Sur 110 toponymes, il n'en est pas une vingtaine qui restent inintelligibles : encore la plupart se ramènent-ils évidemment à des noms propres. Tous les autres sont compris et immédiatement traduits en arabe par l'informateur du cru, s'il est bilingue. Cette clarté est une constante du genre. Encore faut-il remarquer qu'elle est ici tout particulièrement vive. C'est à peine si certains noms de choses ont pris une couleur vétuste ou exotique. Dans le sens de « tamaris », par exemple, on rencontre côte à côte *tammachin*, qui est le mot local, et *ammayn*, qui est le mot employé dans le Sous, inusité ici en ce sens. Certains noms propres rappellent des souvenirs historiques ou légendaires : Ujjin aurait été un occupant des Demsira ; Tawillult une femme portugaise. A ces légendaires occupants est aussi rapporté le nom de Bukris dans le même quartier. La plupart des autres vocables se réfèrent naturellement à des

Toponymie

Noms de quartiers		N
Tamselnt.	Taryat't' n-Âli u Buzid « le petit verger d'A ».	Azerg u Âli « le moulin d'A ».
Ammayn « les tamaris ».	Tigid'it « le petit tas ».	Tachbenit « le plat (de fleurs) » cf. *jbânjud*
Imi Umaslan « le débouché d'A ».	Taz'mut « la prairie ».	Tikwerkur « au tas de cailloux ».
Ameslen.	Imi y-ighzer wazar n-Çalh' « le débouché du ravin des figuiers de ».	Agwd'ey Umeslen « la mare comblée d'A »
Ddu-Wanghemmi « sous les *ighemmi* (plante) ».	Akriwn-an « les galets ».	Tammachin « les tamaris ».
Tkunt « l'argile ».	Bu-ilalen « les lauriers roses ».	Imi n-Taryat't' « le débouché du verger
Targa meqqurn « la grande rigole ».	Dar-tazzuntit « à l'olivier ».	It'u Bujmâ (nom).
Ager-ggiwn « entre les séguias ».	Id Bella u-Jac. (nom propre)	Mm-ulili « celle aux lauriers roses
Igidar « les fortins ».	Tugg Lgwni.	Tijuffa « les feux de joie ».
Imi n-talat « le débouché du creux ».	Lmercht « la fondrière ».	Mosgwin « où se concentre l'irrigat
Berra imlaln-an « hors de ces sablons ».	Dar tasafsaft « au peuplier ».	Ikri n-Si Mulid « les galets de S ».
Imiri y-igwrramen « la murette des marabouts ».	Afus n-ghonja « le manche de la cuiller ».	
Ddu-Wjjin « sous U ».	Imiri Lah'sen u-Menâim « la murette de L ».	Tawrirt u-wjjin « la colline d'U. ».
Tikid'a n-ait Brahim « le caroubier des a. B ».	Izemran n-Âisa. « les oléastres d'Â ».	
Talat n-teddart « le creux du rucher », ou « la dépression vers Teddart ».	Lmercht « la fondrière ».	Amlal n-zzit « le sablon des oliviers »

ait Musa Ufella

;e subdivisions de quartiers		
Lâin n-Belkhir « la source de ».	**Bu Lbruj** **« les fortins ».**	Tammachin n-ait H'mmu. « les tamaris de »
Imi y-ifri w-umachcho « le débouché du bassin de la terre rouge ».	Tigzirt-an « la péninsule, l'entre-deux ».	Uggugn-an « ces barrages ».
Timetlin « les parcelles ».		
Azar u-Warcawch « le figuier d'A ».	**Ddu-Jaghenna** **(nom de génie).**	
Ighin n-Aziza « la vanne de ».		
Azar u-wd'erd'ur « les figuiers du sourd ».		
Imi y-igidar « le débouché du fortin ».	**Tad'hurin** **« les surplombs ».**	
Akhlij n-ait Sâdun « le buisson des a. S ».	**Askawn i-yzimmer** **« les cornes du bélier ».**	
Lârrach « les treilles ».		
Uz'z'u[illegible] i-ysemgan « le plant des esclaves ».	**Ddu-Iberj** **« sous le fortin ».**	

Toponymie des ait Musa Ufella *(suite)*

Noms de quartiers	Noms de subdivisions de quartiers				
Ibh'ir « le champ ».	Asdrem « l'escarpement ».	Amensif i-ybh'ir « endroit fertilisé par l'eau et les alluvions ».	Ikwerkwaren « les tas de cailloux ».	Tughlit « la grimpette ».	Tangha wazwaw « enclos couvert d'A. ».
Ddu-wgwadir « sous le fortin ».	Imi n-Tsukt « le débouché de la rue ».	Ddu-inraranan « sous les aires ».			
Inebdar « sous le guet » (plur. de *anebdur*).	Ddu-Tmugwal « sous le relief ».	Imi n-Tobnekha (nom d'un vallon de mauvais augure).	Imi l-lqus « l'entrée de l'arc ».	Amlal « le sablon ».	
Aryad'en « les vergers ».	Dar-Tefrawt « au petit bassin ».	Tawulult.	Taryat't'Umkuku « le verger d'A ».	Taryat't' Uyanin « le verger d'A ».	Bukris.
Imejjad'an « les teigneux ».	Agwd'ay n-tazarin « le creux des figuiers ».	Ddu y-iferd « sous le réservoir ».			
Lmegzart « l'abattoir ».	Imi y-ighin « le débouché de la prise ».	Megzar-ufella « l'abattoir d'en haut ».			
Dar waswik « au noyer ».	Ibh'ir u-Waz'i « le champ de ».	F-ucheddir-an « sur ce buisson ».	Usulan « aux dalles calcaires ».		
Lemkhazin « les cachettes ».	Id-mm-ifzi « celles à l'*ifzi* (sorte de roche) ».	Id Abdelmalk (nom propre).	Lfis's'at-an « la luzernière ».		
Imi n-Tebratjut « le débouché du chemin ».	Ger igharasen « entre les chemins ».	Tirit u Fars « la parcelle des u F ».	Ger-ikad'iwn « entre les caroubiers ».	Tikid'ut i-ysemgan « le caroubier des esclaves ».	
Iussran (nom hagiologique).	Tirit-uyyis « la parcelle du cheval ».	Tasukt uz'ru « la rue du rocher ».	Tamalut-en « l'ubac ».	Talat w-Wardes « le creux d'A ».	Ighzer n-ait Wakrim « le ravin des a. W. ».

détails topographiques et à l'agriculture. Le tableau ci-contre indique sous chacun l'explication qui en est spontanément donnée par le paysan local.

Ainsi donc, malgré la faiblesse de ce secteur, exposé aux attaques de la montagne et de la plaine, accessible aux influences de cette dernière, et par certains côtés déjà dénaturé dans ses coutumes, l'ordre agraire qu'on y constate est celui des plus hauts cantons. Or, non seulement ce terroir n'a pas offert depuis un demi-siècle au moins, à la conservation des organisations traditionnelles un champ favorable, puisqu'il a nourri la fortune d'une famille de chefs et que, comme Bulᶜwân en aval, il a été souvent le cadre d'interventions du pouvoir de plaine, mais encore, vingt ans durant, comme on sait, il fut occupé par l'ennemi. Le « caïd » Chtittihi tué, sa famille se réfugie à Z'init'. Le pays est presque entièrement colonisé par le « caïd » Mokhtar son vainqueur. Les a. Musa ne reviennent qu'en 1927. Encore l'un d'entre eux avait-il probablement vendu à un protecteur européen la totalité du périmètre : du moins ce dernier en arguera-t-il, au cours d'un long et violent contentieux, qui ne sera tranché par la Cour d'Appel, au profit des a. Musa, qu'au cours des toutes dernières années. Expulsion violente ; puis réoccupation de fait, dépôt d'une réquisition d'immatriculation collective, et d'une contre-réquisition par l'acquéreur européen, oppositions collectives et privatives, enquêtes, jugements, arrêt : tout cela a été nécessaire pour rasseoir juridiquement, après un trouble d'un demi-siècle, la propriété des a. Musa.

Or, d'une part, jamais, au cours de ce contentieux, la règle parcellaire — qui eût tout expliqué — ne fut invoquée ; et, d'autre part, c'est selon elle et jusque dans le détail, que les a. Musa se sont réinstallés. Laissons à penser lequel de ces deux faits est le plus révélateur de l'organisation et de la psychologie des Seksawa.

Pays d'albur : E. l'Ibuban,...

Ce haut pays s'épaule à une crête qui retombe à l'E. sur le fossé de l'asif n-a. Mh'nd. Des frontières politiques rongent de tous côtés un ensemble désormais clos. Jadis, il dut avoir accès à l'eau et accès aux deux grandes voies de la montagne vers la plaine, par les torrents des a. Mh'nd et des a. Lh'sen. Il les a perdus. A l'E. les crêtes de l'Awrir n-Zkkat', de l'Ameznir et du Ferkt, ce dernier donnant sur le sol du Tizi w-Wandras (1.656 m.) constituent maintenant une limite dangereusement proche. Encore est-elle, vers le N. et le N.-E., couverte d'une forêt de chênes verts, de genévriers et lentisques, où les villages ont dû se frayer chichement la place. Au S. les terres d'Iwulla arrivent presque jusqu'au village de Tugg Lkheyr, le surplombent par l'Awrir i-ysemgan, « la colline des Nègres », aux colossaux peuplements d'opuntia. A l'E. le pays est coupé, non seulement de la vallée de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen, mais des hautes croupes de l'Amudder (2.075 m.), par les possessions de Wanz'id' qui s'avancent vers le N. en bec de canard presque jusqu'à rejoindre le

1: Berque

MW11 Shluh

domaine des a. Lh'sen « d'en bas » (Awines et Buteghradin). Le pacage est tellement restreint, surtout du côté de l'Ameznir, que ces pentes schisteuses sont délimitées entre *ikhs*-s usagers. Ainsi notamment à Tugg Lkheyr et à Timskert, où cette division de la friche stérile paraît poussée à son comble et avoir développé toute une paperasse d'actes de propriété.

Encore ce secteur mutilé représente-t-il un recasement, dû à l'intervention du « caïd » Lmokhtar, dont on notera la stratégie topographique, habile à réserver aux siens ce que nous appelons des lignes de communication. Antérieurement, les a. Lh'sen d'Awines auraient occupé l'Ibuban. Les actuels habitants, d'origine hétéroclite et successive, se sont installés par voie d'achat. Mais l'avarice de ces populations refoulées leur a permis d'en déborder à nouveau sur le plan non politique, mais juridique. Ils ont acheté des terres à leurs voisins d'Ammern et a. Musa, dans l'Ilikri.

Rien de plus précaire en apparence que ce pays sans eau. A peine deux ou trois misérables sources, tout juste propres à abreuver les villages et à entretenir, au prix d'une rotation à long terme (douze jours pour trois *ikhs*-s à Timskert par exemple), quelques pauvres carrés de courges ou d'oignons. La seule ressource est celle du ruissellement. Elle s'avère toutefois considérable en cas de forte pluie. Les réserves du sol, longuement emmagasinées, fusent alors. On a de l'orge pour quatre ou cinq ans. Ou bien on attend l'orage *rrada* qui marque en général fin août l'époque du mûsem de Tamarut, en Demsira, pour « enlever » une culture de navet. Mais, en général, rien à escompter d'autre que les chances et les risques de l'agriculture en sec. Paradoxalement, ce paysan est mis dans la situation de son collègue des plaines ou plateaux de piémont. Mais il ne dispose pas comme lui de la ressource compensatoire de l'espace. Il s'est dès lors appliqué à remédier, avec un soin digne d'un meilleur sort, à ces disgrâces : ample escalier de gradins comme à Amassin défrichement soigneux comme à Iggayzen, minutieux traitement du sol en déclivités, plans, sillons et ados, pour recueillir la moindre humidité, vastes plantations d'opuntia, dont on sèche et emmagasine le fruit, plantation d'amandiers surtout : plus de 35.000 pour trois centaines d'habitants.

Et ceci met sur le chemin d'une explication. Ne pouvant se traduire par l'étalement des emblavures, ce recours à l'extensif, si l'on peut dire, s'exprime par la multiplication de l'arbre en plein sol. Qu'on n'y cherche point en effet la moindre trace d'une technique de verger : ni rainures drainant l'*impluvium*, ni « cuvette », *tanut*, ni, naturellement, taille, greffe ou sélection. La plantation, visiblement, dépasse les facultés d'entretien. L'amandier a été conçu en association forestière, comme le caroubier, et s'insère parmi chênes ou lentisques. Autre trait : ces immenses plaques d'opuntia, qui procèdent à coup sûr — l'alignement par gradins, au-dessous d'Amassin en est une preuve — d'un goût général plus que de cette dispersion spontanée dont le folklore local fait du corbeau l'agent. En plein août, et quand les feuilles de l'*aknari*

lui-même mincissent et se recroquevillent par manque d'eau, ce sera une débauche joyeuse — et la principale nourriture du jour — que d'aller gober ces fruits sucrés, difficiles d'approche mais tenant bien l'estomac. A cette époque de l'année, les colporteurs vendent un nombre incroyable de couteaux destinés à peler les peaux épineuses. L'allégresse se traduit par une recrudescence de mariages. Des divorces, il est vrai, suivront, dès que l'année donnera des signe d'inclémence.

L'amande reste la principale richesse. Mais l'orge donne parfois des résultats surprenants. Selon un proverbe des a. Lh'sen, 20 mesures de semences d'Ibuban donnent autant que le double d'une autre provenance. Et un quart d'*dbra* de cette céréale poussée ici, suffit, paraît-il, à rassasier, et au delà, la plus vorace des mules. L'explication, que nous verrions volontiers dans la qualité d'un sol que ne délave pas, comme partout ailleurs, une maladroite technique d'irrigation, les gens la voient dans une *baraka* spéciale dont seraient gratifiés les Ibuban. D'abord à titre de compensation, car leur pays est ingrat. Puis parce qu'ils sont les plus religieux des hommes : c'est ainsi qu'à Iggayzen, chaque foyer acquitte envers les saints, rien qu'en *chcherd'*, et non compris les frairies et dons bénévoles, 4 mesures 1/4 d'orge, soit 2/3 de qal. Enfin, les Ibuban recèlent de très vieilles populations, et l'antiquité dans le terroir est liée, selon ces montagnards, à la bonne main agricole. Ce sont de « vieilles gens ».

Le finage est divisé en terroirs où chacun des *ikhs* principaux est représenté. C'est ainsi que les gens d'Amassin, d'origine Dukkâla, ont leurs terres dans chacun des 4 villages. Mais, par un privilège attaché à leur qualité de conquérants, aucun des autres *ikhs* n'en a chez eux. Les a. Mulid, originaires des a. Irz'z'i sont comme eux, et à cette exception près, partout représentés. Les populations aberrantes, comme les Inagheyn de Talburt, ou ces a. ba Melluk, descendants de nègres exterminés par les Dukkâla, n'ont de champs qu'autour de leur habitat. Fuyards a. Irz'z'i et immigrants Dukkâla, maîtres du pays, se le sont donc réparti. Ces vaincus se sont ici composés avec d'autres éléments comme bénéficiaires d'une nouvelle hiérarchie. Mais cet ordre est incomplet. L'intérêt documentaire du secteur est que la tradition locale fait comprendre pourquoi. Entre les *ikhs*-s issus des plus vieilles populations et les rameaux conquérants, Dukkâla ou a. Irz'z'i, il n'y a pas eu répartition équitable. Entre ces deux rameaux mêmes, tous les quartiers n'ont pas été embrassés par le partage. Le trouble de l'histoire, reflété par des inégalités encore vivantes, a donc eu des effets directs sur l'équilibre terrien.

D'autre part, cette économie refoulée a cherché de façon bien instructive à survivre : c'est une île d'*albur* en montagne, une île de montagne sèche, un coin, dirait-on, d'Anti-Atlas. Un équilibre a été cherché, non dans l'opiniâtre labeur hydraulique, puisqu'il n'y avait pas d'eau, mais dans la nonchalante exploitation de l'amandier et de l'opuntia. En somme, recours à la cueillette. Corrélativement le rythme de vie est ici bien moins actif que dans les vallées voisines. Longues causeries au

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

soleil, sur la place de la *timezgida*, inertie et routine ont profondément entaché le caractère local. A cela s'ajoutent d'autres traits, résultant de l'histoire, et dont l'ensemble compose une physionomie de décadence. L'ordre communal ne régit pas entièrement la division du terroir. Le pâquis est approprié. L'absence de ressources d'irrigation a acculé cette population de montagne à une culture steppique. Sans doute n'est-ce pas un hasard que, contrairement à l'atmosphère des autres cantons, l'inégalité soit née de l'inclémence des conditions de vie. Ce pauvre canton recèle plusieurs « riches » et est aujourd'hui encore, par un apparent paradoxe, celui qui fournit quelques-unes des plus grosses cotes de l'impôt. La pauvreté et la défaite ont ici désagrégé l'ordre communal, à base d'égalité et d'opiniâtreté, et ces misères ne sont qu'imparfaitement compensées par la mystérieuse puissance agricole des « vieilles gens ».

...F. Imt'ddan

Les 4 *ikhs-s* Imt'ddan ont essaimé d'une métropole, l'actuelle Tamt'ddit, pour se répandre sur un vaste canton. Expansion territoriale et segmentation sociale allaient de pair. Aujourd'hui encore le lien entre gens et groupes n'est nullement celui de l'habitat par villages, mais celui du classement dans l'un ou l'autre des *ikhs-s* d'origine. Toutefois, la prolifération de ceux-ci commence à obscurcir la conscience de l'ensemble, et l'unanimité ne se fait plus d'emblée sur l'équilibre des subdivisions actuelles.

Ikhs-s originels	« Petits *ikhs-s* » actuels	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Uchikar.	Tagunit.
	a. Warrh'u.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Batirat.	Tagunit.
	a. Mulid.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku.	Tagunit.
	a. H'imi.	Tagunit.
	a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt.
	a. Uàzzi.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Jamid.	Tinwalin.
	a. Uturit.	Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Sâid.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Ufarnu.	Tagunit.
	a. Uqurru.	Tagunit.
a. Lehger.	a. Ubaqqa.	Tagunit.
	a. Ubumarth.	Tagunit.

Sans doute observe-t-on une certaine différenciation entre Tinwalin et Tamezgurt d'une part, les deux autres villages de la tétrapole : Tagunit et Tamt'ddit, d'autre part. Mais, à cette réserve près, chaque sous-groupe est bien représenté dans les différents terroirs du canton.

Ce trait est apparu clairement à l'occasion d'un procès qui opposa en 1951 les Imt'ddan entre eux à propos d'un vaste *albur* utilisé mi-pacage, mi-labour, sur le contrefort E. du Tamjlucht. Un transport judiciaire se fit au sommet de l'Azuran. Les titres étaient contradictoires : amodiations, ventes, avaient joué. Et plus encore les irrégularités d'une possession qui toujours revenait au plus fort, mais sans que s'éteignît le droit du plus faible. En fait, trois familles, profitant de leur prépondérance, se disputaient, dans ce terroir, un quartier propice au seigle dit Uz'z'igat (1.900 m.). Le sommet n'en est pas loin. De là la vue plonge, vers l'E. sur le Kattos, le Wafagga ; vers l'O. et vers le S. sur un paysage aux plis magnifiques, clôturé par la barre de l'Afuzar, et, en arrière-plan, par la crête atlasique. Ce haut plateau, tout autour du terrain de culture, est parsemé d'*idughas*, « abris d'estivage ». La *jemda* délibère. Un accord se conclut enfin. L'Uz'z'igat sera allotti entre les 19 *ikhs*-s résultant du fractionnement des premières souches Imt'ddan. Une courte contestation avait tendu à exclure les rameaux à l'habitat le plus excentrique, tels ceux de Tinwalin. Mais, instructivement, la solidarité de *taqbilt* et la vocation immobilière qu'elle implique l'emportèrent sur la dispersion de l'habitat et la vétusté du lien. Il ne pouvait en être autrement. Une solidarité analogue règne d'ailleurs, on l'a vu, dans une matière aussi favorable à l'appropriation privative que la récolte d'amandes.

G) Bulᶜwân, estuaire du système montagnard

Le gué de Tagoyyamt (740 m.) où la route traditionnelle du Dir franchit l'Oued Seksawa, appelé ici Lwâd n-Qihra, ou Asifl-lqihra, laisse à droite un village, Bulᶜwân, dont la colonie, Taqennurt, sise à peu de distance, sur la gauche et en aval, disparaît sous les oliviers. C'est l'estuaire de la vie de montagne sur la vie de plaine. D'où un génie mêlé dont l'analyse peut révéler des formes intermédiaires ou décadentes d'une certaine valeur d'indice. Le finage comprend 4 terroirs. Soit, d'amont en aval, entourant le village de Bulᶜwân, un petit plateau alluvial, dominé par le canal Talh'archt, « de l'aspre » (pour reprendre le mot pyrénéen). Puis, entourant Taqennurt, un autre terroir irrigué, que prolonge vers les Ud. Bessebâᶜ, un *h'emri*. Le dominant sur l'O., un immeuble mamelonné se rattache à la masse de terres qui sépare, à partir du pied de l'Urkus, les cours des oueds Seksawa et Imintanout avant leur confluent : c'est l'Inzzüyma.

Passons quelques bandes de cultures, dans le lit même du fleuve, en amont du village, ou sur sa droite, faisant face à Taqennurt, côté Dwiran. Ce sont là des secteurs secondaires : l'essentiel de cette vie agricole s'accroche aux 4 terroirs plus haut énumérés.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ARCHÉOLOGIE ET PAYSAGE RURAL

A qui, du gué du Seksawa, regarde vers la haute vallée, le paysage apparaît grandiose. Il est limité au S., et bien haut aû-dessus de la tête de l'observateur, par la masse triangulaire du Tabgurt, dominant à plus de 3.000 m. les crêtes calcaires qui encadrent le vestibule de la vallée. C'est au pied de l'une d'entre elles, l'Argyun, que le village d'Ilutjan campe ses terrasses ruinées. Non loin derrière apparaîtrait bientôt, pour peu qu'on gravît la pente qui conduit à Bulᶜwân, quelques restes de remparts sur un éperon verrouillant la vallée au lieudit Lkhneg, « la gorge ». Leur emplacement est appelé aujourd'hui Agadir n-Lmkhzen. C'est peut-être l'ancienne forteresse mérinide d'al-Qâhira. Toute la section du fleuve, en aval de cette citadelle jusqu'à la fin du parcours en Seksawa, prend le nom, on l'a vu, d'asif n-Qihra. A vrai dire, c'est tout le site de Bulᶜwân qu'il faudrait fouiller. Un examen superficiel y relève, outre cet agadir l-Lmkhzen, un agadir n-Lkhizzo, « de la carotte », sur la falaise gauche du fleuve. A la même hauteur, le cimetière dit de sidi ᶜOqba : rrawd'a n-ᶜOqbt, où la tradition du grand conquérant arabe survit dans les mémoires ; il recouvre plusieurs tombes prêtées à des Regraga. A peu près en face, en surplomb sur la rive droite, un Agadir *i-yghd*, « de la cendre ». Autrefois l'occupaient les a. Mughrum, c'est-à-dire les ancêtres de 4 *ikhs*-s actuels : Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saîd, a. Belh'ajj. C'est sidi Ghânem, saint fondateur et pacificateur, qui les aurait transférés sur la rive gauche. L'emplacement même du village recouvre deux anciens *agadir*-s : a. Aqdim et a. Lejdid, sur les traces lduquel est édifiée la maison de l'actuel *amghar*. Enfin, sous les champs et les vergers de Bulᶜwân se distinguent, au lieudit significativement Ikorkar, « les tas de cailloux », de longues traînées de pierre dessinant encore une vaste enceinte quadrangulaire. Ces pierres sont visiblement rapportées : galets du fleuve, ou pavés de roche dure sans aucun doute charriés de loin.

Un peu plus en amont, Ilutjan est dominé par une Tigemmi n-Twurirt, « une maison de la colline », dont la tradition locale connaît encore l'ancien rôle d'abri. Cet abondance de refuges de type classique, semblables à ceux de la falaise Mez'ud'a, mais bien plus anciens, convie à l'hypothèse d'un stade où un terroir agricole important, et non point seulement des a. Âbdella mais de l'ensemble des Seksawa, se serait étalé en plaine. Cette couche archéologique a été recouverte par une autre, sa rivale et destructrice, la couche mérinide. Mais il n'est plus possible, dans la plupart des cas, de distinguer entre l'une et l'autre. L'improbabilité de découvrir sans fouilles laquelle des deux enceintes correspond à la forteresse mérinide, n'emporte aucune hésitation quant au caractère qu'elles imprimen au paysage, et dont nous observons jusqu'aux incidences de détail dans l'économie rurale. Quoi qu'il en soit en effet des hypothèses d'identification, la vallée a été verrouillée depuis une époque ancienne, et partant, la complexe différenciation qui oppose en l'espèce l'aval à l'amont, et fait de tout le pays de Bulᶜwân une tran-

sition entre la culture de montagne et la culture de plaine, s'y double d'un seuil politique. La politique a des effets quasi immédiats sur les structures maghrébines. Le pouvoir est, à divers égards, un phénomène économique. Il entraîne de rapides et visibles conséquences sur le paysage : soit par l'élimination des petits, soit — et le cas est fréquent dans le S. du Maroc — par des aspects de valorisation systématique : des plantations par exemple.

De fait, les terroirs de Bulᶜwân et de Taqennurt offrent en leur partie basse de beaux et anciens quadrillages d'oliviers, sous lesquels se pratiquent des cultures intercalaires. C'est la formule du « parc » ou du « jardin fermé », *agellay*. Au-dessus de la dénivellation que suit le canal de la Talh'archt, les amandiers sont pareillement massés. Ce partage par « masses boisées » qu'on retrouve aussi caractéristiquement en amont, à Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., ne correspond sans doute pas seulement à des opportunités agronomiques. Il est vrai que l'olivier requiert plus d'eau et un terroir alluvial, que l'amandier au contraire s'accommode s'il le faut du sec et de la pierraille. Mais plus encore cette répartition d'essences obéit à un ordre rural dont on trouve en Seksawa des types de plus en plus parfaits à mesure qu'on se rapproche de la haute montagne. Ce qui fait penser à une influence régalienne dans la formation de l'olivette, c'est son homogénéité, qui dit sans doute un effort initialement dirigé, et sa pousse régulière. On ferait les mêmes constatations en Nfifa à Imintanout, en Mtugga à Kuzemt. Pour ce dernier boisement nous arrivons peut-être à le localiser dans l'histoire. Mais que dire des olivettes de Taroudant ou d'El Kelâa ?

a) *Fuq Bulᶜwân*

Quelques chiffres : environ 2.000 oliviers et 5.000 amandiers. Cultures d'automne irriguées : orge 20 ha., blé dur 6 ha., blé tendre 2 ha. Cultures de printemps (mais sans ordre d'assolement) : maïs 12 ha. Cette plaque d'environ 30 ha. se répartit en quartiers : soit de l'amont vers l'aval : Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâïd. Ces quartiers se succèdent sur le plan de terre qui va de l'*ighzer*, « ravine » l-H'ed à l'Ighzer n-Berka u ᶜAli. En aval se font suite les quartiers suivants : Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. Lᶜanayt. Et l'on arrive à la route du Dir.

Ainsi donc, nous avons, pour une trentaine d'hectares, 16 quartiers, d'environ 2 ha. chacun : ils sont donc spacieux. D'autre part, chose très importante, ils ne correspondent pas toujours à des « prises principales » *içdar* sur le canal. Le nombre de celles-ci est très élevé : 28 pour la seule section de la Talh'archt allant d'une ravine à l'autre. De ces prises partent des rigoles, dites ici *lmçdref*. Elles desservent, selon des lignes irrégulières, des parcelles irrégulières, et sises à différents niveaux de la déclivité. Pas de correspondance entre la technique d'irrigation et la toponymie.

Le système de répartition de l'eau est neuf ; il succède à un plus ancien, dont on ne peut préciser l'origine. Autrefois, la Talh'archt était

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

gérée sur le plan d'ensemble de tous les ait Âbdella qu'elle dessert (c'est-à-dire en particulier Tuz'z'umt et Ilutjan compris), par un *amazzel* qui délivrait l'eau selon les besoins de tel ou tel fonds. Choix forcément arbitraire, et ne pouvant donc ressortir qu'à deux hypothèses : soit un rigoureux ordre agraire, effaçant, dans une unanimité fonctionnelle, les compétitions entre individus ; soit au contraire autorité d'un chef substituée à l'institution villageoise. Nous penchons pour la première hypothèse. A une époque rapprochée (contrôle des pouvoirs de l'*amghar* par le Protectorat), ce système fut rompu, et l'eau distribuée par « unités », *ferdiyat*, selon une pratique apparemment répandue. Les bénéficiaires de ces unités ne furent plus désormais que des entités territoriales, telles Bulᶜwân ou Taqennurt, considérées en tant que villages. Quoi qu'il en soit, le terroir de Bulᶜwân disposa désormais de 2,5 *ferdiyat* : soit de trente heures. Mais il faut remarquer que, sous ces proportions réduites, et à l'intérieur de ces trente heures, la répartition ne se fit ni selon les *ikhs*, ni selon les groupements de parcelles, mais resta soumise à l'appréciation de l'*amazzel*. Ni ordre gentilice, ni ordre topographique, mais, si l'on peut dire, ordre purement agricole, et soumis à un inquiétant, ou touchant, pouvoir d'appréciation. Nous retrouvons là l'incidence des variations politiques sur le régime agraire. A chaque fois, le pouvoir montant juge irrationnelle et réforme la pratique antérieure. L'*amghar* réagit contre l'institution communautaire, et l'administration moderne contre l'*amghar*. Mais à chacun de ces stades, une part de l'organisation authentique survit. Quoique rompue, et sur un plan chaque fois plus modeste.

L'analyse des noms de quartiers apporte encore d'autres indices. Tout d'abord, on y trouve les éléments d'un classement du terroir : le *h'arch*, « l'aspre », d'un côté, la *h'ofra*, « cuvette », de l'autre, avec affectation d'une part de l'un et de l'autre à différents sujets, qui apparaissent bien comme des sujets collectifs : Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. Mais à ces deux cas se limite la symétrie. Ce qui est plus marquant, c'est que sur 16 noms, 11 traduisent ces vocations d'appartenance. L'aspect descriptif si marqué des noms de quartier en montagne ne se retrouve pas ici, sinon sur un quart des désignations, ce qui est peu.

Il est difficile de rien conclure de tels indices, sinon le mélange et l'usure. Pourtant, un regard sur le parcellaire de Bulᶜwân, partie Sud, évaluable à une vingtaine d'hectares, permet de supposer certaines régularités. Le fait est d'autant plus suggestif que la grande institution protectrice de l'immutabilité patrimoniale en montagne, le habous ne se retrouve pas ici. Elle est si rare dans tous les a. Âbdella que ses rares apparitions dans les villages d'amont, tels Iminteghli ou Ilutjan, n'entrent pas vraiment dans les mœurs. La mobilisation des terres ne se heurte donc ici à aucun frein juridique.

b) *Taqennurt*

Fuq Bulᶜwân est un terroir qui comprend 141 parcelles très inégales dont une centaine d'exiguës et 4 spacieuses. Si on totalise ce nombre avec celui de Taqennurt, on obtient un chiffre de quelque

220 parcelles, pour une superficie totale de 55 ha. environ. Soit une superficie moyenne d'une vingtaine d'ares par parcelle. Chiffre considérable par rapport à l'horticulture d'amont : à peu près le décuple. Il implique une économie céréalière, avec labour animal à deux bêtes. De fait, Bulᵉwân et Taqennurt ensemble recensent près de 200 bovins. La houe ne sert ici qu'à achever le travail autour du pied des arbres.

D'autres constatations ressortent du parcellaire.

Noms d'*ikhs*-s	Nombre d'ayants droit	Nombre de parcelles à Bulᵉwân	à Taqennurt	Total des parcelles
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukᵉays	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lᵉannayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
TOTAL : 26 *ikhs*-s	70	143	80	223

Ce tableau appelle diverses remarques.

1) Inégalité des situations foncières. Les a. Lkhil, famille des chefs actuels, possèdent, à eux seuls, 1/7 des parcelles. D'autres *ikhs*-s arrivent aussi à un total respectable. Ainsi les a. Lmchari (18), les a. sidi Ghânem, descendants du saint local (34), les a. sidi Mh'nd (24). Mais d'autres patrimoines se réduisent à une parcelle. On voit poindre ici la « grande famille » évinçant les faibles.

2) Cet aspect s'accentue si l'on considère seulement Taqennurt, où 7 *ikhs*-s ne sont même pas représentés : l'expansion dans la « colonie » est le fait des puissants.

3) Une certaine symétrie n'en est pas moins observable, puisque les

3/4 des *ikhs*-s sont représentés, encore qu'inégalement, dans les deux terroirs.

Nous voici sur le chemin d'autres remarques. A l'intérieur du Fuq Bulᶜwân la règle est la pluralité des parcelles : véritable représentation. Bien que ne correspondant plus à la division toponymique du terroir, elle traduit un enchevêtrement caractéristique : sorte de forme usagée ou décadente de l'échantillonnage immobilier observé dans les secteurs de montagne. Il n'est à cet égard que de jeter les yeux sur le schéma parcellaire du terroir. Les mêmes noms reviennent aux 4 points cardinaux. Les parcelles se rangent à peu près sur deux bandes longitudinales dans le sens S.-N. A Taqennurt, c'est sur trois bandes : l'une immédiatement contre la Talh'archt, l'autre bordant le fleuve, la troisième intermédiaire. Ces parcelles, dénommées par le nom de l'*ikhs*, se répartissent en général entre deux ou trois propriétaires individuels. Leur nombre est assez modique (70) pour l'ensemble.

Que de telles symétries aient survécu à tant de causes de désagrégation ; mieux encore, que l'action spontanée des grands, s'accomplissant par achats et ventes, sans trouver le frein d'institutions d'immutabilité patrimoniale, ait respecté ces symétries, voire même ait tendu à les reconstituer, cela révèle ou bien une survie singulièrement obstinée d'un ordre ancien, ou — ce qui serait encore plus révélateur — une tendance invétérée du milieu à se recomposer à travers toutes péripéties et contre toutes interventions extérieures : en l'espèce six siècles de pouvoirs de la plaine, en lutte ouverte contre le système montagnard.

c) *Les confins : Lh'emri, Inzzüyma*

En aval de Taqennurt, le finage Seksawa est promptement borné par celui des Dwiran. Un terrain aujourd'hui assez mal irrigué, Lh'emri, devenu plus ou moins l'apanage des chefs locaux, le termine. Plus haut, ce sont les mamelons d'Inzzüyma, communs, vers l'O. avec les Nfifa. Nous voilà donc dans une zone de confins.

La moyenne vallée Seksawa a jadis été occupée par les Demsira. Ce ne fut pas le cas de Bulᶜwân, dont les traditions foncières remontent à des Ida u Blal. C'est à ceux-là que se sont substitués plus aval les Ud Bessebâᶜ, dont le premier hameau porte un nom significatif : Ad'uwar. Le « douar » arabe, opposé au « village » du chleuh. Tout ce secteur fut désolé par les luttes entre tribus. Aussi est-ce aux intercesseurs de la vallée Seksawa, « marabouts » d'Ammern en particulier, qu'il appartint initialement d'essaimer de ce côté, afin de barrer la route à l'étranger. A Ad'uwar confluent les canaux Talh'archt et Tasbâit : c'est là un nœud des chemins d'eaux vers la plaine.

On est ici dans le domaine de l'histoire décadente, « cassée ». Un large morceau du Lh'emri est aujourd'hui domanial, et loué, à un taux de principe, aux *amghar*-s des a. Âbdella. Entendons que c'était un *no mans land*, théâtre des compétitions de tribus, et de l'expansion des apanages. Ce n'est pas là qu'il faut chercher un ordre rural.

A l'E., vers Imintanout, un renflement de terrains s'enfonce en

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

triangle entre les vallées des *axif*-s Seksawa et Imintanout. Cela apparaît fort nettement à qui gravit la pente de l'Urkus. Il s'agit du terroir de l'Inzzüyma également revendiqué par les a. Âbdella et les Nfifa voisins. L'administration a consolidé et comme équilibré ces prétentions rivales en conférant à ce vaste immeuble le statut collectif qui le partage entre les deux tribus.

D'après certaines traditions recueillies en a. Lh'sen, ce collectif reviendrait aux Seksawa tout entiers, et son affectation aux seuls a. Abdella procèderait d'une de ces erreurs, basées sur l'optique de contiguïté, et telles que nous en avons souvent commises en Afrique du Nord, en Algérie par exemple dans les procédures d'application du Sénatus Consulte de 1863.

La question était d'importance, car si nous avions retrouvé dans l'Inzzüyma des traces d'une vocation possédante de l'ensemble des « fractions » Seksawa, notre hypothèse sur l'ancienne projection foncière de la tribu vers la plaine en aurait été singulièrement renforcée. Il s'agissait en somme d'une recherche d'indices archéologiques lancée un peu à l'aveuglette. Voici les résultats de cette recherche. Le tableau suivant groupe les superficies, en mesures de semences *'abra*-s, des différents groupes de population cultivant l'Inzzüyma. Il en ressortira des conclusions pour le moment négatives. Aucune régularité de répartition : pays usé, dévasté par l'histoire. Mais pluralité de groupes usufruitiers : peut-être un rappel lointain...

a) **Partie des a. Imintanut (Nfifa)**

	Nfifa d'Imintanout	Autres Nfifa	Demaira	Seksawa	Gens du Sous	Ud Bessbâ'e	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mes'ud's	Dwiran	Gens d'Argana	Gens d'Amizmiz	
Orge.....	4.047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4.872
Blé dur.....	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Blé tendre..	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
TOTAUX..	4.802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5.732

b) **Partie des a. Abdella (Seksawa)**

	a. Abdella	a. Lah'sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Orge.....	3.064	19	6	83	29	15	3.216
Blé dur.....	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Blé tendre..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAUX..	3.340	19	7	96	29	15	3.506

N. B. Les évaluations sont faites en *'abra*-s de semence soit, pour l'orge, approximativement un quart d'hectare chacune.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P.218]

V

CONSISTANCE, LIMITES ET PORTÉE D'UN ORDRE AGRAIRE

UNE HYPOTHÈSE DE RECHERCHE

R. Montagne raconte (1) comment, après maints tâtonnements, il conçut un jour, dans l'Aghbar ou l'Ogdemt, l'hypothèse explicative des *leff*-s. Avec A. Basset, il parcourait depuis de longs jours ces cantons, en quête d'indices sur leur histoire politique. Des faits s'amoncelaient, qu'aucun lien ne semblait relier les uns aux autres dans la connaissance indigène : trop invétérés, trop « normaux », pour qu'elle y sentît lois ou enchaînements. Et voici qu'éclate entre tous ces faits un ordre qui les distribue, les justifie. Le passé du Haut Atlas : propagation des chefferies, tension entre groupes et dans les groupes, discorde conservatrice, anarchies s'équilibrant — tout cela s'éclaire soudain d'une symétrie : l'affrontement de deux principes permanents, deux « ligues » si l'on veut, sur l'échiquier des cantons.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de faire l'histoire d'une hypothèse : jaillie un jour de longues observations, formulée aux informateurs surpris, ils la confirment, la reconnaissent. Elle provoque une riche exploration scientifique. Puis, popularisée par son succès même dans les milieux de chercheurs et d'administrateurs, elle revient à l'indigène depuis vingt ans à chaque prise de contact d'un nouveau chef de bureau. Elle détermine désormais dans une certaine mesure l'expérience et l'action, et agit subtilement sur la réalité.

C'est un jour, sur le plateau du Mzawt, dominant Lalla Aziza d'un côté, Ammern de l'autre, qu'une symétrie me parut ressortir d'une grande masse de faits immobiliers collectés çà et là, tant par l'enquête délibérée sur le terrain, qu'au hasard de litiges et d'analyses de vieux actes. La plupart de ces faits étaient du pays Seksawa. Je m'attacherai à les contrôler par l'observation des

(1) R. Montagne, Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda, *Hesp.*, 1941, p. 93.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

zones qui m'étaient aussi directement accessibles telles que Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

Le point de départ était la constatation d'une concordance (1) entre trois ordres de phénomènes : la distribution du groupe en *ikhs*-s, celle du terroir en quartiers toponymiques, et celle du temps en tours d'eau. Là-dessus une nouvelle collection de remarques, plus étendues par le champ d'observation, mais naturellement moins approfondies et moins coordonnées, viendra s'ajouter à celles que suggère l'investigation monographique des terroirs Seksawa.

RECOUPEMENTS EXTÉRIEURS : DEMSIRA (2)

Par la forme et la couleur, le pays Demsira ressemble au pays Seksawa, dont il constitue le boulevard extérieur, du côté de la route du Sous. La tribu, ainsi directement exposée aux influences d'une grande voie d'invasion et de passage, *agharas ugellid*, a intensément souffert, dans ses structures, des phases d'ordre et de celles de rébellion. Elle s'offre aujourd'hui comme un chapelet de cantons, étiré dans le sens S. E.-N.O., celui de la route. La crête du Bwibaun la sépare du domaine Seksawa où selon la tradition elle mordait jadis très profondément. Dépossédée de ses conquêtes, elle a même été amputée politiquement : ses Iguntar sont aujourd'hui soumis aux a. Lh'sen. Elle a donc pâti plus encore que les Seksawa de l'action des pouvoirs de plaine. Ceux de ses cantons qui, comme les a. Châib et les a. Bkhayr, ont pu échapper par l'isolement, ont vécu plus mesquinement que les Seksawa. Ceux-ci étaient protégés, à partir de leur moyenne vallée, par un relief en pro-

(1) Cette hypothèse a été avancée par nous, avec plus ou moins de développement, dans plusieurs articles : Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa, 1948, *R. afr.*, 1948 ; compte rendu dans le *Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français*, 1950, d'une communication du 3-6-50, Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental ; Un glossaire notarial, *R. afr.*, 1950 ; Terroirs et Seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental, *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1951, pp. 474 sq.

(2) Qu'il nous soit permis de nous excuser ici, une fois pour toutes, de l'abondance des nomenclatures d'anthroponymes et de toponymes dans une étude qui n'offre pas de caractère linguistique. C'est que leur analyse est nécessaire à celle des structures, dont elle est l'indice le plus visible. Sur l'intérêt des recherches de toponymie et d'anthroponymie berbères, cf. E. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas*, qui vise notre milieu même, 1942 ; A. Basset, Note sur la graphie des toponymes, *Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes*, 1942, pp. 177 sq., où est proposé un alphabet phonétique simple, assez semblable à celui qui a été adopté ici ; sur la toponymie berbère, et spécialement sur la toponymie chaouia des Ait Frah, *Onomastica*, 1948, p. 123 ; et surtout, Pour une collecte des noms propres, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire*, 1950, p. 535 ; A. Roux, Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc, *Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie*, Bruxelles, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

fondeur, une hagiologie résistante, et probablement une tradition historique : toutes choses qui, en Demsira, font défaut.

Ceci dit quant aux ressemblances et différences, les recoupements qu'on a fait porter sur cette tribu se sont avérés positifs sur un grand nombre de points. Voici les principaux :

1) A Timezgadiwin, marché important entre le Tizi Umachcho et Argana, la loi est si présente qu'elle a pu servir corollairement à une enquête judiciaire dans le procès opposant à la *jemâa* actuelle la revendication d'un *ikhs* anciennement évincé, les a. Umahal. Le tour d'eau de cet *ikhs* et sa part sur tous les quartiers du terroir : Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeran-an, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, avaient été camouflés par les quatre autres *ikhs*-s composant les a. Timezgadiwin, mais sans que trois quarts de siècle d'occupation parvinssent à les abolir. Ainsi il y avait toujours 5 tours d'eau pour 4 *ikhs*-s, aucune explication plausible n'étant alléguée d'une telle anomalie. Cela en une matière qui, dans un tel milieu, est toujours très exactement raisonnée. Faille dans l'administration de l'eau : l'enquête s'y insère et démasque l'usurpation.

2) A Tinnmrutin, village de haute montagne des a. Châib, doté d'un terroir relativement ample, il existe 7 *ikhs*-s. L'irrigué se distribue en 12 quartiers perpendiculaires à l'axe du torrent : Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. Chaque quartier, en règle générale, est réparti entre tous les *ikhs*-s. Toutefois des inégalités d'appartenance allant du simple au quadruple s'observent à l'intérieur de chaque quartier, entre la part des différents ayants droit. Elles sont encore plus fortes dans le quartier sis immédiatement sous le village. Dans un autre même, un des 7 *ikhs*-s n'est pas représenté. L'irrigation s'opère par tours d'un jour, dévolus à chacun des *ikhs*-s. En sec, pareille représentation, quoique sous des proportions plus amples et dans un enchevêtrement moindre. Au-dessus des rigoles de ruissellement, cela s'accentue encore, et chaque *ikhs* dispose d'un secteur à lui propre.

L'exemple de Tinnmrutin est d'autant plus intéressant, qu'il touche nos Seksawa, en ce que les Iguntar, aujourd'hui rattachés aux a. Lh'sen, en sont issus et y possèdent encore des droits.

3) Dans la région la plus torturée des Demsira, la plus affaiblie par tous les conquérants, passants officiels, prétendants et suppôts du pouvoir de plaine, les Irohalen, région en pente, sans irrigation valable, rougeoyante de permo-trias, la propriété foncière distribue les 10 *ikhs*-s, marabouts de Tamarut compris, sur les différents terroirs : par exemple, « le champ du Roi » *Iger ugellid*, belle pièce céréalière à l'embranchement des routes du Sous et des H'âh'a, Awrir-an et la colline ronde sous Ddusyan, réputée fertile en blé. Un système de locations compense les risques de sécheresse ou de mauvaise récolte. En somme, secteur à la constitution et à l'histoire mouvementées, qui s'organise au mieux de sa nature assez précaire, mais visiblement selon les lignes observées dans des terroirs plus intacts.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Étroite vallée affluente de l'asif i-ymintanut. Loi recoupée notamment pour les villages d'Ergtajelt (9 quartiers), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). L'irrigation est toujours administrée par *ikhs*, mais inégalement, les *ikhs*-s ayant des droits inégaux selon les quartiers. Enfin, la loi est sentie et formulée.

... NFIFA...

Tribu tout entière de piémont. Occupe, outre le débouché du col sur la plaine (Imintanout), la vallée basse de l'Amejnes, et une « montagne » qui est le revers Nord du Lemgo, ainsi qu'une plaine aux confins des Mtugga.

1) Dans ce dernier domaine a été observé le jeu de la répartition foncière. C'est la *taqbilt* dite Wad l-Ibûr. Sept *aᶜz'dm* la forment, tous allogènes. Pas un autochtone. L'un d'eux les a. Âli Umbarek, a ses cultures groupées en amont, mêlées à celles des a. Abdnnur, « gens de la montagne ». Mais les 6 autres sont impeccablement représentés dans chaque quartier. C'est d'ailleurs eux qu'on désigne, à l'exclusion des premiers, d'un nom collectif : a. i-ymiz'z'er. Le conflit entre la règle de répartition topographique et la possession, invoquée par les a. Âli qui ont toutes les cultures massées autour de la source, donne lieu à des chocs nombreux. En 1950, une transaction fait la part des choses et combine les deux systèmes à la satisfaction générale. Encore une vérification corollaire. Cela dans le terroir irrigué.

2) En dehors de ce terroir irrigué, curieusement nommé Wad l-Ibûr, c'est-à-dire « la rivière des cultures en sec », la *taqbilt* possède un pays mamelonné, faisant partie des confins jaunâtres entre Mtugga et Nfifa : terroirs dits Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. La vocation collective en est manifeste, à telle enseigne que l'appropriation s'y faisait, pour chaque campagne *s-lh'waz*, c'est-à-dire par course au premier occupant, « à l'empoigne ». Le marquage au soc valait appropriation pour l'année. Le dépôt, en 1950, d'une réquisition privative d'immatriculation amène à formaliser ce caractère. C'est l'intégralité de la *taqbilt* de Wad l-Ibûr, y compris les « gens de la montagne », qui revendique ses droits. La prétention rivale des villages sis dans l'immeuble même à l'accaparer, est finalement repoussée. C'est un allotissement par « foyers » *s-takatin* qui est décidé, une zone étant assignée sur cette base à chaque village de la montagne ou de la plaine : système intermédiaire, faisant la part et à la vocation générale de tous les *ikhs*-s, et à leurs différences de masse ou d'habitat.

En gros, le pays de Wad l-Ibûr apparaît comme ayant été initialement découpé en trois terroirs, où chacun des *ikhs*-s avait sa part. Mais l'évolution en a été divergente : appropriation privative pour le secteur de montagne, tenure collective persistante pour le terroir de plaine, et distribution classique par quartiers dans la basse vallée de l'Amejnes.

... MTUGGA...

Structure complexe. Deux synclinaux E.-O. encadrent ce qui a été appelé inexactement le plateau Mtugga. C'est en réalité un bombement calcaire lié à la surrection atlasique. Mais sa surface, soumise à érosion intense, est devenue à beaucoup d'endroits un causse pierreux. Elle est entaillée de ravines dont la jonction, sous le nom d'Igrunzar, forme l'Wâd Lqçob. Celui-ci se jette à la mer près de Mogador. C'est son eau qui jadis irrigua les plantations saâdiennes de canne à sucre.

1) L'importance du « plateau » est essentielle. A l'exception des Reh'h'âla, aberrants, tous les *khoms*-s Mtugga l'encadrent, et participent à son exploitation par le pacage, la cueillette ou le labour. Soit, dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre, les *taqbilt*'-s suivantes : Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

Cette répartition schématique, à l'échelle des vastes espaces de la vie Mtugga, n'en apparait pas moins comme un facteur non négligeable d'équilibre économique et politique.

2) Kuzemt. Les terres de labour en sec sont propriété de chacun des *ikhs*-s, par paquets agglomérés coïncidant approximativement avec l'habitat. Observer d'ailleurs que, selon le mode H'âh'a, chaque *ikhs* habite à part. Mais l'olivette contient, du point de vue foncier, une représentation de *tous les ikhs*-s et même de ceux dont l'habitat est excentrique comme Iggi w-ugnan.

A noter que le gros des plantations est du même âge. La présence de tous les *ikhs*-s, dont l'olivaie, correspond-elle à une répartition consécutive à un travail collectif organisé par un occupant officiel ? C'est ce que des ruines imposantes, dites Dar l-Ibacha, et qui paraissent remonter aux entreprises makhzéniennes mentionnées dans la *Rih'la* du marabout de Tasaft, laisseraient supposer (Tr. Justinard, p. 18).

En dehors de l'olivaie, le quartier de Iggi n-d'her, où existent un grand nombre de parcelles irriguées, comprend un véritable échantillonnage de tous les *ikhs*-s de Kuzemt.

3) Au N.-E. du Jebel Kharruba, symétriquement au village de Tadnest par rapport à ces hauteurs, le terroir du Zahr ou T'amer rassemble une série de cuvettes, séparées par des éperons rocheux. D'après une tradition recueillie par J. Fuchs, c'était initialement un terroir de pacage. Puis, divers éléments d'Intamlin vinrent le coloniser, sans pour autant abandonner leur habitat principal.

Bien que toutes sortes de mutations aient affecté les parties ainsi vivifiées, la qualification collective *muchû'* est encore appliquée à l'ensemble. D'autre part, et très significativement, bien que la première appropriation passe pour avoir été faite « à l'empoigne », la plupart des *ikhs*-s des Intamlin sont encore représentés à Zahr ou T'amer.

Même symétrie dans les vastes « collectifs » constituant confins entre Mtugga et Nfifa.

4) Au lieudit Adder, siège actuel du marché du mercredi, et qui semble autrefois avoir été bien plus amplement irrigué par la source

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

de Sidi bu Brahim, s'observe un véritable pot-pourri de propriétaires appartenant aux diverses subdivisions Mtugga, dont certaines fort éloignées. C'est ainsi que l'analyse foncière y révèle des Idaw Merzug, des Reh'h'âla, des Idaw Talilt, et même des allogènes Idaw Ziki et Mentaga.

La tradition applique à Adder le dicton suivant : *Adder : taryalt umzil : amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit*, « c'est le couffin du forgeron, n'importe quel clou que tu veuilles, tu l'y trouves ». Une analyse plus approfondie dirait seule s'il y a là pure coïncidence ou agrégat accidentel, résultant de causes extérieures comme l'existence d'un saint thermal, ou traces de répartition systématique.

Le genre de la tribu Mtugga est tout particulier, tant du fait de son ampleur, que du jeu simultané dont elle offre le spectacle entre un archaïsme coutumier très résistant et l'expansion latifundiaire des « grandes familles ». Il y aurait péril à poursuivre jusqu'au fond ces analogies dans un exposé purement comparatif, dont le but n'est pas d'étudier leur contexture tribale. Qu'il nous suffise d'avoir noté qu'en dépit d'une telle particularité, maintes émergences de la loi montagnarde sont décelables. Celles qu'on a notées ici sont loin d'être les seules.

... MEZ'UD'A...

Mêmes réserves, mais aussi mêmes conclusions. Chez eux, l'équilibre plaine-montagne a été préservé jusqu'à nos jours. La tribu offre une homogénéité, peut-être chèrement acquise, mais qui, ses proportions plus modestes aidant, fait plutôt d'elle la forme d'épanouissement de types que nous trouvons, sur un modèle plus exigu, en Haut Seksawa par exemple. Le facteur d'originalité est ici l'usage de 5 grandes séguias venues de l'asif el-Mâl, et qui conditionnent la vie économique et politique d'au moins toute la partie Est de la tribu.

1) Une étude d'ensemble montre qu'en gros, la plaine Mez'ud'a est comme le commentaire et l'amplification des divisions politiques de la montagne. Chacune de celles-ci projette sa zone de propriété sur un secteur spécial. D'où va-et-vient constant, et, aujourd'hui, et de plus en plus, double habitat. Ce même fait est observable en Dwiran. Il a déjà frappé nos chercheurs.

2) Ce qui est resté inaperçu, c'est à quel point de détail en arrive cet ordre agraire. Malgré l'appropriation intense de la plaine depuis la pacification, il reste des communaux de culture, où la vocation de chaque *ikhs* résiste à toutes les évolutions. En 1950 encore une répartition gentilice, en fonction du système étonnamment ramifié et hiérarchisé qui coiffe ici les *ikhs*-s, s'est imposée victorieusement, malgré des vivifications privatives, sur la plus grande partie du terroir d'Ighargharen revenant aux a. Gd'id'.

3) Le fonctionnement de l'irrigation, parfait mécanisme d'horlogerie, se règle non sur la proximité topographique, mais sur l'appartenance de groupe. De là ce qui nous apparaîtrait comme difficultés et paradoxes. Il faut donc que, jusqu'à l'échelon individuel, il y ait, pour chaque ayant

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

droit dont le tour arrive, disponibilité de terres dans le secteur mis en eau juste à ce moment par l'une ou l'autre des 5 grandes séguias traversant la plaine en diagonale, et qui laissent entre elles des distances de plusieurs kilomètres parfois. Là encore, comme en ce qui concerne les Mtugga, il y aurait erreur à poursuivre dans le détail des analogies qui tomberaient à faux, vu le stade d'épanouissement et le genre personnel des Mez'ud'a.

Saluons d'ailleurs au passage ces développements originaux qui non seulement illustrent la vitalité de chaque groupe, lorsqu'il n'est pas frappé par la décadence, ou les gênes extérieures, mais la liaison de cette vitalité à des techniques particulières. Ces dernières sont toutes centrées, comme eût dit Taine, sur une « idée maîtresse » du groupe. De la sorte, elles arrivent parfois à la conscience non seulement des experts, mais du commun des citoyens.

Peut-être a-t-on à présent le droit de systématiser des remarques dont les plus frappantes seulement ont été consignées ci-dessus, mais qu'on pourrait indéfiniment multiplier, si l'on ne craignait de rendre fastidieuse à l'excès l'énumération. Mais ne sera-ce pas bien téméraire ? Ne faudrait-il pas, auparavant, continuer les sondages, sur toute l'étendue du monde chleuh, voire plus largement berbère ? Il ne nous a pas été donné de pouvoir le faire directement, mais l'information orale confirme que les phénomènes ici observés se retrouvent à tout le moins sur le pourtour des tribus d'Imintanout, des Gedmiwa à l'Aghbar et aux Idaw Mh'mud. D'autre part, il est superflu de dire que la minutie de telles analyses, impliquant l'appel conjugué à la toponymie, à la topographie parcellaire et à la morphologie des groupes, n'a guère tenté de chercheurs dans le reste du Maghreb (1). Ces recoupe-

(1) En tout état de cause, il n'apparaîtra pas sans intérêt qu'à l'autre bout de l'Afrique du Nord, dans l'Aurès, les chances de l'investigation directe nous aient permis de la retrouver bien vivante.

Un trait frappant de l'Aurès occidental est le parallélisme des deux grandes vallées de l'Wâd ʿAbdi et de l'Wâd Labyod', qui constituent deux rues de peuplement. La vie s'étire le long de ces voies naturelles, dans une orientation grossièrement N. E.-S. O. Il en est ainsi des deux grandes tribus rivales, les Ud ʿAbdi et les Ud Daud, maintenant appelés Tuaba. Chacun de leurs villages s'entoure d'un périmètre de soigneuse horticulture. On pourrait donc croire que la distribution foncière correspond à ce compartimentage. Il n'en est rien.

Vers la fin du XIXe siècle, les opérations du Sénatus Consulte, attentives à rompre les anciennes entités tribales en « douars-communes » qui présentassent de suffisantes garanties d'homogénéité humaine et économique, mènent à constater dans l'Aurès de vastes enchevêtrements d'habitat et de propriété. La description qu'en donnent les commissaires délimitateurs ne laisse aucun doute à cet égard. Dans l'Wâd Labyod', les 5 subdivisions traditionnelles des Ud Daud entrelacent leurs dépendances tout au long de 74 km. de vallée. Certains villages appartiennent à la fois, à deux, à trois, voire même simultanément à la totalité de ces « cheikhates ». A l'exception de Menâa, les 14 sous-groupes des Ud ʿAbdi s'entrelacent de même. La plaine de Nerdi s'éparpille en un véritable échantillonnage de propriété. Plus au S., derrière la grande barre

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ments restent donc à faire. Seuls ils pourront infirmer ou confirmer, et par conséquent doter ou non de généralité la loi structurale qu'on a cru ici découvrir.

L' « ORCHESTRATION PARCELLAIRE » (1)

Revenons aux Seksawa des hautes vallées.

Toute leur vie est marquée d'une division très précise portant sur trois ordres de faits. Le terroir se divise en quartiers individualisés. Le temps est scandé par la succession des « tours » organisés pour l'irrigation, et celle-ci est non seulement une base économique essentielle, mais un symbole collectif, fixant les plus véhémentes aspirations de ces ruraux. Le groupe se divise en *ikhs*-s, eux-mêmes répartis en familles conjugales, mais gardant un rôle, ou plutôt assumant des attributions. Il règne, entre ces trois ordres de chose une exacte correspondance. Aisément déchiffrable dans l'état présent, et malgré dégradations et mutations, elle inspire et nourrit le comportement du montagnard, pour qui elle est à la fois organisation invétérée, garantie de persistance et idéal de légitimité. Le droit foncier local, dans cette partie de l'Atlas, n'a d'autre fin que de sauvegarder, contre toutes les causes de trouble, et contre la vie individuelle en général, ces corrélations.

On s'explique ainsi que, pour l'étonnement de l'agronome, l'ordre d'irrigation soit gentilice. Contrairement à ce qu'imposeraient l'économie de l'effort et l'élémentaire souci de réduire les pertes dues à infiltration et évaporation, ce n'est pas la pièce de terrain, faite d'un ensemble de parcelles attenantes, qui bénéficiera du tour d'eau, mais le domaine discontinu d'un *ikhs* : si dispersés, si lointains parfois que soient ses champs, ce jour-là l'irrigation devra enjamber des intervalles importants pour aller de l'un à l'autre. Cette discontinuité même est de règle, car, sur chacun des quartiers, chaque *ikhs* doit avoir sa part. Toutes sortes de mécanismes conservatoires viennent là-dessus limiter les possibilités de mutation immobilière : ventes ou successions,

du Zalato, les Beni bu Slimân offrent des « fractions enchevêtrées », nous dit l'officier, « comme cultures, parcours et mêmes villages ». Cela sur 12.000 ha. Cet enchevêtrement est d'autant plus remarquable que l'usage des « greniers-citadelles » *aqlief*, plur. *iqlicin* répond ici plutôt à la personnalité de chaque groupe agnatique qu'à celle du village ou de la tribu.

Il semble donc que cette discontinuité de terroir, cet entrelacs de groupes soient de règle dans l'Aurès, et traduisent une exigence d'équilibre interne. Mais ne prenons ce rapprochement isolé que pour ce qu'il veut être : seulement l'amorce de contrôles plus étendus. (Cf. Archives du Sénatus Consulte à Aris).

(1) On reprend cette expression, en s'excusant de son aspect paradoxal, d'après l'art. de 1948, où nous exposions nos premières constatations.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

dépossessions violentes. Dans l'état actuel encore, partout où le terroir est florissant, les techniques bien conservées, la commune vivace, cette rotation de l'eau et cette distribution des parcelles tendent à leur perfection. De là vient que la forme classique de la propriété ne soit pas l'ample pièce d'un seul tenant, ni même la grappe de champs voisins, mais un échantillonnage patrimonial. Le moyen cultivateur dispose d'une centaine de parcelles, dont chacune parfois se réduit à quelques mètres carrés. La formule n'est pas viable du point de vue économique. Mais qu'importe au montagnard ? Il a, selon l'expression des actes indigènes, « son nom sur chaque quartier ». Un idéal distributif est ainsi atteint. C'est aussi un idéal de variété. Les parcelles se définissent par leur emboîtement entre celles d'autres ayants-droit. La modicité des surfaces aidant, leur limitation n'est pas matérielle, mais personnelle, non pas topographique, mais anthroponymique. Cela ressort effectivement des écrits locaux, où elles sont définies par le nom du quartier et des quatre riverains, sans autre précision de bornage. L'appartenance à l'*ikhs* et l'insertion dans tel ou tel quartier offrent identification suffisante. Trait paradoxal dans une société paysanne où les conflits de limites sont traditionnellement fréquents.

Toute une « orchestration parcellaire » s'entrevoit ainsi, chaque *ikhs* logeant à la fois dans tous les quartiers du terroir ses champs, qu'anime, le jour venu, l'exacte minuterie des tours d'eau. Scansion du temps agricole en tours d'eau, équilibre interne du groupe en sous-groupes agnatiques, classement imposé par la connaissance au terroir : ces trois éléments se composent en un système cohérent.

Quelle origine prêter à une ordonnance aussi parfaite ? L'usager lui-même n'en imagine pas la cause. Son geste spontané, lorsqu'on l'interroge sur cette loi, est de montrer du doigt les entrelacs du jonc sur la natte où il est assis : chaque brindille correspond à une parcelle. Ce dont il a l'intuition, en effet, c'est d'un ensemble que lient d'inextricables solidarités. Mais c'est là du sentiment. La recherche doit être plus exigeante.

La première explication qui viendrait à l'esprit est celle de ces partages d'hoirie qui aboutissent, dans deux milieux paradoxalement éloignés, l'*openfield* et les champs en lanières du Nord européen, le *muchâ'* de Syrie, à des échantillonnages de même type. Or, ce qui fait la difficulté, en même temps que l'intérêt de l'exemple haut-atlasique, c'est que la *taqbilt* n'est en aucune façon une famille élargie, même fictive. Le lien social, voire avoué et conscient, ne consiste nullement ici dans la ramification d'une

souche familiale. Si, à l'intérieur de l'*ikhs*, le rattachement des divers « foyers » *lakalin* les uns aux autres est généalogique et ressortit au droit successoral, il en est tout autrement du rattachement des *ikhs*-s entre eux à l'intérieur du groupe : leur connexion, qu'il faudra définir de plus près, est toute autre. Il faut chercher ailleurs qu'en des divisions d'hoirie la source d'un ordre agraire.

Collectivisme originel, qui se serait plus ou moins maintenu dans l'Atlas ? L'hypothèse est tentante. A vrai dire, elle comporte un jugement sur l'âge et le caractère de ces sociétés. Elle va, d'autre part, à l'encontre de ce que nous savions du type d'appropriation foncière qui, dans la plupart des exemples connus, répond aux techniques de l'arbre et de l'eau : à savoir le type privatif. Une telle singularité, pas plus qu'un rappel aussi persistant de modalités communautaires primitives, ne seraient à écarter *a priori*. Cependant, compte tenu du climat volontaire de cette vie, de l'effort systématique, et localisable à un certain moment du passé, que traduit souvent la construction des terroirs, on évoque aussi des partages conscients entre sujets de droit. L'occupation et la mise en valeur de sols conquis ou créés de toute pièce sur la friche, la forêt, la pente, a pu appeler comme corollaire leur distribution équilibrée entre participants : ces sous-groupes, dits *ikhs*-s, et qu'unissaient entre eux des connexions de type autrement complexe que la consanguinité. Il est possible aussi que cet équilibre plural traduise un rajustement du groupe, sa réaction contre la menace externe ou la décadence interne.

Ordre de travail ou réforme sociale, ce type de partages nous est offert à une époque récente. Il reflète le génie à la fois ratiocinant et communautaire, altruiste et comptable, dont cette enquête observera la constante manifestation. C'est ainsi que les Idma, ayant récupéré leur terroir de Tasselli sur les a. Il'adduyws, le redistribuent. A Tabratjut, le vieil ordre est rétabli, mais non sans remaniements, à l'issue d'un contentieux aux folles perturbations. D'autres exemples pourraient être allégués. Ils abondent dans la jurisprudence journalière des *jemâa*-s.

Ce que nous avons appelé « l'orchestration parcellaire » peut donc procéder d'un stade d'origine ou d'aménagements plus modernes. Hypothèse ethnologique ou hypothèse historique : ne choisissons pas entre les deux pour l'instant.

LE COEFFICIENT D'AMPLEUR

L'humanité des hautes vallées investit dans son domaine infime d'énormes dépenses d'énergie : travail, organisation, et aussi dénominations. Car la concentration de la toponymie y tra-

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

duit exactement celle des autres mises en œuvre. Elle en est même l'indice le plus facile à saisir. La densité des noms dénonce celle de la vie communale. Dans tels villages, nous la suivons bien en deçà du cadre pourtant restreint du quartier. Rien ne dit qu'ailleurs ou qu'en d'autres temps on ne pût la suivre plus loin encore : jusqu'à la plus petite parcelle. Ce terroir est donc comme un corps où chaque atome assumerait, outre sa fonction, un nom. Quelle légèreté de matière en tout cela !

La notion essentielle de quartier se dérobe presque à toute définition topographique. En irrigué, du moins, où le quartier n'est pas un morceau de paysage, identifiable par des accidents naturels. Pour répondre à cette définition il lui faut les larges replats où s'étalent les cultures en sec et les pâquis. Certes, en irrigué même, il a une superficie approximativement mesurable, variable avec les terroirs. Qui dit superficie devrait dire limites, lisibles à l'œil nu. Souvent, en effet, le quartier correspond à un faciès. Or sa minuscule individualité ressort de traits comme la puissance des cultures, la teinte de la végétation, l'assemblage des parcelles, que l'on sent instinctivement, mais qui, prenons-y garde, découlent de cette individualité plutôt qu'ils ne la déterminent.

Il est possible que le progrès de l'analyse arrive à rendre compte du plus ou moins grand nombre de quartiers, c'est-à-dire, en l'espèce, de vannes échelonnées sur la rigole, par le jeu échelonné des irrigations. Ou qu'en gros la division du terroir obéisse, comme dans le cas des parcelles-lanières de l'*openfield*, à un souci d'égaliser qualitativement les parts. A une géométrie des longs rectangles, le relief encaissé aurait fait ici préférer un échiquier irrégulier. Mais aucune de ces explications par la topographie, la technique ou l'équité distributive n'arrive à rendre compte entièrement de la notion. Ce qui est incontestable, c'est la disproportion qui s'affirme ainsi dans le terroir entre un tel luxe d'appellations et une telle pauvreté de masse.

Ce contraste est certes général, et caractéristique du milieu. Mais la densité des noms, elle-même annonciatrice de la densité sociale, est-elle partout égale ? Bien que ce soit là aborder une matière qui n'a guère été explorée en Afrique du Nord, et qui réclamerait des comparaisons quantitatives hors de propos, on soupçonne toutefois, dans le cadre limité du Haut-Atlas occidental, de fortes inégalités entre terroirs. Ne risquons-nous pas dès lors d'avoir fondé à l'excès la description sur le cas-limite de la ravine irriguée, alors que d'autres aspects, visuellement plus amples, économiquement aussi décisifs, appellent de même l'ana-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

lyse ? Et, d'autre part, quelle inexactitude n'y aurait-il pas à imaginer que la réalité montagnarde s'offre partout avec une égale rigueur !

Des phénomènes d'usure ou de désuétude peuvent, en irrigué même, provoquer l'affaissement du système. C'est d'abord l'inextricabilité juridique, résultant elle-même d'un affaiblissement de la vie communautaire : dans la complexité de la vieille formule gentilice, les jeunes générations ne se retrouvent plus. De guerre lasse, un accord de *jemâa* substitue, à l'ancienne dévolution de l'eau par *ikhs*, un arrosage par pièces contiguës.

Mais, à côté de ce facteur d'intégrité plus ou moins grande du type montagnard, un autre intervient, d'importance sans doute majeure : son degré d'étalement dans l'espace.

Si l'on détourne l'attention des fonds de vallée, pour la porter sur les hautes surfaces à seigle, par exemple, on s'avise que deux éléments essentiels font défaut pour vérifier la règle structurale que nous avons définie : pas de division du temps en tours d'eau, et pour cause ; et moins de minutie dans les toponymes. La vie des hauts est moins volontaire, moins affinée, plus lâche. L'implantation simultanée de tous les *ikhs*-s y est plus théorique que réelle. Car cette agriculture éloignée du village requiert des moyens de transport, l'attelée ou à tout le moins la bête de labour. Ce n'est pas à la portée de tous. Tous ne s'y risquent pas. C'est une agriculture d'ambitieux représentatifs, non de citoyens égalitaires. Opérant dans un milieu social moins finement innervé, si j'ose dire, privée de cet exercice permanent de volonté et d'équilibre, et aussi de cette mesure du temps que constitue l'irrigation, elle s'accommode corrélativement d'un flou du droit et d'un flou des techniques : jachères irrégulières, retours à la friche, abandon de la récolte trop faible, soumission aux aléas de l'enneigement et de la pluviométrie.

Dans quelle mesure une répartition gentilice, appelée à se subdiviser elle-même par un tirage au sort entre foyers, est-elle praticable dans les cas où superficies, effectifs humains et module d'eau revêtent une ampleur plus importante que dans l'étroit canton ? Il semble alors qu'une sorte de dilatation soit imprimée aux éléments en cause. De nouvelles subdivisions s'intercalent entre les sous-groupes de base et l'individu : ainsi des trois « tiers » des a. H'adduyws, du rythme binaire des a. Lh'sen, de la localisation par villages des « petits *ikhs*-s » Idma. A plus forte raison cela apparaît-il en Mez'ud'a, où une large aisance de plaine offre comme la projection grossissante de la structure tribale. A partir d'un certain ordre de grandeur, la notion d'*ikhs* se perd en tant

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

que base de répartition. Interviennent alors des divisions conventionnelles, telles qu'en Mez'ud'a les « centuries » *myawal*, qui deviennent les sujets de droit. Et le droit se ramifie de proche en proche jusqu'au « foyer » *lakal*, mais non sans mettre en jeu d'autres mesures de débit, et de surface agricole. Cela est d'autant plus marqué en Mez'ud'a, qu'à côté de telles répartitions pour l'eau issue des canaux de l'asif el-Mâl, la répartition des eaux de source reste gentilice. D'un côté solution d'ampleur, de l'autre solution d'étroitesse. Ce coefficient de contraction ou de dilatation, de grain plus ou moins lâche ou ténu, est essentiel à l'interprétation des faits. On s'en rend compte par l'exemple des Mez'ud'a. Encore s'agit-il dans cette tribu de l'élargissement harmonieux d'une *laqbilt* de type traditionnel, élargissement dont les étapes se lisent clairement dans les structures actuelles. Plus vaste, plus complexe, et surtout plus instructif serait l'exemple Mtugga, qui porte sur un immense pays et une trentaine de mille âmes. L'ensemble est composé de plusieurs *laqbilts*-s assez étoffées elles-mêmes pour interposer, entre elles et les *ikhs*-s qui les composent, un ou deux autres paliers de classement.

Ainsi les éléments de l'ordre montagnard : division gentilice du sol, vitalité de l'équilibre entre *ikhs*-s, orchestration parcellaire, subissent des sorts divers à mesure qu'on s'approche de la plaine ou que le système s'use. Mais plus encore peut-être en fonction de l'ampleur géographique des phénomènes étudiés. L'analyse mène donc ici à l'idée de variations dans l'espace sur lesquelles on aura à revenir.

LE COEFFICIENT DE VALEUR (1)

Dans bien des cas, la division de l'eau par tours de rôle n'intervient qu'en période d'étiage. Une autre méthode s'instaure quand les eaux sont grosses. La distinction de ces deux rythmes d'abondance ou d'étiage est d'ailleurs un motif constant. Elle règle les rapports entre Seksawa et bénéficiaires d'aval, Dwiran et Ud Bessebâ'. Corrélativement, la pénurie fait jouer, fût-ce en matière de pacage, d'étroites répartitions. Ainsi en Ibuban, à Tugg Lkheyr et à Timskert, la compression des villages par l'arête de l'Ameznir, où commence le territoire des a. Mh'and, entraîne cette chose inouïe : la division du pacage par « cairns » *lkraker*.

Certes d'autres causes peuvent intervenir. Ainsi cette conden-

(1) H. Lhote, *Comment campent les Touareg*, 1947, p. 21, remarque la nette répartition du parcours chez les Touareg sahariens, s'opposant à son caractère promiscu chez les Touareg soudanais.

sation de toponymie et aussi d'intérêts et de travail humains, d'affectivité même, qui caractérisent, par rapport à la vaste étendue des espaces de montagne, le terroir de labour et son cœur : le terroir irrigué. Dans tous les cas, règne un élément commun : celui du *prix* attaché par ces hommes à tel ou tel de leurs biens : terre de culture, eaux ou pâquis, en fonction de son étroitesse, de sa rareté, ou d'autres éléments pour nous plus obscurs. Cette optique de rareté est, par rapport aux grandes étendues arables de plaine, comme en Chaouia ou en Tadla, tout à fait caractéristique de l'Atlas. Autre conséquence de l'évolution qui a ramassé sur une terre exiguë une humanité aux solides vertus, aux non moins solides appétits. Mais d'autres considérations peuvent entrer en jeu. Par exemple la hiérarchie sentimentale qui met au premier plan l'ensemble constitué par le village et ses irrigations. Cet ensemble est instinctivement posé comme la réplique du groupe même, lié à lui par de strictes correspondances, vérifiables à l'échelon de l'individu, et inspirées par une éthique distributive.

L'orchestration parcellaire, sous cet angle, apparaîtrait comme une loi d'égalisation des chances, en vue de la jouissance de l'eau ou du sol. Ce serait la rectification imposée par l'homme à la précarité du milieu. Le morcellement infini des terres, et leur distribution par terroirs reflètent à certains égards une tendance à mettre chaque membre de la collectivité en possession de moyens similaires. Aussi cette division des risques augmente-t-elle à mesure que la valeur prêtée aux sols se diversifie, s'individualise, se fractionne en unités presque personnelles, ou possédant à tout le moins une personnalité, celle du nom.

Si lié qu'il soit à la pauvreté montagnarde, un tel comportement n'est pas sans analogue dans le reste du Maghreb. L'intense vitalité de l'association agricole a été justement définie comme un moyen de lutter contre les aléas du milieu (1). L'égalisation des chances est ainsi cherchée non pas comme ici dans un équilibre interne entre *ikhs*-s, mais dans la solidarité économique entre individus. Non dans des rapports statutaires entre sous-groupes dans la *taqbilt*, mais dans la multiplication des liens contractuels. Sous ces différences de forme déguisant une similitude d'objectif, s'ouvre sans doute une voie féconde de comparaison entre sociétés nord-africaines. Cette explication de psychologie collective vaut ce qu'elle vaut : justement assez peu sans doute, en tant qu'explication. Mais elle n'est pas négligeable pour l'interprétation des

(1) C'est là un motif central de la thèse de L. Milliot, *L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb*, 1911.

1: Berque

MW11 Shluh

faits par leur contexte sentimental. Elle s'impose certainement aujourd'hui comme commentaire de traits d'observation tels que l'acuité du contentieux immobilier et la profondeur du jeu des mécanismes d'équilibre patrimonial. Enfin, elle réagirait sur une théorie de la valeur, propre au milieu, si toutefois notre connaissance de l'Afrique du Nord en était à de pareilles recherches...

« LA TERRE ET L'ÉVOLUTION HUMAINE »

Arrêtons ici l'analyse de ces structures économiques. On ne saurait plus en outre développer la signification ou en tirer les conséquences, sans par trop présumer du reste de l'enquête. Quelles règles, quels comportements répondent à cet ordre rural, c'est ce que dégagera l'étude des institutions religieuses et juridiques qu'il soutient.

Mais d'ores et déjà, une chose est à souligner, parce qu'elle tient à la particularité du milieu, ou du moins s'y exprime avec une force encore intacte : c'est la précision des rapports entre le groupe et le paysage. Une constance historique inégalée dans le reste du Maghreb rural, la richesse de la toponymie et ses correspondances agraires accroissent la portée méthodologique d'un tel témoignage. Ce ne sont pas seulement en effet les échanges entre cet homme et son terroir que régiront ces rapports, mais pour une bonne part l'éthique même de cette société. Leur force de suscitation, d'inspiration en même temps que de contrainte est telle que non seulement ils souffrent l'initiative individuelle ou collective, mais la postulent. C'est elle en effet qui entretient, sur un espace ainsi organisé, la circulation des êtres, des droits et des choses. De proche en proche, la vie économique, parce qu'elle obéit à ces corrélations, apparaît comme un facteur d'animation topographique. Aussi bien était-ce sous cet aspect — déplacement des troupeaux, lignes de l'irrigation, rythmes de concentration et d'expansion, divisibilité du pays — qu'elle nous avait d'abord frappés.

Une *taqbilt* est chassée par la guerre. Sa légitimité reste attachée au sol, et les conquérants devront chèrement la lui acheter, s'ils le peuvent. Le cousin pauvre s'enfuit. Éliminé non tellement par le vice que par l'insoutenable perfection du milieu, il y laisse la coquille qu'il emplissait. Elle ne restera pas vide à attendre qu'il revienne : un autre s'y glisse aussitôt, parent expansif, acheteur, usurpateur — trois notions qui souvent interfèrent. Un droit intérimaire qu'essaiera d'abolir à son retour, mais non sans mal ni combat, l'émigré, règnera le temps de son absence.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Certes l'activité humaine ne se réduit pas tout entière à l'exercice de ces lois. Si l'immense part d'elle-même qu'elle voue au traitement du milieu révèle, dans cette région de l'Atlas, l'ordre rural dont les Seksawa nous ont permis l'observation, cette part n'est pas la seule. Cheminements spirituels, aventure guerrière, avarice individuelle, assument une fonction de compensation, de libération ou de jeu. Mais en cela même, la vie ne peut décoller de son cadre. Elle y crée des pleins et des vides, donc des différences de tension qui finiront par s'exprimer en rapports, en mouvements et par s'inscrire à nouveau dans l'espace.

Ici un tel caractère est constant. Il s'avère lié à la structure et à l'histoire de ces groupes par des correspondances plus précises qu'il n'a été donné d'en observer jusqu'ici en Afrique du Nord. Bien entendu, cela n'autorise nul déterminisme simpliste. Mais cela confère à ces sociétés une valeur d'authenticité, en même temps qu'une signification de type excédant largement leur étroitesse. Peut-être les analyses qui précèdent auront-elles établi à quel point les tribus du Haut-Atlas, et surtout les Seksawa, offrent une base exemplaire à l'étude des liens entre « la terre et l'évolution humaine » (1) pour l'ensemble du Maghreb.

(1) C'est le titre du livre de L. Febvre, 1922.

[P. 234 is blank]

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P. 235]

TROISIÈME PARTIE

INSTITUTIONS ET VALEURS

[P. 236 is blank]

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P. 237]

ASPECTS ET PROBLÈMES COMMUNS DE LA VIE RELIGIEUSE ET DE LA VIE JURIDIQUE

I

FOND LOCAL ET APPORT ORIENTAL

UNE PERSONNALITÉ RELIGIEUSE ET JURIDIQUE

Quand Doutté, il y a une cinquantaine d'années, venant de Marrakech par la route du Dir, franchit le gué du Seksawa, il nota sur la gauche, lui apparaissant dans les hautes falaises, le tombeau de Lalla Aziza (1). Pour qui connaît le pays, il y a là une impossibilité. Le tombeau, surplombé de toutes parts par des roches vertigineuses, n'est visible que des rebords de son cirque, à quelque trois heures de marche au S. du gué que franchit l'homme de *Magie et Religion*. Mais ne nous hâtons ni de triompher du savant algérois, ni de crier à la fantaisie. Son propos est plus vrai que la topographie, et je ne suis pas sûr qu'au passage du Seksawa, le guide marocain, regardant vers l'amont et baisant ses doigts, ou portant la main à son front, n'ait pas cru découvrir le lieu de prestiges. Il n'en faut pas tant pour qu'un sociologue en quête de sacré note un sanctuaire. Notre grave cartographie commet dans l'Atlas des confusions bien plus plaisantes.

Une véhémence secrète vibre sous ce paysage tout chargé d'interdits. Un triangle de haute montagne, pointant aux neiges du Tabgurt, semble murer une impasse sur la gauche. Aucun pouvoir de la plaine, des Mérinides au Protectorat, ne put venir à bout d'une liberté durement illustrée par les citadelles en ruines qui la cernent. C'est que des saints la protégeaient, ces saints dont un marabout du Sud disait au Sultan, en 1882 : « Ils ne veulent pas qu'on opprime leur peuple » (2).

Un isolement bien défendu, vaguement surnaturel, n'a pas

(1) E. Doutté, *En tribu*, 1914, p. 248.
(2) Lieut.-colonel Justinard, *Les Ait Ba 'Amran*, 1930, p. 106.

manqué de réagir sur la physionomie traditionnellement prêtée aux gens et au site de la vallée. Il l'a fait dans un double sens, selon l'ambiguïté même de ce genre de notions. Fourbes, payens, faussaires et magiciens : tels sont vus les Seksawa par leurs voisins montagnards, qui diffèrent d'eux profondément. Comme leur personnalité tranche sur celle, moins riche et moins intense, moins redoutable aussi des Dwiran, des Demsira ou des Nfifa ! L'analyse échoue peut-être à rendre compte d'une telle particularité, mais le fait est là. Des vagues d'émigrants de l'Anti-Atlas et du Sous ont pu pénétrer les Seksawa, les refaire par le dedans, sans parvenir à modifier un caractère qu'on est donc mené à lier non à telle ou telle composition ethnique, mais à une personnalité de peuple et à une vocation de pays. Seulement, que faut-il entendre par ces mots ?

COLORATION RITUELLE DE LA VALLÉE

Au XIVe siècle, Ibn Khaldûn se fait l'écho d'inquiétants, mais suggestifs racontars sur la chefferie Seksawa de son temps (1). Au XVIIIe, sous la plume d'un lettré curieusement archéologue, la chronique du marabout de Tasaft évoque des traits de même genre. En plein XXe, la rébellion du dernier *amghar* indépendant se fonde sur la thaumaturgie : il espère son salut d'escadrons de génies qu'on entend bruire sur le Tichka (2).

Cela, c'est la chronique. Au-dessous se discerne une autre couche de faits.

Les bons saints ont dû exorciser la vallée de ses démons. A Ikis on conte une jolie légende, où E. Dermenghem saluera sans doute une des formes du mythe de Psyché. Sidi Yusef u Buzid enseignait le jour les enfants des hommes, et la nuit ceux des démons. Cela troublait son ménage. Son épouse, curieuse, le suivit un soir et se haussa jusqu'à la fenêtre de la mosquée, qu'éclairait à l'intérieur un grand feu. A peine eût-elle aperçu l'auditoire, qui avait mine singulière, étant composé de génies, que ceux-ci s'évanouissent. La femme devient soudain aveugle, et mourra le lendemain. Le saint poursuivra sa vie édifiante. Aujourd'hui ses descendants, même loin dans la plaine, où ils vont chaque été louer leurs bras pour la moisson, sont protégés par lui : malheur à qui les lèse ; malheur à eux s'ils lèsent autrui. Mêmes légendes d'expulsion ou d'édification à Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

(1) Nous avons traduit intégralement ce passage dans nos Antiquités Seksawa, *Hesp.*, 1953, pp. 387 sq.

(2) J. Berque, Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1953, pp. 131 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Sera-ce céder à la tentation qui incite tout observateur à accuser l'originalité de son sujet, que de relever un tel ensemble de témoignages ? Il en ressort, pour les Seksawa, une coloration bien spéciale, qu'il y aurait d'ailleurs péril, en l'état actuel de nos connaissances, à vouloir outre mesure définir. Et quant à l'expliquer, nous en sommes encore loin. Un certain nombre de traits retiendront toutefois l'analyse.

Tout d'abord, le pays est un pays de « vieilles gens » ou « d'autres gens », c'est-à-dire d'esprits plus ou moins personnels attachés à ses sites, à son histoire, et, plus concrètement encore, à son sol (1). Quant à la fin du siècle dernier, un homme des Seksawa s'expatriait, il emportait avec lui une poudre composée d'une poignée de la terre natale, et de certaines de ses herbes. Il n'eût rien mangé ni bu à l'étranger sans y jeter une pincée de la mixture.

Pays très « ancien », en effet, et d'une individualité attestée depuis quelque huit siècles par les sources écrites elles-mêmes, qui restituent, des Almohades au XXe siècle, la permanence d'un nom et d'une autonomie. Et sans doute aussi d'une tradition et d'une légitimité, encore qu'oblitérées par la décadence, et devenues peu à peu indéchiffrables à l'étranger tout au moins. Elles s'induisent pourtant de faits d'observation. Dans ces sociétés au passé tumultueux, persiste un thème d'authenticité territoriale. Comment se conjugue-t-il avec un autre thème, bien plus courant, celui des fictions généalogiques de groupes ? C'est ce qu'on ne tentera pas d'élucider pour l'instant. Notre étude de la ou des psychologies sociales au Maghreb est encore trop peu avancée pour qu'on puisse faire autre chose ici que suggérer.

« Mauvais pays » ; « pays vénérable » : le doublet révèle une forte teneur magico-religieuse. Mais nous avons été amenés à circonscrire la part du magique dans sa vie agricole. Et d'autre part, les personnifications du sacré s'y avèrent des plus restreintes. Le système témoigne à la fois une grande vigueur morphologique, et une certaine pauvreté de mythes. Deux traits corrélatifs sans doute. La vie religieuse des Seksawa s'est sans doute depuis longtemps hiérarchisée. En haut, une sainte nationale. Loin au-dessous, un saint de type plus courant, Sidi Mh'and d'Ammern ; accessit : Sidi Lah'sen d'Assttif, personnage historique récent ; plus bas encore la plèbe classique des « bons petits saints ». Dans le rite, comme dans la croyance, centralisation vigoureuse, mais, par

(1) Souvent liés à l'existence de grottes, de ruines, etc. H. Basset, *Le Culte des grottes au Maroc*, 1920, pp. 96 sq., sur « la psychologie » des génies, « ces voisins d'un genre très spécial ».

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

là-même, élimination, épuration. L'immense majorité de ces plébéiens de l'oraison reste sans visage, sans culte, voire sans nom. Sur les grands s'exerce une critique qui ne provient pas seulement de la malice du milieu, ou d'influences orthodoxes problématiques, mais aussi sans doute de l'impérieuse polarisation du système.

En revanche, le sacré non figuratif foisonne. Il a comme support, très souvent, ces petites mosquées de village, d'où l'on dit que la prière monte directement à Dieu, tandis qu'elle risque, à passer par ses saints, de ne toucher que l'archange Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. La pieuse explication omet le caractère communal du sanctuaire. Or ce caractère est fort important, et, vraisemblablement, le plus ancien. A ce niveau de vie locale s'observent toujours des traits d'indivision entre rites religieux et juridiques. Malgré tant d'influences extérieures, et de transformations intérieures, c'est encore là, à beaucoup d'égards, l'un des fondements de la vie des groupes. Seulement, en matière religieuse comme en matière juridique, cette vie étroitement locale s'intègre dans un ensemble qui agit sur elle au moins autant qu'elle n'agit sur lui.

SITUATION DU DROIT SEKSAWA PAR RAPPORT A SES VOISINS

Les Seksawa ressentent une différence fondamentale entre leur droit et celui de leurs voisins, comme eux vieux sédentaires du Haut-Atlas occidental, tels que surtout Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, gens du Haut Asif el-Mâl et de l'Aghbar. Ils échouent à l'analyser. Leur droit s'encadre en effet dans l'ensemble chleuh. Il n'en ressort que par des variétés de détail. Mais elles sont vigoureuses et pour ainsi dire systématiques

Cette donnée immédiate s'impose à l'observateur comme à l'usager. Aussi bien sera-ce, pour l'analyse, la meilleure des bases de départ.

Certes, presque aussitôt la difficulté commence. Car si l'on voit bien l'unité de fond, contrastant avec la véhémence des personnalités qui s'en détachent, l'investigation échoue à serrer de plus près le contraste. Par exemple nous ne connaissons pas assez les Gedimiwa, groupe d'antiquité aussi vénérable que les Seksawa, pour que la comparaison entre les uns et les autres dépasse le plan de la simple description. Il n'est pas encore possible de définir sérieusement la culture de ce Sud-Ouest marocain, qui s'affirme par des caractères aussi tangibles que le parler ou la figure même de l'habitant. Il n'est pas encore possible de préciser ni d'expliquer comment s'articulent, sur cette homogénéité, des particula-

rismes assez vifs pour que leurs échanges s'ordonnent en rapports de droit externe.

Voici entre le Lemgo, le Kattos et l'arête atlasique, un quadrilatère montagneux d'une trentaine de kilomètres de côté à vol d'oiseau. Quatre identités juridiques pour le moins s'y pressent : Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran et Seksawa. Et chacune se subdivise à son tour.

La consistance de l'*amerwas*, « don matrimonial », l'effectif de cojureurs imposé selon la gravité du litige, passent du simple au double si les plaideurs n'appartiennent pas à la même unité. L'unité, c'est aujourd'hui la « tribu » : Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. Mais ce peut être aussi, plus authentiquement, ce que nous nommons la « fraction », c'est-à-dire la *taqbilt*. Et il y en a sept ou huit rien qu'en Seksawa. Ainsi en Demsira, le taux de l'*amerwas* varie selon quatre zones qui s'appliquent l'une à l'autre le régime de l'extériorité. S'agissant d'une fille donnée à un Mtuggi, le *chchard'*, « douaire stipulé » au profit de l'épouse, comporte dans certaines *taqbilt*-s, et non d'autres, l'obligation d'immeuble. En matière foncière, le témoignage extra-cantonal n'est pas retenu. Raison avouée : parce que l'étranger ne saurait être bien informé. Mais, évidemment, c'est parce que le groupe tient à son intégrité juridique. Des règles complexes régissent, entre cantons différents, la validité de l'écrit notarial lui-même. C'est ainsi qu'en Nfifa, seul vaut l'acte rédigé par des *t'l'olba* indigènes ou des Demsira-Nord, ou des Mtugga. Sinon il n'est plus recevable.

Mécanisme de défense cellulaire, dirait-on. Et aussi code diversifié des échanges entre cellules. Légiférant pour soi, défendu contre ses voisins par des infirmations, des restrictions ou des stipulations, cerné par cette espèce d'armure que constitue le doublement du taux procédural, le groupe, à coup sûr, et bien que son droit ne diffère que peu, s'érige en individu.

Il sera donc légitime de parler de système Seksawa, partie originale de l'ensemble chleuh. Et s'il est encore impossible, ou seulement prématuré de nettement définir les rapports de cette originalité aux originalités d'alentour ou à la matière de l'ensemble, on ne se laissera pas pour autant gagner à cette amertume méthodologique qu'éprouve d'abord, devant l'immensité des tâches et l'insuffisance des matériaux, tout explorateur de l'institution nord-africaine.

PRÉSENCE DE L'ISLAM DANS LE DROIT

Il est d'ailleurs un angle sous lequel — assez paradoxalement, puisque bien plus ample — le problème a été non seulement scruté par la science islamique et européenne (1), mais expérimentalement senti, vécu par l'étranger. C'est celui des relations entre tel ou tel « droit coutumier » et le droit musulman. Tant s'en faut en effet, croyons-nous, que la discordance politique ou culturelle des hautes vallées révèle une rupture quelconque dans la continuité morale ou géographique des sociétés maghrébines. La loi musulmane, agissant partout, encore qu'inégalement, sur des facteurs indigènes, se compose avec eux dans une diversité qui néanmoins s'ordonne par grandes masses : le bloc chleuh est l'une de ces masses.

Sur le premier problème, celui de la réception des normes orientales, nous manquons d'éléments historiques assez précis. Il s'agit en effet d'une évolution vieille d'au moins un millénaire, dont le point de départ et les principales étapes nous échappent. Tout au plus en sommes-nous réduits là-dessus à des hypothèses sur lesquelles on ne saurait légitimement fonder l'exposé. Le mieux sera donc de recourir à l'observation du présent et du passé immédiat.

Notre expansion juridique s'est heurtée en Afrique du Nord à celle d'un autre système, déjà anciennement installé — et même qui recouvre avec le temps une agressive verdeur — le droit musulman, ou *fiqh*. L'enjeu de la compétition, c'était et c'est encore de fournir la part décisive à l'organisation des rapports sociaux et à l'éthique de l'homme maghrébin. Mais les rivaux ne sont pas seuls aux prises. Ils ont trouvé devant eux, sous eux, plus ou moins intacts ou dégradés, plus ou moins compacts ou clairsemés, les vestiges de droits indigènes qu'il est convenu d'englober sous l'appellation générique de « coutume berbère ».

C'est dire que ce terme de coutume n'est pas pris ici au sens strict que lui donnent parfois les juristes (2). Dans bien des cas en effet cette « coutume » offre les caractères de cohésion raisonnée, d'expression légiférée, voire même de codification écrite, qui sont ceux mêmes de la loi. En fait, la « coutume », au Maghreb, c'est le droit du prédécesseur et concurrent. Si le cadi musulman refoule,

(1) On pense surtout aux études de M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

(2) Cf. la théorie romano-canonique de la coutume et la magistrale discussion qu'en a faite Ed. Lambert, *La fonction du droit civil comparé*, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

dans le domaine d'une coutume qu'il ne reconnaît jamais comme normative, tout l'ensemble du droit local d'inspiration extérieure ou antérieure à l'Islam, les magistrats français d'Algérie considèrent comme un corps de coutumes l'ensemble des droits locaux, d'origine islamique ou non, par opposition au Code Civil. Un de nos sociologues n'a-t-il pas intitulé, il y a une vingtaine d'années, un ouvrage, et non des moindres : *Loi française et coutume indigène en Algérie* (1) ?

Une seconde réserve est à faire sur le terme de « berbère ». L'ubiquité de ce droit local, plus ou moins affleurant, rend très difficile sa qualification en arabe ou berbère. Le fait est que son expression la plus cohérente apparaît surtout dans des secteurs berbérophones, faisant par là même figure de réserves ou de témoins archéologiques. Secteurs qui ont constitué, pour les Arabes comme pour nous, à la fois le signe le plus expressif et le cas-limite d'un génie autochtone. Vue assez superficielle.

Pour l'orthodoxie musulmane, l'existence des Berbères, et à plus forte raison d'un droit berbère, est un scandale intolérable. W. Marçais a fait justement observer la malveillance toute particulière avec laquelle le géographe al-Yâqût flétrissait dans la notice que son dictionnaire leur consacre, « la singularité et l'outrance » de cette race, *h'ida wa l'aych* (2). Le dernier mot, encore vivant en arabe dialectal, y recouvre l'antique notion de *hybris*, « démesure ». Or beaucoup de Bédouins d'Orient sont régis par un droit coutumier qui, chez les sédentaires Yéménites, par exemple, s'affirme même en des codifications portant le nom singulier de *l'aghâl* (3). Par là même l'originalité juridique de la montagne marocaine, pour prendre un cas extrême, ne pouvait, aux yeux de l'orthodoxie, que s'absorber dans ce thème des survivances ou déviations rurales, de cet « éternel bédouin », à la fois cauchemar et raison d'être du prosélytisme des villes.

(1) R. Maunier, 1932, livre d'ailleurs intuitif et pittoresque.

(2) Yâqût, *Mu'jam* (1224), éd. Wustenfeld, 1870, à l'art. *barbar.*, t. I, pp. 510 sq. Il est frappé par des aspects aberrants : *ah'wâl ajlba wa iq'ilâh'âl gharba*. W. Marçais a observé que toute la notice est d'une violence inusitée.

(3) Ettore Rossi, Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen, *Rivista degli Studi orientali*, fasc. I-IV, 1938, décrit toute une société patriarcale et chevaleresque où des interdits protègent l'hôte, le suppliant, le client, le réfugié, le compagnon de route, et jusqu'à l'homonyme. Il y a même des traités sur le *man'*, notion apparentée au tabou. Des problèmes, comme celui de l'exhérédation de la femme, se posent simultanément à cette société et à celles d'Afrique du Nord, par rapport auxquelles elle offre d'ailleurs une teinte plus archaïque. L'homogénéité des problèmes et de la solution qui leur est apportée, n'en est pas moins suggestive. Après les descriptions déjà anciennes du P. Jaussen, l'article d'E. Rossi constitue un nouvel et considérable apport à la connaissance d'un droit coutumier arabe.

A cette confusion unitaire, certains traits de la technique juridique musulmane devaient puissamment concourir (1). D'abord le concept de *d'arûra*, « nécessité », et « nécessité faisant loi », qui permet d'absorber, sans dérogation de principe, tous faits résistants et aberrants parce qu'on ne peut les vaincre, et sans qu'il soit question d'en pénétrer la coque. Puis, dans le même sens, cet opportunisme malékite imposant au nom du « bien social », *maçlah'a*, l'acceptation de l'illicite : mais passagère, précaire et comme hautaine. Enfin le rôle démesuré des présomptions dans le droit pénal et civil a acclimaté, sous les appellations de *ʿorf* et de *ʿâda*, « usage », une masse d'institutions locales, mais il va sans dire, sans reconnaissance de leur caractère d'obligation interne.

Ainsi donc la négation à la fois instinctive et raisonnée du droit berbère par l'Islam s'accompagne, dans la technique juridique, de multiples moyens de l'absorber sans l'admettre. Et non seulement sans concession de légitimité, mais sans effort d'analyse. La réalité maghrébine nourrit dès lors le *fiqh* comme un immense matériel de faits sans justification ni profondeur.

Il n'y a donc pas, pour l'orthodoxie stricte, de problème de droit coutumier.

Tout au contraire, l'éxégèse européenne, après de longs tâtonnements en Algérie, et surtout sous l'influence de ce qu'elle découvrait en Kabylie, puis au Maroc, de spontanéité institutionnelle, s'est laissé dominer par un réalisme aussi inattaquable tant qu'il s'en tient à l'observation des faits, que chanceux lorsqu'il s'avise d'autres inspirations. La joie de la découverte a peut-être parfois porté à croire à un primitivisme d'autant plus malléable et assimilable que certaines affinités méditerranéennes le « défendaient » contre l'Orient : de là à l'idée simpliste de division, il n'y a qu'un pas, que les détracteurs du système n'ont pas manqué de lui faire franchir.

Venons-en à l'attitude de l'usager. En dernier, car cet usager est honteux. Il persévère, certes, mais s'en excuse, ou même il s'ignore lui-même. Les deux pôles de cette attitude sont qu'il se réclame d'un système supérieur qui est l'Islam, *fiqh* compris, et que, concurremment, il se cramponne à un particularisme cantonal, une sorte de liberté proudhonienne qui implique le maintien de son droit.

Ce n'est qu'exceptionnellement qu'il s'élèvera au débat de

(1) Sur tout ceci, voir J. Berque, tr. d'al-Wazzâni, *Les Nawâzil al-Muzâraʿa du Miʿyâr*, 1940, pp. 27 sq., et *Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine*, 1944, pp. 33 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

principe. Un récit du cheikh an-Nâçirî (1) nous montre une tribu du Sous, les ait Asawn, au nom peut-être symbolique (« ceux de l'escarpement ») qui « enterrent » la Loi musulmane selon le mode classique de l'envoûtement, et proclament le recours désormais obligatoire aux « tables » de la coutume *ikchchud'en*, c'est-à-dire à des codifications locales. Mais ce n'est là qu'un cas extrême. Le *fatwa* des Idaw Zeddut (2), dans la même région, justifie au contraire l'application de la coutume en tant que source auxiliaire du droit par la référence aux mêmes normes orthodoxes qu'un jurisconsulte de Fès, al-Qâdirî, justifiant l'*'Amal*, ce droit pragmatique qui s'est développé dans les prétoires urbains. Mais ni al-Qâdirî ni les juristes chleuhs ne se doutent de l'innovation, ou du moins ne l'avouent. Comment d'ailleurs feraient-ils le point entre déviation et adaptation ? En Orient comme au Maroc, le procédé classique des subterfuges judiciaires, *al-h'iyal*, a développé une immense brousse de subtilités, où la part de l'une et de l'autre est parfois indiscernable.

Que le dosage, d'ailleurs diversifié, mais partout présent, entre loi religieuse et normes coutumières ait parfois pris des formes relativement conscientes et délibérées, c'est, je crois, ce que l'on peut observer çà et là. Et cela ôte d'autant à ce primitivisme berbère, objet parfois de trop naïfs enthousiasmes européens (3). C'est, en tout cas, ce qui fait l'originalité du Sous et du Mzab (4). Mais partout on retrouvera ce double caractère d'option islamique et de conservatisme cantonal. Qu'il soit transactionnel, ou plus rarement insurrectionnel, le droit local a toujours et partout compté avec le *fiqh*, s'est posé au regard du *fiqh*, voire parfois a feint de s'y absorber, ou l'a cru.

(1) An-Nâçirî, *Ajwiba*, ms de la zaouia des Mez'ud'a, p. 42, l. 19 sq. Le juriste est amené à de subtiles distinctions sur le degré de résistance d'une communauté à la loi. « Question : une tribu campagnarde résiste aux normes légales, et leur substitue des normes coutumières et des tarifications pénales édictées par délibération. Elle base là-dessus sa justice. Encourt-elle la qualification d'infidèle ? Réponse : Non, mais simplement de rebelle. Objection : mais alors, qu'entendre par la parole de Dieu : « Quiconque ne se comporte pas selon la Révélation est infidèle » ? Réponse : « Cela ne s'applique qu'à une tribu considérée dans ses individus. » (Il veut dire sans doute une tribu qui a manifesté dans cette voie une initiative délibérée. Suit en effet l'anecdote des ait Asawn : ceux-là peuvent être qualifiés d'infidèles). On voit que les juristes chleuhs ont été parfois contraints d'aborder le problème.

(2) J. Lafond, *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous*, 1948, p. 18.

(3) Le recours à un critère de primitivisme pour classer entre eux les différents systèmes juridiques « berbères » de l'Afrique du Nord, nous semble avoir marqué à l'excès les travaux si riches de G. Marçy, Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère, *CHEAM*, pp. 4 sq., et surtout, *Le droit coutumier Zemmour*, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

(4) Sur cet aspect du droit mzabite, L. Milliot, Recueil de délibérations des djemâas du Mzab, *R. E. I.*, 1930, p. 223.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ISLAM ET CROYANCE INDIVIDUELLE

De la subjectivité la plus intime du Chleuh, dont l'option islamique est profonde, et toujours jaillissante, à l'affirmation sociale la plus réfléchie — cette société *se veut* musulmane. A ses grandes époques, elle chercha à être *la* société musulmane. Partout nous retrouvons le Prophète. De là qu'il soit si difficile de déterminer sa part : elle ne serait pas si elle n'était totale, ou plus exactement si elle ne se voulait, si elle ne se sentait totale. Tel en effet devait être le lot d'une foi universaliste. En tant qu'appel permanent à la profession de l'Unique, à l'imitation de Son grand témoin, l'Envoyé de Dieu, en tant que système éthique et culturel, elle inspire et régit l'âme de la personne et celle du peuple : elle est devenue un trait essentiel du pays. Ce sera belle subtilité que de distinguer dans une synthèse aussi spécifique la part qui, d'ordre proprement institutionnel et de couleur orientale, a été, non pas rejetée, mais éludée par les sociétés de l'Atlas, ou adaptée et assimilée par elles. Pourtant, dans le domaine du droit, on peut circonscrire le legs indigène et l'apport oriental. Quant à la croyance, le départ sera bien plus délicat, et, à beaucoup d'égards, impossible.

Il semble bien pourtant que le progrès de l'Islam soit celui même du comportement individuel. Il s'affirme à plein dans ce cas-limite qu'est la sainteté. Le caractère communautaire et naturiste des rites de la base en est naturellement plus éloigné. De là la critique qu'en font les docteurs. Ils ne se sont pas trompés, en y dénonçant ce qu'ils appelaient paganisme ou idolâtrie : expression maladroite d'une certaine spécificité, que nous préférerions rapporter, simplement, à la vitalité d'un système rural. De là en revanche la tendance des ethnologues à jeter outre mesure l'accent sur ce qu'ils pensent être « magie et religion » agraires et dont ils méconnaissent l'articulation à un ensemble hiérarchisé, qui est bien celui d'une société musulmane. Est-ce à dire qu'à l'échelon même de la *jemâa* la qualification islamique perde en importance ce qu'y gagne le jeu communautaire ? Une telle assertion ne saurait être retenue que convenablement nuancée. D'abord l'Islam est là, dans le droit local, qu'il en soit l'inspirateur, ou au contraire, si j'ose dire, le repoussoir. Ceci sera étudié plus loin en détail. Mais l'Islam règne également, à la maison commune, à cette *limezgida* où la récitation du Coran rythme le temps du village et contribue, par les frairies périodiques, au plus intime des rites collectifs. Enfin, il ouvre des possibilités d'évasion, ressenties par chacun, et où chacun sent confusément un recours contre l'ordre terrible de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

la cité : il est vrai que l'on retombe ici dans les cas individuels.

Quoi qu'il en soit, en effet, il est certain que, dans les sociétés de l'Atlas, l'étage de l'Islam est plutôt celui de la personne que du groupe. Différence fondamentale avec ce qu'il fut traditionnellement dans le Maghrèb arabe, où, conformément à ses origines, il correspond avant tout à la vie de *madina*, à la vie municipale, professionnelle et savante, dont Fès constitue au Maroc l'exemple privilégié. Ici, la cité est paysanne, et procède de structures peut-être autochtones, bien éloignées en tout cas de l'urbanisme mercantile que suscita le prototype oriental. Aussi sera-ce contre elles que s'affirment et l'individu et le croyant. D'où leur démarche, d'où cette volonté d'indépendance et d'aventure et en tout cas une fraîcheur et une liberté qui confèreront à leur foi une nuance très spéciale. C'est elle qui donne au Berbère, comme magicien, comme saint, ou confrère d'ordre mineur, d'étonnantes dispositions, bien connues, en bien ou en mal, de l'Orient lui-même. L'homme de l'Atlas, et par extension le Maghrébin, devient l'individu par excellence, dès lors qu'il cherche à s'affranchir de son cadre.

Aux gens de l'Atlas, l'Islam apparaît, à certains égards, comme un urbanisme à cadis, à bazars, à prône hebdomadaire, à élégances, à libéralisme commercial, à bien manger et à bien parler, mais aussi à pachas et à geôles makhzéniennes. Et tout cela se trouvant à Marrakech et Taroudant, *non licet omnibus*... Voilà qui confèrera par contraste des traits bien tranchés à la foi du pasteur et du bûcheron montagnards. Leur réaction, sitôt évadés du « système rural », sera bien entendu le purisme. Et il y entrera une part de ce que nous appellerions, assez horriblement, un complexe de classe. De l'adhésion confrérique au contenu si mêlé, s'évadera donc, de temps en temps, l'intellectuel unitaire, en rupture et de la cité des montagnes et de la cité des plaines. En somme, et sur le plan de la foi, se discerneront, de la base au faîte, la foule ardente, inculte et sauvage des villageois, l'adepte fanatique du cheikh, le dévôt épuré, et, tout en haut dans les cimes, ces révolutionnaires provisoires que sont le saint et le réformateur. Là s'arrête, pour le moment, la variété de la gamme.

ORDRE GÉNÉRAL DE CETTE RECHERCHE

Ainsi donc, au niveau (1) de la glèbe, et de la rustique vie collective, le sacré tient tellement aux rythmes du groupe qu'il en est,

(1) Pour cette notion de « niveaux » successifs de la réalité sociale, à laquelle nous ferons constamment appel dans cette enquête, nous devons beaucoup

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

sur certains points, indiscernable. Ce n'est que par décrochements successifs qu'il s'élève vers le droit individualiste, la sainteté et le sentiment personnel, en s'éloignant corrélativement de la synthèse communautaire. L'analyse commencera donc par ces formes indivises, qui représentent sans doute le fond le plus ancien.

Il eût été logique de la poursuivre ensuite par l'étude des niveaux de plus en plus complexes de la vie religieuse et juridique, en montrant comment l'influence d'un système universaliste agit symétriquement sur l'un et l'autre domaine, dans le sens de l'individualisation de la croyance et de la mobilité des droits. Mais la réalité n'est pas aussi simple. Il faudra scinder les deux études, car la religion et le droit offrent, en leur état actuel, la trace d'évolutions et même de systématisations différentes.

aux idées de G. Gurvitch, *Eléments de sociologie juridique*, 1940, pp. 167 sq., sur les « étagements du droit ». Sur la « sociologie en profondeur », id., *La vocation actuelle de la sociologie*, 1950, pp. 49 sq., et distinctions des pp. 55 sq. Il est fait état de la théorie psychologique de H. Wallon, où, effectivement, la sociologie maghrébine peut trouver d'utiles inspirations. Cf. notamment, *De l'acte à la pensée*, à propos du « signe » et du « symbole », pp. 190 sq. Comme on verra, notre propre conception des *niveaux* en sociologie maghrébine ne recouvre pas exactement celle de G. Gurvitch, elle-même apparaissant en évolution dans ses dernières œuvres.

[P. 249]

II

SACRÉ NON FIGURATIF « ET PRÉDROIT »[1]

SACRÉ ET ORDRE RURAL

« Un jour — c'était du temps de la *siba* — un vieillard noir vint se réfugier chez nous. Nous lui donnâmes asile sans autrement nous enquérir de son origine. Il fut assez petitement traité. Le lendemain, quel ne fut pas notre saisissement d'apprendre d'un de nos domestiques qu'il avait passé la nuit entière en extase ! Mon père vint auprès de lui s'excuser de la pauvre chère. La crainte commençait à nous poindre d'une vengeance de ce personnage méconnu. Mais toutes nos offres ne purent venir à bout de son humilité. Il nous révéla qu'il connaissait tous les lieux de la terre, et se proposa à nous les décrire. Sa qualité de saint commença dès lors à nous impressionner. Mon père, avide de profiter de sa *baraka*, le mena dans notre verger, qui manquait d'eau. Le vieillard nous assura qu'une source cachée jusque-là y jaillirait si l'on creusait à l'endroit qu'il indiquerait. Bien mieux, il s'offrit à passer avec nous contrat. Si l'on trouvait de l'eau, il faudrait lui servir une redevance annuelle. Dans le cas contraire, il s'engageait à nous demander, par écrit, de l'ensevelir tout vif dans ce trou que nous aurions vainement creusé. Le contrat fut passé en bonne et due forme, et mon père se rendit à Marrakech pour recruter des ouvriers et acheter des outils. A son retour, le saint était mort. Nous n'avons jamais su l'endroit exact de la source et, depuis ce temps-là, nous avons vainement cherché dans tous les coins du verger : mais sans doute que l'eau n'y est plus, maintenant que le saint est parti ».

Ce récit est fait par un personnage mûr et rassis, notre contemporain par surcroît (2). Sa valeur n'en est que plus frappante. Non seulement document psychologique sur le narrateur, qui n'a rien d'une bonne femme amusée de contes. Mais, plus objectivement, anecdote illustrant le fonctionnement du sacré sur le plan agricole. C'est là un plan essentiel à cette société. Elle explique constamment les phénomènes hydrauliques par l'intervention d'un saint. C'est ainsi qu'une roche, obstruant la rigole de Meghdir, sera un beau jour forée en tunnel par un renard miraculeux, qu'anime Sidi Mh'nd. Celui-ci est le grand inventeur de sources de tout le pays, ce qui concourt au classicisme de son type. Sa « houlette », *lakurayt*, plantée en terre, a fait jaillir la belle résurgence qui,

(1) J'emprunte l'expression de prédroit à L. Gernet, Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne, *Ann. Soc.*, 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.
(2) L'amghar des a. Abdella.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

entre T'abya et Igernssuq, ranime le lit du fleuve, absolument à sec dans l'amont immédiat.

Telles de ces pratiques éclatent d'une couleur qui rappelle fort l'Antiquité méditerranéenne. On en a rapporté plus haut quelques-unes. La plus frappante est cette libation de farine et de lait que certaines familles de haute montagne versent dans le « bassin » communal à l'ouverture des irrigations. A Tasa, par exemple, un membre de la vieille lignée des a. Ggahi porte le vase au *chcharij* et l'y répand, en ne disant qu'un mot, le *bismillah*. L'opération est désignée d'un terme stéréotypé, *ifyed'*, que l'on peut traduire par « expulsion », en le rapprochant de son factitif *açifed*. Si le porteur, en chemin, a prononcé un seul mot, l'opération n'est plus valable : beau cas de mutisme rituel : *euphèmei* comme disaient les Grecs.

On touche là un plan plus archaïque et plus profond que celui des personnifications. Derrière les silhouettes de saints et sous elles s'entrevoit toute une trame de rapports entre l'homme, ou plutôt entre le groupe et un sacré d'efficience agricole entièrement dépourvu de figure. Et c'est cette couche qui est la plus importante par la masse comme, probablement, par l'authenticité.

Non seulement l'eau d'irrigation, mais la pluie bienfaisante, et inversement l'ouragan dévastateur et l'inondation, la santé et la maladie des plantes, des bêtes et des hommes, sont soumis à des puissances, le plus souvent sans nom. La force dégagée par le serment, pour peu qu'il soit prêté dans certains lieux redoutables, ou à l'époque critique qui précède *ddabaran*, « l'aldébaran », se retourne, sans qu'il soit question de rétribution, ni de jugement moral, contre les cultures du canton. Mais il est des accommodements : et non seulement par l'offrande aux saints patrons, ou les rites propitiatoires et piaculaires, mais par l'astuce. C'est ainsi que la faveur de l'eau élira la vallée de Wanz'id'ou celle d'Iguntar, selon la célérité que l'un ou l'autre de ces deux villages aura mise à honorer le saint innommé de Tamd'a Ugenni. Mais il suffira, dirions-nous, de « prendre date » auprès de lui en déposant sur son sanctuaire une houe, et le tour sera joué : on aura concilié empressement dévot et sage économie. Ailleurs l'astuce sera proche de l'escroquerie. Ainsi de cette pierre miraculeuse, dont jaillirait une source, et qu'un saint homme de passage avait laissée au village d'Agawz. Un citoyen de Tuz'z'umt, patriotiquement, la dérobe : et voilà pourquoi il y a maintenant une source pour chacun des deux villages (1).

(1) Le « vol » de la pierre constitue sans doute une réinterprétation. Le rite de Wanz'id' est probablement plus intact. Magie agraire, déclenchement juridique et rivalité de groupe s'y décèlent de façon instructive.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

N'insistons pas, d'ailleurs. Cette atmosphère n'a rien de particulièrement original. Une tribu voisine, les Mez'ud'a, offre sur ce plan social-naturiste, si j'ose dire, des traits plus riches et en tout cas plus organisés. Comment ne pas voir des rudiments de culte tribal dans ces combats simulés entre groupes antithétiques (1) ; la lustration printanière de la plaine par des « vieillards », *ifqiren*, le rite d'avril contre la dévastation de la moisson par les moineaux ? La pauvreté relative des Seksawa a en l'objet, croyons-nous, des raisons historiques. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'analyse trouve chez eux des indices suffisants pour pouvoir distinguer le rapport de masse entre deux catégories de sacré, celui qui se précise en noms, légendes, personnes, et celui qui demeure sans contours ni appellation. Le second, on le pressent déjà, est de beaucoup le mieux fourni. Il touche, à vrai dire, toute une part de la vie de ces ruraux, la part la plus profonde.

Une concrète liaison au terroir se double d'une liaison aux phases agricoles, selon les règles universelles des rites naturistes. L'ouverture de la campagne d'irrigation, la nouaison des amandiers, leur fructification, celle des noyers, les semailles, la récolte, le dépiquage sur les aires, autant de moments dont l'intensité sociale et sentimentale s'exprime par des pratiques de purification ou de bon augure.

L'une des plus curieuses, et, qui chose à retenir, se célèbre sans même le prétexte d'un nom, a lieu sur le piton qui domine le lieu saint de Z'init', le Tamjlocht. Chaque année, en mars, un certain nombre de familles Imt'ddan (2) délèguent à tour de rôle un personnage qui, solennellement mené sur le sommet, y est entravé, puis laissé seul. La procession n'a pas regagné le village que l'acteur, libéré par intervention surnaturelle, rejoint lui aussi ses aîtres. Ce rite de l'entravé, dont le caractère de magie collective n'est pas douteux, a visiblement une fonction naturiste. Les notions de bouc émissaire (peut-être souvenir d'ancien sacrifice

(1) Les a. Gd'ld' et les a. Tddit, encore aujourd'hui de *leff* opposé. Selon leur tradition, il arrivait, il y a seulement une génération, que des batailles rangées, à coups de cailloux, opposassent deux « fronts » continus sur toute la largeur de la plaine, en contrebas du Dir. Ces batailles avaient aussi lieu entre riverains Mez'ud'a et Dwiran. Je reviendrai sur la vie rituelle des Mez'ud'a, qui est fort digne d'intérêt, et diffère profondément de celle des Seksawa.

(2) Le rite du Tamejlocht n'incombe qu'aux gens de Tinwalin et aux *ikh*-s qui en ont émigré : a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. Les gens de la « métropole » Tamt'ddit n'y participent pas. A noter que ce sont les gens d'un autre village encore, Tagunit, qui sont ministres du rite de Lalla Aziza. Les Imt'ddan étant visiblement associés au culte de celle-ci, et très probablement par substitution à des éléments plus anciens, peut-être les a. Gasa, ce partage de compétence soulève de difficiles problèmes, touchant à une structure différenciée du groupe.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

humain) et d'augure printanier s'y unissent dans une synthèse de vif coloris. Ce que pense et sent l'entravé, si l'on pouvait recueillir du héros de ce miracle annuel un récit suffisamment sincère, offrirait un gros intérêt.

Hélas, l'ethnologie maghrébine n'en est pas à la collecte de documents aussi profonds. Outre une complexité d'expérimentation presque clinique, la possession raffinée du langage, une attention soutenue pour serrer la démarcation psychologique entre l'émotion individuelle et les conventions de groupe, un art presque infini de la mise en confiance seraient nécessaires pour recueillir convenablement de tels témoignages. Mais de quel fruit ne serait pas la « confession » de l'entravé du Tamejlocht ou du poseur de houe de Tamd'a Ugenni !

Que dire de coutumes comme celles du carnaval saisonnier, tel que j'ai pu l'observer, le 7 octobre 1949 à Ikis, archaïque village étagé en hauteur au flanc du Tanddri, et que domine son *agadir* ? Voici des notes prises sur le vif.

« Dans tous les villages Seksawa, les deux premiers jours de l'Âid sont occupés par des Saturnales. On y revêt les peaux des animaux sacrifiés. Elles sont cousues en costumes de clown à pantalons (1), et endossées par quelques gaillards décidés et agiles. Toute la journée, ce sont parades, exhibitions, saynètes, cabrioles, le tout rythmé au tambourin et revenant constamment à la danse, une danse de piétinement avec scansion sur les paumes des mains (2).

Ce jour-là, à Ikis, je suis sur une terrasse dominant, d'une hauteur de 6 étages, le fond de la vallée et ses petites parcelles. A gauche l'*agadir*, écrasé par l'énorme crête du Tanddri, à droite et en face les croupes qui nous séparent d'Igersafen. Sur une terrasse, l'essaim multicolore des femmes. Une dizaine de lurons, deux heures durant, se prodiguent en *gags* : scène de la vente d'amandes au juif ; de la vache qu'on ne peut traire ; du sacrifice au santon, avec procession burlesque ; de la dispute conjugale, avec mort simulée de la femme, résurrection, réconciliation ; scène de jalousie ; les colères du petit vieux. Et voici des prières hyperboliques ; en sonorités arabes plus ou moins caricaturales, l'*Allah Akbar*, sur tous les tons de l'élan mystique, de la tartufferie, etc. C'est une véritable *commedia dell'arte* où l'on improvise. Avec bonheur, sans doute, si l'on en croit les rires de l'assistance. La scène doit se prolonger en obscénités et fantaisie déchaînée. Véritable sens scénique et liberté d'esprit extraordinaire. Déjà des personnages ayant leurs caractères : naissance de la tragédie, au sens le plus étymologique du terme ».

(1) Et non en robes, comme dans la mascarade des tanneurs de Fès.

(2) On évoque le *zapateado* andalou. Rien de plus curieux que de comparer, sans idée préconçue, certains déguisements des Gund'afa par exemple, d'après les belles photos de Besancenot, et les dessins de masques que donne Caro Baroja dans son livre *Pueblos de España*, 1946.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Et sans doute ne trancherons-nous pas du point de savoir s'il y a ici vraiment magie saisonnière, ou si l'évolution n'a pas depuis longtemps dégradé le sens du rite jusqu'à n'être plus qu'un acheminement à notre propre carnaval (1).

Mais cette collection de faits et d'images ne saurait mener bien loin l'analyse. Ce qui en ressort, c'est la variété, et aussi l'incohérence entre traits d'ordre et de caractère différents. Voyons maintenant la synthèse qui s'en fait à l'échelon cantonal.

UNE PERSONNALITÉ RITUELLE : LES A. LH'SEN

La vie religieuse des a. Lh'sen connaît un paroxysme au moment des frairies d'été. On y pratique des abatages monstres de caprins, suivis d'enchères des lots de viande fraîche au profit des saints (2). Elle connaît aussi un sommet secondaire : les agapes de *yenneyr*, « janvier », dites aussi *lmârûf n-tgellatin*, « frairies aux navets », parce qu'on y consomme surtout cette racine, qui vient alors à maturité. L'agape se célèbre dans la « mosquée », *ljâmâ*, *timezgida*. Et bien que la première de ces deux formes de frairies ne soit pas nécessairement liée à un culte de saint, ni la seconde à un oratoire villageois, elles se font pendant pour ainsi dire, à des moments, dans des lieux et selon des styles contrastés.

C'est encore dans la durée de la vie agricole que s'inscrit le « service stipulé », *chchard'* des marabouts auxquels le canton paie un cens annuel, en échange d'une protection soit générale, comme c'est le cas pour Sidi Ah'med u Ali, soit spécialisée dans certaines tâches, comme c'est le cas pour d'autres. Il y a là un mécanisme d'assurances, au sens plein du terme, et qui s'exerce dans le temps avec une minutie toute fiscale. Un premier envoi de prémices est fait à l'occasion du *musem*, « foire patronale » du saint en Mez'ud'a. Rien n'y manque de l'échantillonnage des produits du sol, pas même le henné, à l'intention des femmes de la zaouia, ni cette « marjolaine » *lh'baq* (3), utilisée dans certaines boissons, et qui se

(1) La littérature, assez abondante, sur le « carnaval berbère » n'a pas tranché le problème. A noter la quasi-identité des scènes de comédie burlesque décrites par S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, 1924, pp. 79 sq., pour un tout autre milieu. Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est que la coutume n'est pas, même dans le détail, propre à l'Atlas, non plus qu'aux Berbères. On pourrait en dire autant de presque tout ce qui ressortit à un certain niveau ethnographique, plus ou moins conservé selon les régions, mais qui paraît être commun à toute l'Afrique du Nord.

(2) Cf. J. Berque, « Viande fraîche et droit communal », *in* Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe), *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 383 sq.

(3) Il n'est pas sans intérêt que, vers le milieu du XIXe siècle, les archives de notre consulat de Mogador mentionnent, dans le mouvement de l'exportation, d'importantes quantités de marjolaine. Par qui était-elle demandée, et s'agit-il bien du *h'baq* ?

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

cultive en pots de fleurs. Le cens proprement dit consiste en une part de récolte, ou plutôt en son équivalent monétaire. Il est acquitté au *lkhrif*, pause des travaux agricoles et des activités économiques en général, qui sépare la moisson des labours suivants. C'est l'époque où la communauté paysanne reprend haleine.

A côté de ces rythmes annuels, intéressant l'ensemble de la population et qui impliquent à la fois, et fomentent l'unanimité, il en est d'autres plus étroits, et concernant un groupe professionnel, les *l'l'olba*. Ceux-ci effectuent chaque semaine dans certaines mosquées une psalmodie du Coran tout entier. Cela fait 12 séries de 5 *h'izb*-s ou « sections » chacune, et qui sont récitées soit en chœur et successivement, soit simultanément par équipes. L'opération porte le nom de *llefrik*. La clôture donne lieu à une agape, *sslukl*, où la bombance alimentaire s'unit à l'exaltation religieuse orthodoxe, dans une atmosphère à la fois extatique et municipale. Le personnage complexe du *l'l'aleb* se livre en l'occurrence à toute l'effervescence d'une âme dont l'énergie se libère alors de la benoîte réserve où elle se confine le reste du temps. Une force jusque-là sournoise éclate. La psalmodie s'achève en phrases d'un fausset étrange, fort impressionnantes à entendre. Ces vocalises sont traduites localement par le verbe arabe *ᶜazzeb* dont les correspondances sont riches en ethnologie maghrébine (1). Mais l'on ne peut s'étendre ici sur un ordre de pratiques où se distinguent l'exercice d'une religion universaliste et celui d'une spécialité d'allure initiatique. S'il est significatif de trouver d'emblée ce genre de faits au seuil d'une étude de la vie rituelle dans un groupe montagnard, d'autres traits, touchant plus directement à la vie du groupe en tant que tel, doivent pour l'instant retenir l'attention.

L'espace du canton est dominé, soit dans ses subdivisions, soit dans son ensemble par tel ou tel saint. Patronne héritée de traditions antiques comme Lalla Aziza, protectrice de tous les Seksawa, ou patron contractuel, comme sidi Ah'med u Ali pour les a. Lh'sen. Ces patrons ont souvent des goûts exclusifs, et cherchent à s'éliminer l'un l'autre. L'homme se débat dans cette concurrence. Tant mieux pour lui s'il réussit le juste choix. Car là aussi il y a une part de surenchère, d'astuce et de jeu.

D'autre part, chaque groupe fonde le gros de son existence religieuse sur la qualification de certains lieux. D'abord ceux où l'on prête serment, et que l'opinion commune hiérarchise selon le

(1) Les clercs mzabites sont les Ieazzâben. Le verbe indique la ségrégation, qu'elle soit à base morale, comme dans le cas ci-dessus, ou qu'elle résulte de traits économiques, comme dans le cas du *latifundium* à maître absentéiste et formant, par rapport au village, un « écart » (Maghreb : *ᶜazib*; Egypte : *ᶜezbe*).

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

plus ou moins de gravité des ordalies qui s'y célèbrent. Ce sont des mosquées, ou des mausolées anonymes, seulement désignés par la fonction. D'autres emplacements sont réputés bénéfiques ou maléfiques, protecteurs ou vengeurs, selon l'ambivalence de ce genre de notions, et se complètent assez souvent d'une figure ou d'un nom de saint. Mais il est aussi des endroits dont la signification rituelle résulte de ce qu'ils sont le siège de l'activité des *t'l'olba*. Ils participent des prestiges de cette cléricature, en même temps que de ceux qui s'attachent à une certaine intensité de la vie communale : « permanence » constituée pour la psalmodie coranique, agapes saisonnières, etc. Ce sont la plupart du temps des mosquées. D'où la complexité de sens d'un tel cadre.

La distinction de ces diverses catégories ne peut être, en effet, que schématique. Dans beaucoup de cas, naturellement, elles coïncident. La fonction agraire, qui est la plus répandue chez les saints, interfère souvent avec la fonction juridique et municipale, caractéristique des mosquées montagnardes. La *t'l'aleb* opère fréquemment la liaison entre ces divers lieux et ces diverses notions (1).

En a. Lh'sen, sur 34 de ces « supports » de rite, nombre sans doute inférieur à la réalité, et qui n'indique que les plus importants, mais nombre déjà considérable pour une collectivité de quelque 400 foyers, on ne compte que deux saints à personnalité déterminée, 5 indéterminés, mais portant un nom, et 7 dont le nom n'exprime que la fonction : « de la rivière, du col, du droit serment », etc. Une vingtaine d'autres ne sont que « mosquées ». Proportion parlante : elle le serait encore plus si l'on ajoutait à ces lieux rituels la masse encore plus ample de ceux qu'une désignation quelconque, personnelle ou non, met en rapports avec le sacré à un titre ou à un autre, et qui survivent à tout le moins dans la toponymie.

En Iguntar, le signe matériel qui manifeste l'existence de « marabouts » à Tamd'a Ugenni (ce qui veut dire quelque chose comme une « mare au diable ») n'est autre qu'un tas de branchages et de cailloux face au village de Tagenza. Dans ce cas, comme dans celui du sanctuaire concurrent de « Monsieur le Saint » *Sidi Lwali* à Wanz'id', aucune personnification, et même pas de nom. L'efficience n'est nullement liée à la fiction même d'un saint, fût-elle aussi indéfinie. C'est ce que prouve l'exemple de la mosquée d'Ifesfas, dont les pouvoirs et même la physionomie légendaire,

(1) Nous aurons à plusieurs reprises, à propos de droit, de religion, de dépassements individuels, de commune, à revenir sur le *t'l'aleb* chleuh. Cf. à son sujet, l'excellente monographie in. de Charles DOMINIQUE, Les Tolba du Sous, *CHEAM*, 1938.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

offrent avec l'imprécision habituelle de toute cette hagiologie un contraste instructif. Elle est si redoutable aux faux serments que la prudence du canton y interdit l'exercice des ordalies. On raconte en effet qu'une fois, pour une affaire de 12 dinars, elle fit périr non seulement les 12 cojureurs, mais aussi leurs 12 partenaires, car le déchaînement de son pouvoir « si dur » *icheqqâ*, ne s'arrête bien entendu pas à la responsabilité subjective. Mêmes traits, quoique de moindre chaleur anecdotique, à propos de la mosquée d'Awines et de celle de Tagenza.

SACRÉ FIGURATIF ET SACRÉ NON FIGURATIF

On est ainsi amené à distinguer un sacré figuratif d'un sacré non figuratif ou anonyme. Le second prédomine de beaucoup. Aux deux extrêmes, le saint individualisé et le lieu rituel anonyme. Mais le nom ne constitue pas un vrai critère. En effet sa présence ne suffit pas plus à provoquer le rite que son absence n'élimine toute personnalité légendaire. C'est le cas, on l'a vu, pour la terrible mosquée d'Ifesfas.

Une autre distinction serait à faire entre les saints à descendance, comme ce sidi Musa de Wanz'id', maître des ouragans, et dont les fils lointains gardent toujours une certaine qualification, et ceux dont aucune lignée ne se réclame. D'un côté personnages à identité généalogique, de l'autre agents anonymes du sacré. Et il n'est pas sans intérêt que le premier type, qui est celui même du *héros*, soit dans cette société agnatique, à la fois tellement rare et, là où il se repère, tellement dessiné.

Enfin, troisième remarque, et des plus importantes pour la suite de ce travail, il y a, non à vrai dire dans toutes les agglomérations, mais dans tous les villages, un sanctuaire municipal, lieu par excellence du fonctionnement du groupe. Et dans beaucoup, la vie rituelle se borne — au moins pour tout ce qui touche au plan de la vie de village — à des manifestations périodiques scellant, selon un rythme qui est celui des saisons, la sauvegarde juridique, l'ordre agraire et la chaleur collective.

La distinction du vieux Varron en *di certi* et *di incerti* vient à ce moment à l'esprit. Elle étiquette commodément les deux faces du contraste qui se fait jour entre un sacré personnel et impersonnel, le second l'emportant de beaucoup, semble-t-il, par la masse. Malgré sa grossièreté, la méthode des inventaires est susceptible d'apporter ici quelques recoupements.

Jugeons-en par ce tableau de la vie rituelle dans quelques autres *taqbilt*-s.

Par exemple, les a. Abdella :

Noms des groupes desservants	Nom du sanctuaire	Caractéristiques du saint, s'il y a lieu	Nature de la redevance ou frairie	Epoque de célébration
Bulewân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	C'est un *bu qobrayn*, c'est-à-dire qu'il a deux tombeaux, l'un ici, l'autre en H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). Il a pour desservants des gens de Idaw Zemzem et ceux de Wanz'ig et d'Ad'orras (Mtugga) qui lui apportent une victime annuelle. Il aurait des *manâqib*.	*Chchard'* : par aire, la première panerée d'orge.	Mars. Aux dépiquages.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indéterminé.	*Mârûf* : un caprin.	Septembre.
Tuz'z'umt et Zaouia Ih'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		*Mârûf* : deux caprins dont l'un est égorgé à la zaouia et l'autre au lieudit Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	Février.
Bulewân (*ikhs* des a. si Mh'and u Bella) et Agawz (*ikhs* des a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancien, indéterminé.	*Mârûf* : 5 à 10 caprins. *Chchard'* : une *lakharrubi* d'orge par foyer, des noix, des amandes.	Septembre. A la récolte.
Bulewân. A. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosquées *limezgadiwin*		*Mârûf* bisannuel.	A l'époque des fruits et à celle de la récolte.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancien, indéterminé.	*Mârûf* : un caprin.	Septembre.
L'ensemble des a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias de Tiburiin et Talâint.)	Rattachés à la légende et à la généalogie des Regraga.	*Mârûf* : un bovin.	Premier dimanche de février, huit jours avant le *mârûf* de sidi Sâid, aux confins de l'Azaghar des Mtugga.

Ainsi donc, sur une douzaine de lieux rituels, mosquées comprises, un seul saint personnalisé, Sidi Ghânem, et encore s'estompant dans quelle brume indéfinie !

La bête sacrifiée à Sidi Ghânem donne lieu à un partage précis. Les descendants du saint ont la peau et un morceau de la cuisse. L'agape consomme une moitié des entrailles, à laquelle on joint des pains collectés. Le reste, réparti entre tous les sacrifiants, est emporté, et mangé à domicile.

En Imt'ddan :

Noms des groupes des servants	Nom du sanctuaire	Caractéristiques du saint s'il y a lieu	Nature de la rede ce ou h ie	Epoque de célébration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indéterminé. Les a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) s'y rattachersient.	*Mârûf.* *Mârûf.*	Eté. Aux pluies.
	Mosquée.		Agape.	Irrigation des orges.
Tagunit et Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallah.	Indéterminé, mais remontant aux a. Gasa.	*Mârûf.*	Eté.
	Sidi Âzza.	Indéterminé.	*Mârûf.*	Départ en alpage.
	Mosquée.		Agape.	Irrigation des orges.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indéterminé, mais remontant aux a. Gasa.	*Mârûf.*	Eté.
	Mosquée.		Agape.	Irrigation des orges.
Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja.	Indéterminé.		
	Mosquée.		Agape.	*Yenneyr*, irrigation des orges.
Tous les Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion de Lalla Aziza.	Rite de déliement.	Irrigation des orges.

Ici, l'indétermination est générale, bien que la plupart des saints soient rattachés aux anciens occupants du pays, hommage habituel à l'antiquité d'habitat. Cette indétermination est à son comble dans le rite frazérien du Tamjlocht.

En a. Musa :

Noms des groupes des servants	Nom du sanctuaire	Caractéristiques du saint, s'il y a lieu	Epoque de célébration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indéterminés.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	—	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	—	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	—	
Tannammert et bas a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indéterminé, lieu de prestation de serments.	Les saints ont un *mârûf* d'été, et les mosquées, deux agapes : « au moment des navets » et « au moment des courges ».
T'abya.	Mosquée Sidi Borrja ou Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. C'est « le seigneur de la maison » ou « de la tour » ou « de l'espoir ».	Certains saints, comme Sidi bu Merwan et Sidi Yah'ya, avaient 2 *mârûf*-s. Le premier serait tombé en désuétude. Les autres saints ont un *mârûf* chacun.
	Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. « Monsieur lumière ».	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya.	Indéterminés.	
	Sidi Ghanem.		
	Sidi Mh'and.		
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. Le saint « de l'asile ».	

En a. H'adduyws :

Les lieux rituels s'y décomposent, presque exhaustivement, comme suit :

a) Saints à figure personnelle et à descendance : 4. Ce sont Sidi Âmer u H'addô et Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, les plus grands ; un obscur « Regragi », mais revendiqué comme ancêtre par l'*ikhs* des a. Umzil à Fensu : Sidi Bensu ; l'ancêtre imagé d'une partie d'Ikis : Sidi Yusef u Buzid ;

b) Innommés et pour la plupart dits Regraga. Parmi eux, 5 « Sidi Borrja ». Ce n'est peut-être là qu'un saint de la vieille tour, du vieux fortin (ar : *burj*). Mais de ce saint des ruines un calembour fait un saint « du bon espoir » (ar : *rajd*). Citons enfin les Regraga de Wawnsawt ;

c) Trois mosquées particulièrement armées de pouvoirs, et offrant avec celle d'Ifesfas, dont il a été parlé plus haut, le caractère

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

commun d'être bâties extérieurement à un village : trace peut-être de rites mettant en jeu plus directement la *taqbilt*. Ainsi la *timezgida* Wissil d'Uzaga, la t. Wuzir de Tinerghat, le Sidi Ljâmâ d'Alus. Noter ce dernier nom marquant une sorte d'étape intermédiaire entre deux ordres d'idées : c'est un « Saint-la-Mosquée » ;

d) Vingt et une « mosquées de village ».

Soit un total de 34 lieux rituels, parmi lesquels 4 seulement ressortissent à une hagiologie personnelle. Même pas un sur huit ! Les a. H'adduyws comptent quelque 2.700 habitants, répartis en une trentaine d'*ikhs*-s. A noter quel es a. Khaled et les a. Ggahi de Tasa ont pour ancêtres les deux Yah'ya, dont on montre le tombeau, et au sujet desquels on conte des rudiments de légende. Ce ne sont toutefois pas des saints. Et, d'autre part, ces histoires d'ancêtres sont tout à fait exceptionnelles.

Il y aurait gageure à poursuivre cette approche quantitative du sacré en Seksawa. Elle néglige forcément les nuances, et pâtit de multiples sources d'imprécision ou d'erreur. On ne l'a tentée, au demeurant, que par réaction contre les excès descriptifs, les échantillonnages généralisateurs de certaine sociologie.

N'en confrontons pas moins les résultats acquis :

Le sondage a porté sur 8 ou 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, soit une population totale d'environ 8.000 âmes. Pour une centaine de lieux rituels, on compte moins d'une dizaine de saints à figure personnelle, une immense majorité d'anonymes, d'indéterminés. Et l'on constate la part prépondérante du « sacré de *timezgida* », où il est sans doute légitime de voir un sacré communal.

Or si l'on songe que, même à présent, cette *timezgida* reste par excellence le lieu de la vie du groupe, on s'avise qu'une part importante du droit de ces sociétés se laisse saisir à un niveau d'indistinction ou de solidarité entre pratiques religieuses et juridiques. Par-dessous même s'entrevoit un autre niveau, encore plus profond, et que révèlent certaines attitudes, certaines démarches.

LE DROIT IMMÉDIAT

Le serment est le règlement d'or, *lçal uwergh*, disent les a. Lh'sen. C'est le péché des hommes, leur obstination à mentir qui ont restreint son rôle. Autrefois, une chaîne pendait du ciel sur la terre. Il suffisait d'y toucher en prêtant serment pour que tout fût réglé. Mais un jour, un débiteur de mauvaise foi cacha la somme contestée à l'intérieur d'un

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

roseau qu'il fit tenir à son créancier, tandis que lui-même, touchant la chaîne, jurait avoir payé son dû. Aussitôt, la chaîne remonta au ciel, en châtiment de la fraude.

Voilà très exactement un mythe. Ce n'est pas pour sa rencontre avec un scène de *Don Quichotte* que nous le citons, mais pour la remarquable distinction qu'il suggère entre un stade de droit juré, à caractère religieux et sanction immédiate, et le stade actuel, qui est celui du procès. Encore faut-il rectifier sur deux points son interprétation du premier stade, qui n'est peut-être pas le plus archaïque. Des gestes, des objets à valeur juridique encore plus immédiate, se laissent déceler, vestiges sans doute, mais encore bien vivants, au sein du système actuel (1). Et, d'autre part, l'accent religieux que le mythe confère au serment risque bien de n'être qu'ajout explicatif, tout comme la formalité du serment lui-même. Ce qui a pu compter, dans le stade archaïque qui perce là-dessous, c'est sans doute le geste de toucher à la chaîne qui « pend du ciel » : elle établit proprement une communication avec le sacré.

Chose remarquable aussi, ce n'est pas à un contentieux que vont les préférences du mythe. C'est à une espèce de règlement suscité par les parties elles-mêmes, et dont l'essentiel réside dans l'efficacité d'une attitude. Technique de déclenchement soudain, technique « d'or », technique de « l'âge d'or » : voilà à quoi vont l'option instinctive, la nostalgie, encore discernables sous l'extrémisme procédural et la passion de joute judiciaire des Seksawa. Pourtant cette révérence archaïsante s'accompagne aussi d'une réflexion critique. Une telle ambiguïté n'est pas pour surprendre.

Quoi qu'il en soit, à la démarche familière à cette étude, et qui consiste à n'aborder l'institution que par ses prises les plus concrètes, correspond quelque chose dans l'opinion même du sujet : ce primat donné aux techniques de règlement direct et *a fortiori* à la plus pure d'entre elles, celle du règlement sans débat.

(1) A cela rien d'anormal sur le plan du comparatisme. On retrouve ce stade dans le très ancien droit romain, les débuts du droit grec, le vieux droit israélite (histoire de Moïse et de Jethro). L'affaire est réglée immédiatement par le recours au serment, à l'extispicine, aux augures, etc. Des éléments de cet état de choses peuvent subsister très longtemps, ou même ressurgir sous l'influence de conditions archaïsantes (cf. le rôle du serment dans la constitution et la défense du manse médiéval). Dans la procédure romaine, le *sacramentum in rem* serait également, selon l'originale interprétation de H. Lévy-Bruhl, Sur la laïcisation du droit à Rome, *Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*, 1951, pp. 83 sq., « une épreuve à laquelle on peut présumer qu'en raison des forces redoutables qu'elle déchaîne, une partie ne se prêtera que si elle se croit bien assurée de son droit... » Mais n'est-ce pas là encore une interprétation rationaliste ?

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

LE RITE DE LA PIERRE SUR LA LIMITE

Les disputes de bornage entre riverains sont ici d'autant plus fréquentes que la modicité des parcelles fait qu'on n'utilise comme séparation des fonds que la « ruelle » de gazon ménagée avarement entre les deux labours, ou même des pierres posées à même le guéret et dont le pointillé marque symboliquement le passage d'un droit à un autre. Le terroir agricole des villages est ainsi constitué d'infimes lopins, parfois réduits à un ou deux carreaux d'irrigation : par eux, on l'a vu, chaque famille est représentée dans chacun des quartiers toponymiques dont l'ensemble forme le terroir. L'une quelconque de ces parcelles se définit donc moins par la topographie que par son emboîtement entre quatre autres. De l'une à l'autre, aucune solution de continuité. Tout juste une différence de végétation, due à l'inégalité de fumure. Il faut écarter les tiges pour apercevoir une petite pierre levée, *awullu*, point d'appui d'une ligne idéale sectionnant le quartier perpendiculairement à son axe. Voici donc une société paysanne sans limitation effective des fonds ! On devine qu'un tel stade défie le droit judiciaire. Les problèmes qu'il pose en effet sont ceux d'une critique de légitimité, basée sur la contestation d'état civil, plutôt que des problèmes concrets d'emplacement. Les premiers n'affleurent jamais au plan du contentieux. C'est qu'ils ressortissent non à une démarche procédurale, mais, si j'ose dire, à un droit immédiat.

Une opération sacramentelle les résout. Un « serment » comme on dit, ou plutôt un geste commenté par une formule. A qui est-il déféré ? Il n'y a naturellement pas ici de qualification en demandeur ou défendeur (1), malgré les influences dégagées par les mœurs judiciaires, et indirectement par l'automatisme procédural inspiré des cadis. Quelqu'un est sommé de justifier la limite atteinte par son soc ou sa houe. A moins que ce soit le réclamant lui-même qui s'offre à étayer ses dires d'une démarche solennelle. « Agrée-moi ou je t'agrée », *rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak*, dit-il à son partenaire.

Noter l'atmosphère où plonge ce verbe *rd'â*, dont la racine arabe, mais adoptée par tous les dialectes marocains, évoque effectivement des rapports antérieurs ou supérieurs au droit strict. C'est ainsi que dans la chancellerie chérifienne, un superlatif de cette racine, *ard'â*, qualifie le vassal « féal et amé ». Un plaideur se rallie de cœur *rd'â* à la sentence, ou bien agrée un

(1) Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, *op. laud.*, p. 95 : « Il n'y a ni demandeur, ni défendeur. »

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

témoin, à moins que ce ne soit l'inverse. L'ar. *Mârd'â-ch* exprime le désespoir menaçant où l'iniquité plonge une personne, l'acculant à un acte grave : vengeance, malédiction, suicide. Comme toujours en pareil cas, aux rares affleurements d'un lexique juridique fort archaïque, ce n'est pas tellement un acte, que connote le mot, qu'une attitude, un état. Fruste rappel d'un stade où les relations sociales s'expriment en rapports de « figure », de « personnage », ou, dirions-nous, de statut.

Cela rend compte sans doute de l'obscurité où plonge encore maintenant cette cérémonie agraire. Obscurité non seulement à nos yeux, mais à ceux mêmes des acteurs. La dévolution du serment à l'un des deux adversaires n'est réglée par rien d'exprimable, rien en tout cas qui soit susceptible d'être avoué par les usagers actuels. Sans doute s'opère-t-elle en vertu d'émotions auxquelles contribuent l'accent des propos échangés, la vigueur du cri de l'offensé, l'avis latent des riverains qui s'attroupent sur le sillon.

L'un des deux, donc, proclame qu'il est bien, à telle place dans son juste patrimoine, *aida-n-s*. Simultanément, il dépose une pierre, ou une motte extraite du champ sur l'endroit contesté (1). Une certaine ambiguïté de l'interprétation peut ici se faire jour selon la matière de l'instrument. La pierre, en l'espèce, c'est aussi la borne. La motte apparaît comme une projection du champ. L'une et l'autre peuvent être considérées comme véhiculant les forces que, par son geste et sa formule, l'individu a en quelque sorte fixées sur lui-même. Ce genre d'interprétation vient tout aisément à l'esprit et ne saurait être sérieusement contesté, quelque réserve qu'aient inspirée les excès de la méthode en ethnologie maghrébine. Naturellement, l'explication du cru est religieuse et élaborée. Elle revient à l'intention, affirmée ou non : « ... que cette pierre pèse sur moi le jour du jugement dernier ». Qu'il s'agisse là d'une réinterprétation, la chose est évidente. La liaison de la pierre avec la notion de limites est un thème général (2). La valeur du caillou, comme représentant la personne (3), apparaît ici même couramment dans les serments plu-

(1) Nous avons observé cette pratique un peu partout au Maroc. Toujours cette unité du fond ethnographique !

(2) Cf. A. Magdelain, *Essai sur les origines de la sponsio*, 1943, p. 164, qui met bien en évidence l'importance du « droit juré » comme stade archaïque, et p. 15 sur la liaison de Jupiter Terminus avec une pierre dans la procédure du *fœdus*.

(3) Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, citent sans s'y attarder un rite remarquable d'apposition d'une pierre par chaque tribu dans une importante délibération.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

raux : le premier des cojureurs seul prononce la formule ; les autres valablement se bornent à déposer après lui sur le lieu du rite de petits cailloux *tizratin*. Et depuis longtemps ont été signalées au Maghreb les pratiques d'expulsion de la fatigue ou du mal qui consistent dans le dépôt d'une pierre. Il y a en tout cela un ensemble de notions très parentes, qui entoure de tout son contexte notre serment de limites. J'ajoute que ce dernier est d'usage absolument universel au Maroc, « pays arabes » compris, et qu'il semble y participer du plus antique fond institutionnel.

Nous sommes, à ce niveau, en pleine atmosphère de « droit juré ». Le « serment » y joue naturellement comme un très ancien mode de création du droit. C'est lui qui conserve le véritable pouvoir ordonné que figure, dans l'équilibre ancien des terroirs, l'infinie multiplicité de la représentation patrimoniale. Voilà une chose bien remarquable, et qui peut donner une idée des bases les plus archaïques de cette vie agraire.

AUTRES GESTES JURIDIQUES

Le système Seksawa connaît encore un certain nombre de démarches traduisant le même genre d'attitudes à valeur décisoire.

Une femme répudiée n'agrée pas le douaire et les acquêts que lui a remis l'époux. Elle en fait un paquet et, malgré la résistance du chœur, justement inquiet, elle le « projette au sein de la *jemâa* ». Elle est dès lors réputée libre des conséquences qu'eût impliquées pour elle l'appréhension des objets, et qui eussent valu de sa part mainlevée. Tout au contraire, elle s'érige dès lors en revendicante, en suppliante. La *jemâa* se sent obligée à intervenir pour elle. Comme il arrive le plus souvent en pareil cas, c'est à une réconciliation — soit, en langage juridique, à une transaction — qu'aboutira le scandale. La fréquence de ce genre de dénouements dans la plus vieille atmosphère du droit maghrébin, et fût-ce à l'occasion de litiges portés devant le cadi, a frappé tous les observateurs. Paradoxe, peut-on penser, dans une société aussi contentieuse ! Mais il est plus instructif d'y voir la remontée victorieuse d'un vieux fond juridique à travers les procès modernes. Là serait la clef de cette anomalie procédurale.

Dans la formule si répandue de ces ventes résolutoires, improprement appelées *rrahn*, ou, dans les actes, *lhunyâ*, et qui correspondent à un mode immobilier fort antique de ce milieu, le débiteur, qui est aussi le propriétaire du fonds, dispose d'un moyen d'interrompre automatiquement le droit du preneur. C'est de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

déposer une « obole », *tauqit*, *tamuzunt* (1), entre les mains d'une *auctoritas* quelconque : aujourd'hui un magistrat coutumier, jadis tel *fqih*, notable ou « marabout ». Dans le Bas Seksawa l'opération est encore plus directe. Quand il s'agit de vergers, l'obole sera déposée sur le tas d'olives au cours même de la cueillette : ainsi est-il mis fin à l'usufruit du preneur. Des réinterprétations rationalistes ont naturellement assimilé cette démarche à un règlement d' « arrhes » *l'arbûn*. Mais cette dernière notion est elle-même complexe. Ce qu'on relève de plus concret dans l'opération ici décrite, c'est que le geste opère rupture dans la situation respective des parties à l'égard du champ. La légitimité du propriétaire n'a jamais cessé quant au lien patrimonial. Mais elle s'était elle-même amputée de la « légitime occupation » (verbe *âmmer*). Cette dernière maintenant *réintègre le droit initial*, expression que nous retrouvons textuellement dans un écrit du XVIIIe siècle. Désormais, le preneur usurpe. Plus exactement, il assume désormais le personnage de l'usurpateur : *itrama*, nouveau verbe d'état. Son intérim, dirait-on, a cessé, et l'injure infligée au vieil ordre par le jeu de l'abondance monétaire en certaines mains. Et, par un nouveau trait significatif, le point de départ de la restitution dépend du moment où la *tamuzunt* a su s'insérer dans le calendrier agricole (2) : si c'est après *ukluber* (l'octobre julien) une nouvelle campagne céréalière est permise au créancier. Autres moments prévus en ce qui concerne l'arboriculture. On sent en tout cela d'instructives interférences entre la vie de la nature, celle du groupe et les mécanismes ouverts à l'initiative des individus.

Les dépossessions résultant soit d'une prolongation frauduleuse du *rrahn*, soit de voies de fait, sont certes nombreuses dans le passé Seksawa. Elles ont pour source des inégalités dans la distribution du capital et du pouvoir entre les familles. Quoi qu'il en soit, elles soulèvent une réaction éthique violente. On en verra tout à l'heure les conséquences sur la procédure même. Pour le moment, en voici une forme curieuse, improprement affublée du vêtement musulman de l'*istir'â'* ou « acte de réserves » (3). Écoutons cet acte des Idaw Geryun datant de 1102 hég. : 1691.

(1) Et encore *istiman* et *karbûn*. Evidemment, la notion d'arrhes elle-même a un passé et une signification fort complexes. Toujours sans idée de comparaison systématique, et, si l'on veut, seulement pour la « curiosité », disons que certains aspects de cette *tamuzunt* des Chleuhs ne sont pas sans suggérer la formalité de l'*aes* « dont la restitution opère libération de la terre » (H. Lévy-Bruhl, *Quelques problèmes de très ancien droit romain*, p. 144).

(2) De même en vieux droit kabyle. Cf. L. Milliot, Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri, *R. al.*, 1930, p. 247.

(3) Cf. l'acte traduit et commenté dans J. Berque, Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1948, p. 369.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Que celui-là sache, qui s'y arrêtera si Dieu veut, ô famille et docteurs des Musulmans, les a. Waâziz d'Alus publient et crient, élevant leur plainte jusqu'au trône de Miséricorde, que les a. H'sayn..., qu'ils font *istir'd'* à leur encontre sur les parcelles... [Suit l'indication d'un long conflit]... Ils n'y ont rien, et leur usufruit n'est qu'usurpation. Les a. Waâziz se plaignent par devant les gens du Tamgonsi, petits et grands, hommes et femmes, libres et esclaves... »

Ce qui compte ici, ce n'est pas la « réserve » que stipulerait un droit plus évolué faisant jouer quelque théorie du vice de consentement. C'est la valeur imprécatoire de l'attitude. On a noté la solennité de l'expression. Ce cri fait trembler « le trône de Dieu », ce qui rappelle à s'y méprendre une vieille formule grecque. Sans doute s'adresse-t-on à Dieu, et flétrit-on une injustice. Mais la coloration morale et religieuse ne remonte certainement pas au fond le plus ancien. On devine ce fond aux divers gestes (1) par lesquels s'exprime, encore aujourd'hui, la réaction de la victime.

C'est d'abord une interjection *âwqâwq*. Elle rejette les allégations tendancieuses, signale la mauvaise foi, et en appelle contre le puissant. Dans des cas plus graves d'oppression, se caractérisant par un état continu, le faible dispose d'un crescendo de moyens : porter un lumignon, *lqandil*, au prétoire du juge, parcourir les villages la tête barbouillée de la suie provenant du bris d'une marmite, ou recouverte d'une natte ; proclamer, publier *berrh'* sur les marchés qu'on est victime de tel ou tel. Au delà, c'est l'émigration, forme fréquente de protestation contre un oppresseur jugé momentanément le plus fort, et contre qui on maintient ses droits. C'est ainsi que la pratique notariale connaît des actes de « sauvegarde », *istih'fâz'*, le plus souvent confondus avec ceux d'*istir'â'*. De là encore, l'allégation fréquente de l'absence, interruptive de prescription, dans les instances d'allure plus complexe et plus mûrie auxquelles donne lieu la revendication foncière. Évidemment, la théorie musulmane de la *ghayba*, « imprescriptibilité fondée sur l'absence », n'a prêté là qu'un cadre commode à une vieille notion locale, à la fois économique et rituelle : l'absent, c'est aussi le suppliant. Sa fuite « oblige » obscurément qui la provoque.

Ces manifestations ne vont pas, comme dans d'autres sociétés, jusqu'au suicide de l'homme. Mais il est frappant que la femme chleuhe ait assez fréquemment recours à ce genre de protestation. Elle se pend, ou se jette dans une citerne. Et, de fait, malgré

(1) Dans un domaine voisin, les Gedmiwa, quelques-uns de ces gestes sont décrits dans une étude in. de LEPAGE, *Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa*.

la capacité juridique que non seulement le droit, mais les mœurs lui reconnaissent, et que sa propension psychologique lui fait exercer à plein, sa vie, à certains égards, ressortit plus que celle de l'homme à un plan extra-juridique. Peut-être parce que de moindre implication communale : économie du don lors des longues fiançailles, pratique assidue de la magie, rapports de *fides* dans l'état de mariage, aptitude reconnue aux démarches imprécatoires. C'est dans ces perspectives qu'il faut étudier l'acte, riche de conséquences sociales, que constitue le suicide de la femme, acte relativement fréquent, et qui manifeste la rupture volontaire ou non du lien du groupe. C'est le plus souvent une protestation solennelle contre le tort subi. Mais cela peut aussi résulter d'un dérèglement infligé par des pouvoirs mystérieux. Ainsi, pendant l'hiver de 1953, toutes les femmes d'Usikis avaient encouru la colère d'un saint en collectant des herbes dans les prairies réservées du Tasila. Elles furent saisies de manifestations « démoniaques » qui allèrent dans un ou deux cas jusqu'au suicide (1).

Le passé, même récent, des Seksawa livrerait de nombreux faits de cet ordre. Leur variété et, à certains égards, leur incohérence ne sauraient dissimuler qu'ils procèdent d'un stade d'indivision archaïque entre les modes les plus frustes de la vie agraire, religieuse et juridique.

(1) Encore des interférences entre droit, magie, vie agraire, autour de l'*aggemi*, dont la mise en défens est placée « sous la caution » d'un saint.

[p. 268]

III

PATRONAGES DE SAINTS PÉRIODICITÉ NATURELLE ET OBLIGATION JURIDIQUE

AUTRE ÉTAGE DE RITES : LES REDEVANCES AUX SAINTS

Si, sur le plan local, le bilan est si défavorable à la sainteté personnelle, il n'en est pas de même pour un autre ordre de faits : les liaisons de patronat qui se nouent entre le groupe et des saints *extérieurs*. Cette extériorité en effet paraît une condition essentielle : soit que le *chchard'* (1) versé au saint Seksawa par exemple Lalla Aziza ou Sidi Mh'and ressortisse à une sorte de fédéralisme entre cantons Seksawa différents, soit que — cas le plus fréquent — tel groupe, tel sous-groupe, telle famille même, isolément, librement, et dans toutes les apparences de la spontanéité juridique, s'abonne à la protection d'un personnage étranger : et ce personnage n'est pas toujours un compatriote ou un voisin, car nul n'est prophète en son pays. Mais réservons pour l'instant cet aspect en quelque sorte géographique, pour étudier avec un peu de détail la façon dont l'institution se présente à l'intérieur de cantons définis.

Aux époques dangereuses de la *siba*, une classique fonction de la sainteté, ou de ses ayants-droit, était de jouer dans le débat entre groupes un rôle de patronne, garante ou conciliatrice. C'est ce qu'un auteur du Sous nomme « l'extinction des feux des troubles publics », *il'fâ' nîrân alh-lhâ'irât bayna'n-nâs* (2).

Ainsi un acte de 1079 hég. : 1668 montre à l'œuvre les marabouts descendants de Sidi ᵉAyâd de T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, dans la vallée du Sous). Les Idaw Geryun et les Iqorrân, anciens occupants, étaient en lutte. Ces derniers avaient dû se replier en Idaw Mçat't'og. Un jour, c'était l'octave de l'Aid, ils étaient réunis sur l'*az'allo* pour la prière collective, quand les I. Geryun, déguisés en femmes, les assaillirent. D'où une suite de vendettas inex-

(1) Ar. : *charl'*, « stipulation ». L'emploi de ce mot dans le sens de redevance aux saints est ancien. Cf. *Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî*, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 *de fine*, à propos d'un saint du Haouz au XVIᵉ siècle.

(2) *Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî*, t. II, p. 52, l. 11.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

piables. Alors les marabouts intervinrent. Ils fixèrent une limite, par l'implantation de la « houlette de Dieu », *lakurayt n-rbbi* (cf. ar. *ᶜukkâz* dans le même sens). Ils assortirent cette opération d'imprécations terribles à l'encontre de quiconque violerait la trêve : Dieu poursuivrait le coupable et ses descendants, jusqu'à extinction complète, *h'atta yanqarid'û min ad-dunyâ*. Sur un plan plus temporel, l'infraction serait sanctionnée de 1.000 onces d'amende, à verser aux descendants du saint.

Nombre d'autres documents retracent, avec moins de couleur, des opérations analogues. C'est très souvent Sidi Mh'and qui est mis en scène, et cela répond à sa personnalité passe-partout. Ses descendants, joints à ceux du saint d'Assttif, cautionnent régulièrement la vie civique des Idma : élections, démarches pacifiques ou guerrières, etc. Parfois, et c'est un cas intéressant, l'intervention offre un caractère plus précis, celui de la législation. Je n'en trouve d'exemple détaillé que dans le Haut Dwiran, à vrai dire contigu à notre domaine. D'après un acte de 1052 hég. : 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1) codifie les rapports entre les a. Rrays et les a. Mezgur. C'est une tarification pénale du type ordinaire, mais offrant l'originalité de procéder d'un accord entre villages, sous ministère de saint.

Le rôle de ces personnages dans le rassemblement de groupes un peu vastes, par une opération qui est proprement une fondation, n'a pas, à vrai dire, donné lieu chez les Seksawa, dont l'unification monarchique remonte sans doute au moins au XIIIᵉ siècle, à des légendes aussi typiques que par exemple celle de Sidi Brahim de Tighanimin dans les I. T'anan (2). Mais l'équilibre entre groupes, bien que de soubassement complexe, laisse souvent percevoir ses garanties hagiologiques. Cela se devine sous l'histoire de l'élimination des a. Gasa, réalisée, au profit des Idma, par une malédiction *ddu ᶜâ* de la sainte de Z'init'.

Les redevances aux saints revêtent un aspect soit commutatif, soit surégatoire et facultatif. Le passage de l'une à l'autre de ces deux formes s'observe surtout dans le sens de l'affaiblissement d'une obligation primitivement stipulée, qui devient don béné-

(1) Faut-il rapprocher ce *nasab* de celui que portent, juste à cette époque, certains membres de la Zaouia de Dilâ' ? La coïncidence serait troublante.

(2) Très riche légende de saint fondateur, notée par DE LEYRIS, Le mariage en Idaw T'anan, in. *CHEAM*, 1950. Ce thème de la fondation est courant en Afrique du Nord. Le cas le plus célèbre est celui de Moulay Idris. Mais ce n'est pas le plus clair, compte tenu d'une puissante étiologie citadine. L'analyse sera plus facile dans le cas des synoecismes de bourgs ou de groupes ruraux. Cf. par exemple C. TRUMELET, *L'Algérie légendaire*, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., et *Les saints de l'Islam*, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. MONTAGNE, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, 1930, p. 169.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

vole. C'est ainsi que, bénéficiaires d'un ancien *chchard'*, les a. Sograti, du Haut Dwiran, ne récoltent plus en a. Musa que des présents facultatifs quérables. Il arrive encore que le même saint perçoive une redevance contractuelle sur tels produits, et seulement facultative sur d'autres. Ainsi de Lalla Aziza qui, titulaire en Haut a. Musa d'un cens sur les céréales, ne perçoit qu'à la discrétion des donateurs une *jumu'a* de beurre, c'est-à-dire la motte barattée pendant le premier vendredi de la saison de traite.

A cette complexité de contenu s'ajoutent d'autres nuances, celles qui résultent d'infinies variétés entre subdivisions cantonales quant au service des saints. Nous en indiquerons plus bas quelques-unes.

En ce qui concerne les destinataires du *chchard'*, nouvelle diversité. C'est ainsi que les a. Musa honorent comme saints Seksawa Lalla Aziza et Sidi Mh'and. Mais ils leur adjoignent un saint périphérique, Sidi bu Âbdelli, de Messid en Dwiran, qui perçoit un quart de mesure d'orge à la *ghrâra*, « chargement », une *kharruba* de maïs au foyer, plus une chèvre. A la zaouia de Talâint, les Regraga bénéficient, le premier dimanche d'avril, d'une *ddurl*, « fête de fin du cycle », dit de Sidi Bukhâri, commencé en Chyâd'ma. Les a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) ne reçoivent plus que des dons facultatifs. Il en est de même des Nâçiriyya de Tamgrût, bien déchus de leur ancienne prépondérance.

Il serait malaisé, et, je crois, vain de chercher à dater l'origine de ces redevances qui, dans le cas du *chchard'*, évoquent un débat consensuel entre les ouailles et le saint. Celui-ci se serait engagé à protéger le groupe selon sa petite spécialité, en échange de ce que nous appellerions en termes commerciaux un « abonnement ». C'est aux « ancêtres », expression vague et dilatoire, que remontent, dit-on, ces engagements. Ce qui frappe, en tout cas, c'est la diversité totale qui règne ici, tant en ce qui concerne l'extension du groupe des desservants, que le mode de relation institué, que la matière du cens ou que sa quotité par rapport à la récolte.

C'est ainsi que les Imt'ddan sont par excellence les servants de Lalla Aziza. Chaque foyer lui doit la première panerée de produits agricoles, à l'enlèvement de l'aire (céréales) ou du tas (fruits). Ces offrandes prémicielles sont portées en pompe à Z'init' le premier jeudi de mars : c'est ce qu'on appelle une *ççadaqa* : mais elle donne aussi lieu, avec les gens de Z'init', à une *tinubga*, c'est-à-dire une *syssitie* comme eût dit l'Antiquité classique. Les relations entre ces deux groupes sont, en effet, complexes : relations de coopération religieuse réglées jusque dans le détail. Si les Imt'ddan fournissent la viande pour le banquet, les gens

de Z'init' fournissent le pain. Le fait a même donné lieu à une légende étiologique.

Au cours d'une expédition en Haut Gedmiwa, les Seksawa se trouvèrent un jour en péril. Encerclés par l'adversaire, ils ne pouvaient plus espérer de secours. L'un d'eux eut l'idée de vouer à Lalla Aziza, pour le cas où il réchapperait, une rente de deux pains au jour du sacrifice. Aussitôt une nuée profonde, accompagnée d'averses et de tonnerre, se jeta entre les combattants, et abrita la fuite des Seksawa. C'est la raison pour laquelle les gens de Z'init', le jour du sacrifice, donnent désormais 24 pains chacun, au lieu de 22 comme devant. L'anecdote semble extraite de Pausanias !

Mais les Imt'ddan ne bornent pas leur hommage à la seule Lalla Aziza. Ils fournissent à Sidi Ábdallah u Sâid, des a. Tamment, 1/30 de leurs céréales, la même part allant à leurs mosquées, et une autre encore aux pauvres. De plus, chaque foyer verse un chevreau tous les deux ans.

Ils donnent encore aux descendants de Sidi ʿAyad, toujours dans le Sous, des offrandes d'un montant discrétionnaire, mais lui *doivent* une frairie tous les ans et un chevreau tous les deux ans. Le village de Tagunit, et lui seul, verse un cens à la zaouia d'Assttif, voisine. Enfin, on envoie un mouton au *fqih* des Mez'u'd'a, pour « ses Pâques », c'est-à-dire pour sa *tafaska* (oblation de l'Aid Çeghir).

La différenciation des donataires est donc extrême, comme celle de donateurs, même à l'intérieur d'un petit canton. A remarquer la proportionnalité observée quant à ces parts de récolte. Ici 1/30.

Dans les a. Lh'sen c'est le rythme d'une mesure pour 80 *tin s-tmanin* qui est appliqué pour les redevances d'orge et de maïs ; d'une pour 100 comptées pour les noix, etc. Quant au « vendredi » de beurre, le rite en est généralement observé.

C'est dans les a. Lh'sen qu'on reprendra des exemples pour étudier un autre aspect, celui de la remise aux ayants droit. Ceux-ci en général se répartissent par secteur géographique les bénéfices du *chchard'* qu'on nomme *tisura*, équivalent calqué sur l'ar. *fulûh'âl*. Ils en héritent, les partagent, les antichrèsent, les vendent ou les attribuent par tirage au sort, tout comme ils feraient d'un droit mobilisable : et c'en est un en effet. Tant il est vrai que l'institution de l'Atlas juxtapose en feuilletés savants, si j'ose dire, les ordres d'idées les plus divers. En l'espèce aspect « mystique » et aspect profane adhèrent étroitement. L'aliénabilité d'une valeur mobilière fait corps avec l'entité rituelle. Commercialisation et sacré se juxtaposent en séries dont la complexité offre sans doute un indice intéressant, mais dont nous ne pouvons encore dire si elle est authentique ou procède d'une déformation du système.

Aux époques agricoles convenant à la collecte, la *jemda* recueille la quote-part de chacun et l'entrepose dans un local traditionnel : la mosquée à Awines, une pièce *ad hoc* à Wanz'id' par exemple. A l'arrivée

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

du titulaire (prenons dans ce cas d'espèce, le représentant de Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, des a. Tamment), les produits sont vendus. Ils le sont, le plus souvent, aux enchères, selon le mode suscitant libre joute et œuvre pie, qui s'observe souvent en ce genre de choses. Mais parfois aussi, à Tagenza entre autres, ce grain est acheté au cours par les citoyens dénués qui manquent de bêtes de bât pour s'approvisionner en plaine.

Enfin, il arrive que le don soit « portable » : c'est le cas de la grande redevance collective à sidi Ah'med u Âli. Une fois rassemblée dans la mosquée d'Awines, elle est vendue aux enchères, et c'est le numéraire qui sera remis au saint par une délégation de la *taqbilt*. Cette vente a produit, au cours des dernières années, un montant de 25 à 30.000 fr., pour les seules céréales, ce qui, si l'on appliquait la règle du 1/80, amènerait à une évaluation d'une récolte de quelque 2.500.000 fr., pour le Bas a. Lh'sen : indication économique intéressante, car il s'agit d'une centaine de foyers.

Exactitude fiscale, âpreté distributive, computs rigoureux dans la répartition de la charge et le ramassage du produit ; mais aussi liesse au moment de la remise, joyeux dégagement des enchères, générosité ostentatoire en son lieu : tous ces aspects se joignent pour faire de ce système de redevances, scandant l'année agricole, une riche source d'émotions religieuses et de notions juridiques.

DIRECTIONS, AIRES ET CYCLES

Ce n'est pas que la vie étroitement particularisée du canton ne se rattache à tout l'espace du Sous, du Drâ, de l'Anti-Atlas. Des sutures mystiques relient, sans qu'on puisse toujours expliquer comment, ni pourquoi, le domaine des Seksawa au vaste monde du Sud. Isolationnistes par leur histoire, ils sont restés, pour l'hagiologie, en rapports avec l'extérieur. Notons-le, cet extérieur est uniquement le Sud. La chose est tellement marquée qu'au sein d'un cycle particulier, celui de Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, leur ferveur a délaissé le père, homme du Nord et de l'Ouest pour s'attacher au fils, qui a, lui, son sanctuaire dans les a. Tamment, sur un affluent de la rive droite du Sous.

Ces dévotions ne sont pas unilatérales. Un saint des Seksawa, celui d'Assttif, fait bénéficier ses descendants de redevances définies, ou, plus largement, d'offrandes discrétionnaires dans les tribus d'alentour. Surtout celles de ce qu'on peut appeler l'ensemble circum-Tichka.

Ce marabout, bien entendu, ne jouit pas d'un cens dans sa propre *taqbilt* des Idma : il n'est, dirions-nous, qu'importateur de devises. Il perçoit un cens sur les a. Wagunsan, les Idaw Kais, les Idaw Mçat't'og,

une partie des Imdlawen, des Tigguga, des a. H'adduyws, des a. Gasa, des a. Tkssit, des Imlwan, des Iwensekten, des Amismatert, des a. Gâyer, des a. Lh'sen, des Sekrat et d'Iguntar. Suivons-le dans un de ses déplacements annuels. Au *Mûlâd*, il se rend à la zaouia des Derqâwa d'Araz'z'en en Arghen — la patrie d'Ibn Toumert — en passant par le sanctuaire de sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. En janvier, il parcourt les a. Semmeg, fait un pèlerinage au tombeau de Sidi Bubker u Mh'and à Tirk (Amzel). En mars, il circule au revers S. du Tichka. Puis le voilà en Haut Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. Le périmètre d'attraction est vaste : chose bizarre, il n'y a pas de *mârûf* à la zaouia. Celle-ci est restée en dehors du mouvement qui, autour de 1900, poussa les grands *amghars* à créer des *mûsems*, « foires patronales périodiques ».

Quel rapport y eut-il entre cette organisation rituelle et le phénomène tyrannique, d'une part, la crise spirituelle dont procéda l'élan tardif des « Hommes bleus » que vainquit notre Mangin, d'autre part : nous n'en savons rien pour le moment, mais cela sera à étudier. Toujours est-il que Lh'âjj Hfid' créa le *musem* d'Ammern, Umulid celui de sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, le grand Mtuggi celui de Tawlukult, qu'il inséra savamment dans le cycle saisonnier du Dir occidental. Mais la zaouia d'Assttif resta en dehors de ces innovations. Cette réserve fait partie de ses originalités, sur quoi nous reviendrons. Ne retenons pour le moment que cet exemple de pérégrination fiscale, d'activité géographique du marabout.

La maison d'Assttif est la seule à jouir d'une clientèle d'outre monts. Le renom hagiologique de Lalla Aziza dépasse de beaucoup les Seksawa, on le verra : mais le service de la sainte est demeuré à un stade, si j'ose dire, purement national, ce qui confirme une impression déjà enregistrée.

En somme, en tout ceci, les Seksawa font plutôt figure de clients, et de clients du Sud. La chose vaut d'être notée car, plus bas, dans le Dir, d'autres axes interviennent. C'est ainsi que les Mez'ud'a desservent une compagnie de saints s'échelonnant de Chichaoua à Marrakech en passant par Tameçloh't, et que certains Intamlin (Mtugga) honorent sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim (1) : et c'est d'ailleurs chez eux que nous avons retrouvé un texte qui sera utilisé ci-dessous, et relatif au grand ancêtre dont la zaouia est toujours un centre religieux important en a. Daud (H'âh'a). Imintanout, qui constitue, au débouché du col, la plaque tournante de toute cette hagiologie, connaît les deux directions : celle du Sud avec le Nâçirî, et celle de l'Est avec le saint de Tameçloh't.

Second aspect : celui de la plus ou moins forte densité des liens. De tous les Mtugga, seuls les Intamlin, et rien qu'une partie

(1) *Dawh'at an-nâchir*, tr., p. 176. Son fils, 'Abd Allah b. Sa'îd, qui a repoussé les avances du Sâadien, vit dans le Deren, à l'époque même du document, pp. 155, 178.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'entre eux, desservent un saint étranger. L'indépendance hautaine de la tribu se manifeste donc en cela encore (1). Inversement, chez les Seksawa, les gens de Sekrat se réclament de tous les patronages possibles, locaux et extérieurs, et y mettent le prix. Ils n'ont voué rien moins que « 12 vendredis de beurre » à des saints divers. D'une façon générale, la principale sollicitude des Seksawa se porte sur ses saints cantonaux, et évidemment surtout sur la sainte nationale, dont le culte réagit sur tout le reste de leur vie rituelle.

Mais s'il y a engoncement ou particularisme tribal, il y a aussi participation à de vastes aires hagiologiques, que dominent d'impérieuses silhouettes. Ce sont là, semble-t-il, deux styles rituels fort tranchés. Dans le cas de l'allégeance au Nâçirî de Tamgrût (2), leur opposition s'éclaire, puisque d'un côté l'ample rayonnement de cette zaouia s'identifie presque entièrement à l'affiliation confrérique, c'est-à-dire tend à l'adhésion individuelle plutôt que collective, à l'option initiatique plutôt qu'au lien de terroir, à l'ésotérisme plutôt qu'à la publicité communale. Mais ces définitions du confrérisme maghrébin, dans la mesure chanceuse où il déborde le maraboutisme, sont plus idéales que réelles (3). Dans le cas de Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4), le patron du Tazerwalt, plus de cadre confrérique : l'allégeance n'en est pas moins forte, les itinéraires vastes, les figures vives.

Troisième aspect, lié au précédent : celui de la combinaison de toutes ces affinités à l'échelon local. Bien qu'il s'agisse en principe de négociations purement contractuelles, spontanées, et qui obéissent dans nombre de cas au hasard du passage d'un saint pérégrinant, ou d'un bienfait reçu, l'homogénéité du milieu entraîne certaines régularités : dans toute la montagne d'Imintanout, c'est la maison de Tamgrut et celle des a. Tamment (Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid) qui drainent le maximum d'offrandes. Mais tout

(1) En a-t-il été ainsi à toute époque ? La partie ouest de la tribu semble, au XVIe siècle, avoir vivement participé au *jihâd*. CÉNIVAL identifie à Tamalukt le Culeihat el-Muridin de Léon, *Sour. in., Port.*, t. I, p. 765, n. 1. D'autre part, un des proches successeurs d'al-Jazûlî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh' est dénommé at-Tikkî, en même temps qu'al-H'âh'î, *Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ*, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 *de fine*. La personnalité rituelle d'un groupe varie donc non seulement avec sa morphologie, mais aussi avec l'histoire. Mais nous ne sommes que très rarement armés pour suivre ces rapports avec une précision suffisante.

(2) Sur la zaouia et la confrérie, la meilleure étude, et la plus récente, est celle celle de G. DRAGUE, *Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

(3) Elles ont été d'ailleurs plutôt le fait de l'école algérienne : Rinn, Depont et Coppolani, Aug. Berque. Le « marabout » ne s'oppose pas toujours à la « confrérie » : le cas de la Rah'mâniyya algérienne est à cet égard le plus typique.

(4) Cf. JUSTINARD, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, *Ar. mar.*, 1933, pp. 5 sq., modèle d'investigation directe, précise et sensible.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

cela en ordre dispersé. Parfois, c'est tout le canton, parfois seulement le village, parfois seulement une famille du village qui vouent une offrande à tel ou tel saint.

C'est ainsi qu'en Idma, la *gens* aristocratique des Iseqqalen verse à Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid annuellement un mouton par troupeau, et une mesure sur 40 de récolte pour chacune de ses subdivisions installée dans un village à Tasselli, à Usikis, à Tannsmekht, à Talmud'ât. En a. Abdella, seuls deux *ikh*-s, l'un de Bûl'wân, l'autre d'Agawz, fournissent le *mârûf* de Sidi Âbderrahman u Sâid, qui a lieu en septembre.

Autres exemples. En a. Musa, deux groupes, ceux « d'en haut » et ceux « d'en bas » s'opposent l'un à l'autre. Les premiers doivent à Lalla Aziza une mesure d'orge et une demie de maïs par foyer, plus une chèvre. Les seconds appliquent un autre système : la moitié de la première panerée *taryalt* d'orge prélevée sur l'aire, l'autre moitié allant à Sidi Mh'and, plus une *kharruba* de maïs par foyer. Mais à l'intérieur même de ces groupes certains villages ont des dévotions particulières. Celui d'Igernsuq, par exemple, se dissocie parfois du régime général. On a vu que cette dissociation peut, en matière de frairies, descendre jusqu'à l'*ikhs*.

En a. Abdella, Tuz'z'umt verse à Tamgrût annuellement une mesure d'olives, une d'orge, une d'amandes, et un mouton par foyer. Ilutjan, immédiatement en aval, verse à Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid de l'orge, du maïs, de l'huile et le beurre de deux vendredis. Bûl'wân ne verse pas de *chchard'* à l'extérieur.

Les a. Lh'sen, si cohérents pour tout ce qui touche à l'ordre agraire ou aux dévotions cantonales, affirment sur ce chapitre une caractéristique diversité : Wanz'id' verse au Nâçirî une mesure d'orge, 100 noix, un vendredi de beurre par foyer. Mais son voisin, Iwulla, sert Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, en plus du Nâçirî. On trouverait entre les villages Idma, canton pourtant très uni, la même diversité.

Une comparaison avec les Mez'ud'a voisins montrerait cette diversité, enrichie d'ailleurs par le recours à une gamme plus étendue de saints, s'ordonnant dans un système harmonieux, aux grands mouvements d'ensemble. Ce genre de comparaison n'est pas notre objectif, et nous ne nous y attarderons pas. Pourtant le contraste est frappant, sur ce plan comme sur beaucoup d'autres, entre la structure équilibrée des Mez'ud'a, et celle, cloisonnée et divergente, des Seksawa. Ou plutôt, il cesse d'y avoir contraste si l'on élimine ce mot vague de « tribu » qui étiquette pour nous, dans l'un et l'autre cas, des réalités combien différentes ! Il faut en effet comparer les Mez'ud'a non aux Seksawa dans leur ensemble, mais aux Idma ou aux a. Lh'sen : les Mez'ud'a sont une *taqbilt* qui a su ou pu, tout en se dilatant jusqu'à une population de plus de 2.000 foyers, garder ses structures de base. Tandis qu'en Seksawa, de bas en haut de la vallée, les vicissitudes ont rompu une popu-

1 Berque MW11 Shluh

lation équivalente en huit ou neuf organismes. Il n'est pas sans intérêt que l'étude des formes religieuses rencontre là-dessus, dans ses conclusions, celles de l'histoire.

Les transformations qui ont modifié la structure des groupes, en réduisant ou amplifiant les ensembles géographiques, ont naturellement agi sur l'économie locale du sacré, des patronages mystiques de leur contrepartie fiscale. Corrélativement, la variété des rapports entre le saint et ses partenaires est devenue très grande. D'une part, amples zones d'influences. De l'autre, dévotions et initiations personnelles. Ici affiliations procédant d'un libre choix. Là clientèles collectives ou héréditaires, dont l'origine n'est plus perçue par personne. Mais ces traits divers sont en germe au stade des échanges rustiques entre villageois et saints de terroirs : et c'est à ce stade qu'ils se laissent le mieux analyser.

RITES SAISONNIERS, PACTES COLLECTIFS, CONTRATS INDIVIDUELS

Habitat du sacré : des sanctuaires personnels ou simplement communaux. Rythme ou phases du sacré : ces renouements périodiques marqués par agapes, pompes et sacrifices. Enfin comptabilité du divin : voilà un troisième élément fort important, le plus frappant peut-être, et qui imprime à l'institution un cachet de ratiocination et d'avarice spécifiques. Et bien qu'elle plonge dans la transe collective, et qu'elle dépende étroitement du retour des phénomènes naturels, elle se manifeste sous des aspects d'individualisme et de conscience. C'est là quelque chose de tout à fait remarquable : la périodicité liturgique, elle-même liée à la périodicité agricole, s'achève en contrat.

Les vieux juristes du Sous, qui se font l'écho de querelles entre hameaux pour la rétribution du *fqih* ou les réparations de la mosquée commune, ont agité la question de l'obligation de la prière du vendredi dans le cas où plusieurs hameaux ou « bicoques » (au sens étymologique), n'ont ensemble qu'une mosquée, laquelle n'est attenante à aucun d'eux. La liaison de cette institution avec la *taqbilt*, laquelle se distribue en pluralité d'habitat, apporte une intéressante suggestion historique. Un autre trait qu'on peut puiser chez ces juristes, c'est la liaison de la rétribution du *fqih* aux tours d'eaux, c'est-à-dire en fin de compte à l'ordre agnatique (1). Parfois, au contraire, il perçoit un préciput sur la récolte : 1/40 comme en a. Lh'sen, 1/30 comme en Imt'ddan, etc. De

(1) *Ajwiba* dites de « Bennâcer », c'est-à-dire du cheikh Ibn Nâçir de Tamgrût, ms. zaouia des Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7 sq. Le salaire du *fqih* est fixé sur *ayyâm dawlat cuyûni-him*. L'ar. *dawla*, « tour de rôle », correspond à chl. *tawala*. Mais y a-t-il dérivation ?

même que la redevance aux saints établit non des rudiments, mais un système minutieux de fiscalité, la rétribution des *l'l'olba*, tout comme la collecte et la gestion des redevances, instaure proprement dans le groupe une ébauche d'administration. Cela ressort à plein d'institutions régulières, tel l'abatage périodique de viande fraîche, *luzi'l*, lui-même en rapports intimes, quoique non constants, avec le sacrifice aux saints, *lighersi*. Là, comme nous l'avons ailleurs montré (1), l'aspect contractuel, pointant en technique notariale, prédomine sur tous les autres.

Il en est de même des « stipulations » aux saints *chchard'*. On notera l'identité de ce terme avec celui désignant le douaire consenti à l'épouse en sus de l'*amerwas*. Nous voilà donc en pleine convention. Un acte recueilli au sanctuaire de sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, dans les Mtugga, illustre la façon dont le grand saint des a. Daud, sidi Sâid u Abdennâim, fondateur d'une « principauté maraboutique » dans le Sous, en usa à la fin de ses jours. Il convoqua à son chevet les H'âh'a et les Mtugga. Après une pieuse homélie, il les requit de la célébration annuelle d'un *mârûf* au début du mois de « mars berbère », *mars ʿajâmî* (sic). Ils acquiescèrent dans un grand élan de contrition. Et chaque tribu de s'engager spontanément à verser aux descendants du saint, qui de l'orge, qui du beurre ou de l'huile. L'ensemble est qualifié de *khidma*, « service » et *churût'*, « stipulations ». Cela se passe dans le courant du xe siècle de l'hégire, c'est-à-dire de notre xvie siècle. Et bien que justement ce saint n'ait aucun client chez nos Seksawa, le texte vaut pour eux également. Il indique le processus habituel de ces engagements de groupe à patron. De tels témoignages sont rares : les bénéficiaires les gardent secrets (2). Peut-être même beaucoup de ces contrats sont-ils pure étiologie d'une coutume existante, et dont on aurait cherché à situer l'origine et à trouver l'explication.

Passons maintenant à un second élément d'institution : ces *mâruf*-s dont il a déjà été maintes fois parlé. Ce mot, employé ici plutôt que celui de *musem*, est attesté depuis une époque ancienne, et combine paradoxalement la notion coranique de « bien » et celle d' « usage coutumier ». Véritable jeu de mots, qui semble voulu, puisque nombre de codifications coutumières ont feint de s'y baser, et que parfois même encore, il est invoqué par des juristes

(1) J. Berque, Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (xviiie siècle), *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 383 sq., où ces cérémonies sont décrites tout au long. Bibl. de *luzi'l*, p. 383, n. 25.

(2) Nous avons pu pourtant nous procurer à la zaouia des Mez'ud'a un de ces actes, que nous reproduisons figure 10, page 278.

[P. 278]

Fig. 10

Acte par lequel la jemâa des Iwulla s'engage à verser une dîme à Sidi Ah'mad u ʿAli, 1258 hég. = 1840. En échange, le saint assurera la prospérité matérielle et spirituelle du groupe *(in fine)*. Recueilli à la *zâwiya* des Mez'ud'a.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

novateurs. Le *mârûf* est le rite saisonnier incombant à un groupe à l'égard d'un saint. Il comprend ordinairement un sacrifice sanglant, *lighersi*, mais se différencie d'autres réunions, telles que *tinubga* ou *tiwill*, qui, elles, n'ont pas de portée religieuse. On retrouve le *chchard'* dans de vieux actes, sous la forme de prescriptions testamentaires, accompagnées d'invocations et de malédictions conditionnelles : dernières paroles du saint mourant à ses servants. Accompagné parfois d'homélies, il constitue, pour des laps multiséculaires, la charte réglant les rapports d'un groupe avec le mandataire local du sacré.

Plusieurs saints possèdent un fonds *rras l-mâl*, alimenté d'année en année par la vente des parts de viande. Cette vente se fait aux enchères. Elle déclenche l'émulation, elle-même faste, qu'appelle ce genre de concours. Mais les créances ne sont presque jamais exigibles que l'année suivante. Un embryon de crédit se fait ainsi jour. Il comporte inscription sur des rôles écrits, et le notariat montagnard s'en occupe activement. Nous avons ailleurs décrit les démarcations entre le profane et le sacré que révèle un tel système. La conjugaison de vieilles pratiques propitiatoires ou purificatoires, le climat archaïque de dilapidation et de bombance, s'unissent ici à d'exactes préoccupations comptables. Véritable épicerie du sacré.

CRITIQUE DE CES PREMIÈRES DONNÉES

Ainsi se dégage une caractéristique de cet étage d'institutions religieuses et juridiques chez les Seksawa. Le patronage des saints met en jeu une solidarité entre la vie de groupe, les rythmes de la nature et le calendrier rituel. Le passage de l'une à l'autre de ces trois notions est constant. Même passage du statut régissant les rapports du groupe avec son protecteur, à l'initiative délibérée de conventions avec d'autres saints. Les enchères pour la vente des viandes sacrificielles, l'émulation qui en résulte, l'engagement à terme que souscrit le preneur, participent à la fois du rite le plus communautaire et du contrat le plus individuel. En ces formes de synthèse, en ces moments d'exubérance villageoise, liés à la vie des saisons et aux manifestations du sacré, se libèrent les forces qui vont nourrir, à la fois, et valider l'obligation juridique. Mais cette dernière, à ce stade même de correspondances religieuses, agraires et communales, s'offre déjà revêtue des caractères spécifiques qui sont les siens dans la culture des Chleuhs : âpreté acquisitive, individualisme contractuel, publicité communale. Et ces caractères ont déjà réagi sur ce qu'on peut présumer d'un

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

fond « ancien ». Ce fond n'apparaît plus, nous l'avons noté, que de façon inégale et incohérente, par fragments et survivances. Des synthèses s'exercent sur le plan local. Elles sont constructives et déformantes. En elles réside l'originalité du milieu, alors que les faits plus archaïques qu'on distingue au travers ressortissent plutôt à une généralité nord-africaine.

A ce stade jouent d'impérieuses nécessités d'équilibre et d'agencement local, une systématisation éprise de dosage et de partage, des solidarités s'étendant à tout l'ensemble chleuh. Mais aussi la dévotion islamique, qui, sous certains aspects, est critique et raison. Il faut donc faire la part grande à des évolutions qui, non seulement effacent ou avivent tel ou tel fait, mais modifient ses rapports avec le reste. D'où la nécessité de tenir compte, à tout instant, de la proportion et du niveau des phénomènes. L'intimité de l'institution juridique, par exemple, ne sera saisie qu'une fois la distinction faite entre ce qui ressortit en elle au « prédroit » par rapport au système judiciaire, d'une part, au droit par rapport à l'usage et au folklore, d'autre part. Mêmes distinctions à établir dans l'étude de la vie religieuse.

La prudence qu'impose à notre démarche un terrain si riche en dénivellations interdit pour le moment de conclure sur un problème fondamental : celui des rapports du groupe agnatique avec la vie rituelle. Tels qu'on les observe à l'heure actuelle, ils appartiennent à une couche de folklore à laquelle on ne peut légitimement prêter de valeur structurale. Il serait trop facile de parler de dégradations ou d'évolutions récentes. Et l'existence d'une loi d'équilibre patrimonial entre les différents *ikhs*-s ne saurait pour le moment être attribuée sans pétition de principe à un prétendu stade d'origine. Laissons donc la question pendante. Notons en tout cas que la persistance de l'*ikhs* aurait dû favoriser la naissance d'une hagiologie d'ancêtres. Or il n'en est rien. Les figures de ce genre sont paradoxalement rares dans un pays à légitimité lignagère. Pas de héros, pas de légende dorée. Mais l'individu d'une part, la synthèse communale de l'autre, et, par-dessus tout, un personnage qui a centralisé la plus grosse part du merveilleux des Seksawa. Regardons ce personnage de plus près.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P·281]

DÉVELOPPEMENTS DE LA VIE RELIGIEUSE

I

GRANDES PERSONNIFICATIONS RITUELLES « UNE SAINTE NATIONALE » LALLA AZIZA

Lorsque des maçons du Haouz, du Drâ ou du Dadès, juchés sur de grossiers coffrages, battent le pisé d'un mur en construction, la mélopée qui scande leur effort commence par l'invocation de *Lalla Aziza Tagurraml*. Mais cette extension du nom aux litanies populaires du Sud ne saurait effacer les profondes raisons qui font du tombeau de la sainte, de sa légende et de son rite, le centre vital des Seksawa. Et l'erreur fut instructive d'E. Doutté, ou plus vraisemblablement de son guide, lorsqu'ils crurent voir le sanctuaire dès les premiers contreforts de la vallée. Mais pouvaient-ils faire autrement ? Toute cette partie du Deren est dominée par la figure de l'héroïne : comment s'étonner que le paysage en soit imprégné ? Certes, pour les yeux du cœur, Lalla Aziza est visible de loin dans la plaine.

Que ce soit donc sur cette impression que s'ouvre l'analyse. Guidés par une démarche qui est celle même de la promenade, mais aussi de la découverte, nous essaierons, d'indice en indice, de descendre au plus profond d'un ensemble d'images, d'émotions, de rites, de croyances et d'histoire.

REPÈRES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES

Marche intermédiaire entre la basse vallée et la grande montagne, épandant sur sa large esplanade le modelé adouci d'une horticulture qui dispose encore d'espace, alors qu'un peu plus amont la vie sera réduite à des cramponnements acrobatiques au rocher, la plaine des a. Musa joue le rôle d'un parvis. De là vient qu'elle soit défendue par des gardiens spirituels, et que la défense soit tournée vers l'aval. En amont, au contraire, commence un terroir tout chargé d'interdits, *lh'rum i-yseksawan*, dont le centre

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

est Z'init' (1). Ces guetteurs du péril de la plaine sont des santons, au fruste visage, mais dont la fréquence marque clairement une dénivellation du sacré. Tels sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, ce saint de « l'asile » (2), sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and et un petit sanctuaire au nom étrange : *Iz'mawn Iuserran*, « les lions d'Iuserran », révélateur peut-être de quelque défense magique ancienne (3).

Cela veut-il dire que des éléments plus anciens, annonciateurs d'un lieu rituel, se sont effacés devant Lalla Aziza ? Toujours est-il que pareille défense manque vers l'amont. Évidemment, dans l'arrière-pays, la sainte est chez elle. On y trouve seulement ses *maqâm*-s ou « mansions », ce qui éveille un tout autre ordre d'idées. D'abord vers le S.-E., dans l'ancien domaine des a. Gasa, un chêne au Tizi Az'allo, entre Tagonit et Assttif ; puis un caroubier *igg* au lieudit Tiktit, « la frontière », dans la vallée de l'asif n-Tghrin ; un noyer dans le ravin de Tannçmt ; et encore une bâtisse à Rekto. Tout cela de ce côté-ci de la crête de l'Afuzar. Au delà, à Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, dans l'habitat actuel des a. Gasa, et à Anzelfi chez les a. Gâir, d'autres mansions encore. Ce qui frappe, c'est que tous ces points hagiologiques, si on les reporte sur la carte, excèdent l'actuel périmètre des Seksawa.

Dans la vallée même, on note, comme il est fréquent, entre l'agglomération de Z'init' et Tamezgurt, une pierre levée, dite « limite de Lalla Aziza ». Elle bornait l'asile vers l'amont, dans une période où il ne se réduisait pas au site construit. Le peuple y voit, selon un folklore courant, la pétrification d'une fiancée et de sa monture, de même qu'il verra, dans une autre roche, la métamorphose d'un méchant chef, *amghar yubaddaln rbbi*.

Plus significatifs sont les éléments archéologiques décelables vers le S.-O., c'est-à-dire en pays Idma. On sait que les Idma, immigrés plus récents, sont les vainqueurs des a. Gasa, et que c'est grâce à la sainte qu'ils les ont vaincus à un contre deux. Ils

(1) J'orthographie avec deux emphatiques, encore que l'emphase du *l* soit assez adoucie pour justifier à propos du nom le calembour étymologique que l'on verra. Quant à la sifflante sonore, son emphase est attestée par la transcription arabe en *d'*. Ce nom de Z'init' est bizarre, comme beaucoup de ces noms berbères, anthroponymes de groupes surtout, dont l'inintelligibilité et l'irrégularité frappent par contraste avec la relative clarté de beaucoup de noms de lieudits ou quartiers. Il y a là deux « couches » très différentes.

(2) La traduction par « asile » est certainement dérivée. La notion de base est celle de l'interdit, qui s'exprime ici par une racine arabe *h' r m*, assez anciennement pour qu'elle ait pu se « personnaliser » dans un nom de saint à calembour : ce sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, cet *ah'ormi* étant senti comme un *nasab*.

(3) L'espèce léonine est souvent adoptée par les saints maghrébins ; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, donne une bibliographie.

leur ont pris, entre autres, le village d'Anchkrir. Là, une ancienne fondation attribue à Lalla Aziza une quarantaine de parcelles, dont elle perçoit le revenu chaque année en mars. Anchkrir est dominé par une haute table de 2.000 m., à mi-pente du Tabgurt, et dite « les aires conjointes », *Inraren Z'dinin*. C'est un lieu de rassemblements périodiques pour l'élection de chefs, ou de rendez-vous préalables aux expéditions guerrières. Forum et bivouac. On y remarque un petit sanctuaire hypèthre, simple cercle de pierres, voué à une Lalla Âzzo, donnée comme fille de Sidi Âmer u H'addo, de la lignée des rois Seksawa. A l'entrée du village lui-même, est enterré Sidi Sliman u Âmer, auquel est dédiée l'été une petite fête, d'ailleurs en décadence. Celui-là aussi est un personnage historique, comme H'addo u Âmer, roi du XIVe siècle. On ne peut manquer d'être frappé de l'homonymie entre cette Lalla Âzzo, du vieux cycle royal, et Lalla Aziza, avec laquelle elle est identifiée par certains. Le nom de Aziza, d'ailleurs anormal en chleuh, est encore aujourd'hui inusité. Le langage populaire, dans les chœurs notamment, le transforme en Âzzt. S'il fallait l'identifier aux noms de Âzzô ou Âzzûna, il s'agirait peut-être à Z'init' et à Inraren Z'dinin du même personnage. Dès lors, l'existence d'un apanage de la sainte à Anchkrir, seul village où elle en ait un, poserait le problème du lien entre son cycle et celui des rois médiévaux. Là est sans doute la clef de l'histoire des Seksawa. Mais comment expliquer le site actuel du sanctuaire ? Résulterait-il d'un déplacement de la sépulture plus modeste du haut-lieu ? Ou y aurait-il deux tombeaux ? Nous ne le saurons probablement jamais.

Ce nom de Z'init' est curieux. On l'explique localement par un impératif, à terminaison archaïque en *-il*, du verbe *z'z'in*, « se quereller, se disputer ». Le rite confère à cette interprétation une certaine vraisemblance. Ou bien *z'z'in-i-t*, serait une troisième personne du pluriel, suivie d'une préposition et d'un pronom. Soit, en somme : « querellez-vous » ou « on se querelle pour lui ». Tout cela, naturellement, est calembour. Il y a deux « querelles » dans la liturgie de la sainte : un pourchas légendaire autour de son corps, selon un thème hagiologique courant ; et les coups prodigués au sacrifice du Mlâd.

Quoi qu'il en soit du nom, le site se décompose comme suit. 1) Vers l'amont, un petit édifice voué à un sidi bu Lqnadel (1) : chambre ouverte, et tombe sans superstructure. Il est dominé par un cimetière, non loin de l'*az'allo*, « lieu de prière collective en

(1) « Aux lumignons ». Ibn Toumert est également surnommé *açaju*, ce qui est le doublet chl. d'ar. *qandil*. Ibn KHALDÛN, *Histoire des Berbères*, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

plein air ». 2) Un peu plus haut, tombant dans la rivière, un ravin rocheux, dit Imi n-Zennû (vieux nom berbère, à mettre en rapport avec les Jannûn, Âzzûn, etc.). 3) Sur l'arête qui domine, du côté du Mzawt, deux pierres dressées châtient le pécheur, qu'elles happent s'il ose passer entre elles (1). C'est l'*ifri n-lsqqi*. 4) « La maison » de Lalla Aziza. Elle contient, dans le vestibule, la sépulture d'un mulet, et des resserres où s'accumulent les provisions des jours de fête. Dans une autre pièce attendent, lutées au-dessus d'un four sommaire, quatre grosses marmites. C'est là que cuiront les morceaux de la victime. Un passage couvert mène à la « porte de la plaine » de la zaouia. 5) La zaouia, en effet, offre un *bab lud'a*, « porte de la plaine » et un *bab udrar*, « porte de la montagne ». C'est bien là l'antithèse entre amont et aval qui domine toute cette vie. En outre, cette configuration reflète un classement rituel mis en œuvre le jour du Milâd. A gauche, une pièce où se voit un tombeau : celui de sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, donné comme l'exterminateur des a. Gasa. Dans la coupole, le tombeau de la sainte, avec trois autres qui seraient ceux de son père, de sa mère, d'un esclave.

Je passe les constructions qu'habitent les actuels *foqra*, administrateurs, plutôt que détenteurs du pouvoir bénéfique, et surtout dévolutaires du « bénéfice » *lisura*. Faites de pierre dressée au cordeau, sur deux et parfois trois étages, en assemblages jointifs, selon les fortes techniques de la montagne, elles ne présentent rien de remarquable, sinon leur aspect paradoxalement urbain. Cependant, comme ce petit groupe matérialise et exploite la tradition du sanctuaire, il ne sera pas inutile de sonder à son sujet la chronique orale.

Trois familles le composent : les a. H'ammo, les a. Âli, et les a. Lh'sen, outre la frange habituelle d'allogènes et de réfugiés. La baisse d'effectif des deux dernières familles par rapport à la première est attribuée à une malédiction que leur décocha la sainte en sanction d'un guet-apens où elles avaient traîtreusement massacré les a. Musa. Elles les avaient invités à une *liwill*, « banquet-palabre ». Les amenant dans une pièce du haut, au-dessous de laquelle elles avaient entassé de la paille de maïs, elles les enfumèrent. Les malheureux qui sautaient par la fenêtre étaient occis. Un seul échappa. Encore fut-il abattu plus loin. Trente-trois planchettes, représentant chacune une de ces vies humaines, sont, paraît-il, encastrées depuis lors dans le plafond de la *maqçura* d'une mosquée à T'abya. Magie et culte officiel se conjuguent ici avec le patriotisme cantonal.

(1) Vieux thème folklorique de pierres « planctes ».

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ce que la sainte châtie en l'espèce, c'est non seulement la traîtrise des deux familles, mais l'attentat dont sont victimes de purs descendants de la lignée royale. Coïncidence à méditer. Ceci mène tout naturellement à examiner s'il n'y a pas d'autres traits, décelables par l'examen des lieux, et qui mettraient sur la même piste. Tout d'abord ce sidi bu Lqnadel, « le saint aux lumignons », correspondant en berbère à un *bab n-lfawin* qui signifierait aussi « l'homme aux preuves », ne serait autre que H'addo, l'éponyme des a. H'adduyws de la plus haute vallée, fondateur de la dynastie médiévale. On ne lui décerne plus chaque année qu'une petite frairie : à peine quelques poulets cuisinés, que consomment les enfants. Mais, il y a trois générations, c'était lui qui présidait au marché du jeudi, et c'est dans son édifice que le *moqaddem* de Lalla Aziza se tenait pour régler les litiges. Si l'on rapproche de ce H'addo le Yah'ya enterré dans la « maison de Lalla Aziza », le Sliman enterré à Anchkrir non loin d'une Âzzò, l'identification se confirmera avec trois au moins des personnages mentionnés par Ibn Khaldûn. Une certaine liaison du cycle historique et du cycle rituel est donc suggérée par les seuls indices archéologiques. Comment cette liaison a pu s'établir, et, le cas échéant, quelles déformations le rite a imprimées à l'histoire, c'est ce qui a été ailleurs examiné. Mais saluons encore ici la synthèse, et ses rapports profonds avec le fonctionnement d'une vie de groupe.

LE FISC DE LA SAINTETÉ

La même impression ressortira de l'analyse institutionnelle du système dont on vient d'étudier l'assiette topographique.

Ce qui frappe d'abord, c'est l'importance relative du périmètre d'appel. Là encore, partons des éléments les plus concrets, soit de la géographie.

Traduite en obligation d'offrandes lors des deux fêtes annuelles, ou d' « abonnement stipulé » village par village tout au cours de l'année, l'attraction de Lalla Aziza s'exprime aussi en rattachements agraires. Passons son apanage d'Anchkrir, identifiable à un vieux centre d'histoire Seksawa. Bien plus en aval, dans la basse vallée, à Ih'ançalen, deux « parcelles », dites, avec jeu de mots *id'aren n-Lalla Aziza*, « les pieds de L. A., » encadrent le fleuve de part et d'autre : sorte de portique que franchit le courant et qui dénonce peut-être un ancien rite de passage. Nous sommes encore, il est vrai, en Seksawa, dans ces a. Âbdella dont le nom se réclame du peu orthodoxe *agellid* du XIVe siècle. Mais dans la plaine même, à Gemassa des Fruga, la sainte dispose de deux

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

parts d'eau sur l'oued Lalla Çfiyya. Selon la tradition orale, dans des temps anciens, les gens de Gemassa et les a. Âbdella se disputaient les eaux de la rivière à main armée. Le conflit ne cessa que sur l'arbitrage de la sainte. Aussi obtint-elle deux parts d'irrigation, chacune concédée par l'une des parties. Notons que les a. Âbdella sont aujourd'hui séparés de Gemassa par plusieurs tribus étrangères et une vingtaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau.

Également en plaine, en Dwiran, au lieudit Jemâa Tagharro, la sainte jouissait initialement d'un champ, Zagho, dont il ne lui reste d'ailleurs aujourd'hui qu'un droit d'eau. Ici encore, ce bénéfice est mis en rapport avec une manifestation politique : le Sultan montait en expédition pour investir les Seksawa. Leur protectrice marcha à sa rencontre jusqu'au lieudit Tazugg^w^art n-Lalla Aziza, et parvint à le détourner de ses projets d'investissement. Les chroniques remémorent plusieurs tentatives de ce genre, et nous avons même un témoignage contemporain d'une de ces intercessions. On se meut ici sur un terrain solide, et là encore des indices locaux confirment la légende et l'histoire.

Dans une autre direction, vers l'E., une chronique nous montre, vers 1708, le marabout de Tasaft, héros d'une résistance montagnarde contre le pouvoir makhzénien, venant en pèlerinage à Z'init' (1). Il arrive de loin, et doit franchir de hautes passes. Sur le chemin, il voit sur une dalle de pierre polie des empreintes de fer à cheval : traces légendaires des Almohades. La nostalgie inquiète du conteur pour cette brillante et maudite époque de grandeur l'émeut sans doute profondément lorsqu'il parvient à Z'init'. En cet asile, un caïd proscrit a pu longtemps se soustraire aux gens du pouvoir central, qui le guettent embusqués en a. Musa. Significative est cette sorte de continuité que l'on sent établie par le narrateur, dans le temps et l'espace, entre Ibn Toumert et Lalla Aziza. Rien de plus qu'une association d'idées, mais obsédante. Elle nourrit cette prose d'images qui en rompent l'aridité. Sans doute, se piquant d'érudition, l'auteur brouille-t-il un peu tout. Il mélange les traits légendaires ou folkloriques se rapportant à Ibn Toumert, avec ceux qui se rapporteront à un autre « Imâm el-Mehdi », celui de Massa, lequel doit surgir à la fin des temps. Empreinte laissée par une grande époque, millénarisme populaire de l'extrême Sous, hagiologie plus modeste, mais intense de la sainte locale, se sont confondus peut-être dans une commune horreur pour l'administration centrale : mais ce syncrétisme n'est

(1) JUSTINARD, *La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft*, 1940, p. 124. Sur Z'init', pp. 110 sq. L'auteur ne parle pas de Lalla Aziza, mais des « marabouts des Seksawa ».

pas sans intérêt. Pratiquement, jusqu'au Protectorat, la force religieuse de Z'init' a bloqué en aval toutes les offensives de la plaine. Et plus loin encore vers le N., toute une moraine hagiologique dénonce une ancienne expansion procédant de ces hauts lieux de l'Atlas.

Une telle efficience a dû, aux époques d'ordre, composer avec le pouvoir. Voici trois dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) qui octroient (ou plutôt consacrent) des privilèges aux « descendants de Lalla Aziza », qualification flatteuse de ceux qui n'en sont que les « pauvres » ou « desservants », voire seulement les « bedeaux ». Ils leur reconnaissent une part d'eau sur l'oued al-Qihra à Taghzut. « Que nul, Arabe, Berbère ou autre ne les approche ni ne circonscrive leur espace (1), *yal'ûfa bisâh'ali-him*..., en quoi que ce soit qui leur revienne. » Concession du droit d'asile, et d'une exemption fiscale plénière : « quiconque y cherchera abri ou protection sera inviolable en sa personne et ses biens ».

De fait, l'influence du lieu saint ne décroît nullement. Selon une prédiction de sidi Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah, d'Assttif, marabout lui-même et visionnaire, les pouvoirs de Lalla Aziza iront encore grandissant. Le chef de la zaouia de Bu^canfir en Ud Bessebâ^c venait en pèlerinage à Z'init' pour que les eaux de crue parvinssent à ses terres. Sidi Mh'and, de la grande médersa des Mez'ud'a, ne dédaignait pas d'y faire ses dévotions. Au *Milâd*, en 1949, un vol de mulet est commis au cours de la cérémonie par machination sacrilège pour perdre un ennemi. Le forfait inspire quelques jours après un repentir épouvanté au coupable, qui fait spontanément retrouver la bête. Dès le vol d'ailleurs, les gens de Z'init' avaient assuré que Lalla Aziza ne manquerait pas d'apporter elle-même ses « lumières », *lifawin*. L'événement confirma leur pieuse confiance. Que tant de pouvoirs coïncident avec la médiocrité et l'intrigue des desservants, dont le *moqaddem* ne fut, au cours de la dernière génération, qu'un politicien au service des ambitions Mtugga, c'est un trait qui mérite l'attention et sur lequel il convient de réfléchir lorsqu'on cherche à évaluer la part du sacré et de ses hommes dans la société chleuhe. Et le problème achèvera de se nouer quand on saura que, rejetant toute exclusive, ces desservants indigènes ne s'en tiennent pas à leur sainte et font eux-mêmes, à la récolte du maïs, des offrandes à deux familles maraboutiques, les a. Sograti du Haut Dwiran et les a. Bennâçer de Tawlukult !

(1) Remarquer ce terme de *sdh'a*, « dégagement, espace vital ». C'est celui que la chronique emploie pour désigner le périmètre de plaine dont les Mérinides amputent les Seksawa au XIVe siècle.

Quoi qu'il en soit Lalla Aziza exerce sur tout le système Seksawa, et accessoirement dans le Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan), comme du côté des Gedmiwa (par les a. Gasa), une véritable attraction fiscale, traduite par la perception régulière de cens : prémices agricoles, et viandes sacrificielles. Si sèche qu'en soit l'énumération, elle contribuera néanmoins à d'intéressantes localisations géographiques. Et d'ailleurs la sécheresse même de ce rôle, car c'en est un, puisqu'il fixe des obligations stipulées et comme transactionnelles *(chchard')*, rendra une vérité d'atmosphère.

Essai d'évaluation des revenus annuels réguliers de Lalla Aziza
(en Seksawa)

Nom de la taqbilt	Nom du ou des groupes donateurs	Orge (en mesures)	Maïs (en mesures)	Beurre (en kg.)	Noix (en mille)	Ovins ou caprins	Bovins
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tusselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(Six mesures d'amandes en cas de bonnes récoltes)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	2
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14,5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1
Totaux ..		505,5	71	58	21,75	106	de 6 à 8
	Equivalence ...	67,4 qx	28,5 qx				

N. B. A quoi s'ajoutent des redevances régulières des a. Gasa, des Idaw i-yaimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), des a. Wageryan (Dwiran), et du Haut Gedmiwa.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Tels sont les revenus réguliers, véritable fisc de la sainteté, que perçoivent les *foqra* sur un pan de l'Atlas peuplé de quelque 45.000 âmes. Mais il faut décupler ces chiffres si l'on y ajoute le casuel : offrandes apportées parfois de très loin à l'occasion des fêtes ou à la suite de vœux, et quêtes pérégrinantes faites individuellement. Ces quêtes font parcourir couramment aux *foqra* les deux versants de la montagne, et les conduisent dans tous les groupes de l'ensemble circum-Tichka.

La liaison de ces perceptions au calendrier agricole les revêt d'une couleur naturiste fort vive. Dans ces hautes vallées c'est tantôt la cessation de l'enneigement et des eaux permanentes dans le lit des torrents qui amène l'ouverture des rigoles et donne alors lieu à des offrandes ou sacrifices propitiatoires ; tantôt les successives récoltes ou cueillettes (orge, maïs, amandes, noix) qui déclenchent le rite prémiciel. Dans tous les cas, une méticuleuse solidarité collective épand l'obligation et la bénédiction qui s'ensuit sur l'ensemble des foyers, j'entends les foyers conjugaux au sens étroit, *takatin*. Et de fait il est à remarquer que l'ordre de répartition n'est pas gentilice. Il y a certes des dévotions particulières de tel *ikhs* à tel saint. Mais le groupement de villages entre eux, pour le service de l'offrande, s'affranchit parfois aussi de la solidarité d'habitat ou même de *taqbilt*. La répartition la plus habituelle des financements collectifs de type profane est celle qui s'applique le plus généralement en la matière : elle est calculée sur l'effectif des foyers. Et ce mode a prévalu sur le rythme gentilice, tellement plus approprié à l'ordre agraire et à la structure des groupes. Cette exclusion de l'*ikhs* comme base de fiscalité religieuse est à retenir.

Parmi les denrées soumises à la dîme, notons que si le maïs, plante relativement récente (XVIe siècle) y figure, et y a probablement supplanté le mil, rare est la mention de l'olive, richesse de la basse vallée, mais qui remonte jusqu'à Z'init'. Les raisons de cette anomalie échappent. Elle ne traduit peut-être qu'un style montagnard, le gros des ressortissants de Lalla Aziza vivant au-dessus de la limite de l'olivier.

La masse provenant de tous ces apports est soumise entre *foqra* à répartition égalitaire. Ils l'englobent avec le produit des offrandes, oboles, etc., que recueille tout au long de l'année le tronc *rrbi^ct* placé dans la zaouia, sous le nom de *tisura*, plur. de *tasarut*, littéralement : « clefs », analogue de l'arabe *futûh'ât*. Ce bénéfice est défini par les intéressés comme un *lh'obûs*, « fondation pieuse ». L'analogie n'est que grossière. D'âpres compétitions entre ayants-droit, d'une part, entre *moqaddem* et autres bénéficiaires, d'autre

part, entre hommes et femmes aussi s'élèvent souvent et nécessitent l'intervention de la justice. Un de ces conflits éclata en 1949 et dut être réglé par l'assemblée de tous les Seksawa, constitués en cour suprême, en tant qu'intéressés au premier chef par les questions touchant leur sainte. Un prélèvement initial d'un dixième fut affecté aux veuves et filles en état de besoin, le reste faisant l'objet d'une répartition égalitaire entre tous les foyers, sous réserve d'un préciput pour le *moqaddem*.

LA LÉGENDE

La plus grosse part des revenus afflue aux grands moments de tension collective des deux fêtes annuelles. Mais avant même de décrire ces deux fêtes, et du dehors d'abord, avant toute interprétation, comme il est temps de faire connaissance avec la légende, je donnerai ci-dessous le récit qu'en recueillait, il y a une quarantaine d'années, avec une exactitude non suspecte d'ambition sociologique, le naturaliste français Brives, dont la mémoire survit encore dans la vallée, parce qu'il fut « l'ami » de Lalla Aziza (1).

Nous sommes sur la terrasse d'une maison qui fait face, de l'autre côté d'un ravineau, à celle de la sainte. Toutes les terrasses éclatent d'une riche fête de clameurs et de couleurs. Le rite va s'accomplir. Voici le récit que peut entendre l'étranger, et que Brives consigne au début du siècle.

« Lalla Aziza naquit ici-même et, dès son jeune âge, elle allait garder les chèvres dans la montagne. Au lieu de rester avec les autres bergers et de faire paître son troupeau le long de la rivière, où l'herbe est belle et abondante, Lalla Aziza allait tout au haut de la montagne, là où il n'y a que rochers. Ses chèvres étaient cependant aussi grasses que celles des autres bergers. Par cela, Dieu montrait déjà qu'il avait remarqué cette enfant. Néanmoins, la jalousie aidant, le père de Lalla Aziza ne tint aucun compte de l'état florissant de son troupeau. Il exigea que son enfant parcourût les parties inférieures de la vallée et, comme elle continuait à mener ses chèvres parmi les rochers arides, il la roua de coups à plusieurs reprises.

Un jour que Lalla Aziza gardait son troupeau tout au sommet de la montagne, où jamais aucune herbe n'a poussé, le père, accompagné des gens du village, alla la rejoindre et lui reprocha de ne pas suivre ses instructions. Père, répondit l'enfant, voyez vous-même ce que mange votre troupeau. Et le père constata alors que ses chèvres avaient la bouche pleine de blé.

A partir de ce moment, l'enfant fut regardée comme une envoyée

(1) Brives, *Voyages au Maroc*, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

de Dieu et chacun l'admirait. Devenue jeune fille, elle se fit remarquer par sa piété. Elle aimait la solitude, paraissait être toujours en prière, et cependant son travail était toujours fait.

Comme elle était parmi les plus belles jeunes filles du village elle fut recherchée pour le mariage, mais refusa tous les prétendants.

Un jour qu'elle était seule au bord du chemin qui dominait la rivière, elle fut poursuivie par un jeune homme qu'elle avait repoussé. Elle ne pouvait fuir puisque le chemin n'avait pas d'issue, et elle allait être saisie, lorsque tout à coup elle disparut dans la montagne, aux yeux étonnés du jeune homme. La réputation de sainteté de la jeune fille en grandit et s'étendit au loin.

Le Sultan voulut connaître Lalla Aziza et la fit demander à Marrakech. Elle s'y rendit et continua dans la ville à se faire remarquer par sa piété et par le bien qu'elle faisait autour d'elle. Elle fut très honorée, mais son influence devint tellement grande que le Sultan en prit ombrage, et Lalla Aziza fut jetée en prison. A plusieurs reprises, on tenta de l'empoisonner ; mais chaque fois que le plat empoisonné lui était présenté, elle refusait d'en manger.

Un jour, cependant ce fut sa domestique la plus fidèle qui lui offrit le poison. Elle dit alors : « Par Dieu j'en mangerai et pour Dieu je mourrai. »

Mais avant de le faire, elle exigea qu'une fois morte, son corps serait attaché sur un mulet et qu'il serait inhumé là où le mulet s'arrêterait.

Elle mangea du plat empoisonné et mourut. Comme elle l'avait souhaité, son corps fut mis sur un mulet qui partit aussitôt sans pouvoir être suivi. Le jour même, il arriva au Seksawa, où le corps fut reconnu et inhumé en grande pompe.

Les habitants de Marrakech élevèrent alors une belle coupole en l'honneur de la sainte et obtinrent du Sultan que le corps y fût déposé. Le transfert eut lieu, mais on put constater, quelques jours après, que le corps reposait simultanément dans la capitale et au Seksawa. C'est alors que le Sultan décida qu'une Kouba identique à celle de Marrakech serait édifiée dans la montagne ».

Brives ne consacre ensuite que quelques lignes à la cérémonie. Laissons donc là son récit pour réunir un certain nombre de faits qui ne semblent pas l'avoir frappé et dont l'importance quant au sens du rite et à sa portée est considérable.

LE RITE

Tout d'abord il y a, on l'a vu, deux grands sacrifices à Lalla Aziza. L'un s'insère dans le calendrier naturiste déjà ouvert par toutes les perceptions de prémices, dont il est en quelque sorte l'acte culminant. On l'appelle généralement *lighersiwin*, « les

immolations », et il a lieu au 15 de *yulyuz*, le « juillet » du calendrier julien. L'autre coïncide avec la nativité du Prophète ce *Milâd* dont l'institution au Maroc, et la généralisation systématique par les Mérinides vers le xve siècle, envahit peu à peu toute l'Afrique du Nord, et devint le réceptacle orthodoxe d'une foule de rites orgiaques. A Z'init', l'aspect et le sens de ces deux manifestations diffèrent notablement. Qu'on en juge.

La fête de *yulyuz* consiste dans le sacrifice de bovins processionnellement offerts par Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and et parfois a. Lh'sen et a. H'adduyws.

Les bêtes sont réunies en amont du tombeau, au-dessus du cimetière de sidi bu Lqnadel, qui serait, on s'en souvient, H'addo, l'éponyme du Haut Seksawa. Puis la procession entonne une litanie prophétique, sans doute destinée à fournir l'aval orthodoxe de la cérémonie. « En ton honneur, Moh'ammed ! C'est le Prophète que nous mettons à notre tête. » Cette formule serait usitée ailleurs dans de semblables cérémonies : on l'entend en tout cas à Ammern. La foule arrive à une aire équipée en marché sur le parvis du tombeau. Chaque chef égorge sa bête. La victime tressaute dans des mouvements âprement considérés par la foule, qui leur confère valeur de présage. Le chef lave ses mains et son poignard dans un vase de terre qu'on lui présente. Scène sauvage. Les bêtes gisent la gorge coupée, exhalant un souffle de forge par leurs trachées ouvertes, tandis que des chiens lapent le sang qui fuse. Alors commence l'invocation, à laquelle préside le *moqaddem* et qui consiste en vœux de prospérité familiale, agricole et politique. Le sacrifice est ce qu'il est classiquement en de pareilles occasions dans d'autres régions du Maroc. Les deux seules choses à relever sont le rassemblement initial au-dessus de sidi bu Lqnadel (rattachement au vieux cycle royal ?), et le sens de la procession. Elle se fait de l'amont vers l'aval, même pour les offrandes venues de la plaine. Ce dernier trait, et la médiocrité de l'affluence, contrastent radicalement avec ce qui se passe à la fête du Milâd.

La richesse et la précision du rite sont à ce moment plus sensibles, et l'atmosphère sans aucun doute plus riche. La victime est une vache, offerte par les Imt'ddan et leurs émigrés a. Irro. Peut-être parce qu'ils sont le groupe originel de la sainte; ou, mieux, le substitut de ce groupe. Le victimaire est fourni traditionnellement par la famille des a. Baqqa, de Tagunit (Imt'ddan). C'est aussi cette *laqbilt* qui fournit les flagellants. La procession part d'aval, sous la mosquée. Même litanie prophétique. La victime est menée, le sacrifiant la tenant par la corne gauche, un poignard nu

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

dans la droite, jusque sous la « maison de Lalla Aziza ». La maison a une cour interne, et une chambre haute ouverte en loggia, et où des femmes sont assemblées comme sur les terrasses avoisinantes. Le tout infiniment bariolé. Des gens armés de triques précèdent de peu la vache. Ils lui font face, hurlant et brandissant bâtons nus ou rameaux d'olivier. Le victimaire égorge la bête. Si celle-ci se lève dans un sursaut, bon présage. Cris, youyous et confusion parmi laquelle un marabout d'Assttif dit la *fâth'a*, tandis que la victime est écorchée. Elle disparaît sous une grappe hurlante de fidèles qui se précipitent sous les coups pour arracher, à la main ou au couteau, du poil, de la viande. A l'arrivée de la vache, une vieille l'a baisée entre les deux cornes. Dès que le sang jaillit c'est la ruée : l'un en remplit une bouteille, l'autre s'en barbouille la figure, beaucoup les yeux. Simultanément sont égorgés deux moutons, l'un offert par Assttif, l'autre par Wanchkrir. Le sang des poules teint cependant le seuil d'aval de la zaouia. Le degré de l'émotion, sensible dès le début, devient alors extrême. L'excitation parvient à son comble. L'animal, enfin dépecé, est mis à cuire dans les grosses marmites qu'abrite la maison. Réparti en fragments, il sera emporté de tous côtés par les assistants, qui en sanctifieront à domicile de nouvelles cuisines, un seul petit morceau suffisant pour conférer l'effluve bénéfique à tout un plat.

Malgré l'atmosphère de transe, un schème cultuel se laisse, on l'a vu, reconnaître. Détermination du ministre : il appartient à une famille des Imt'ddan, si proches de la sainte, à qui ils attribuent entre autres miracles la répartition des sources entre leurs villages. Association d'un agent accessoire qui est précisément le véhicule de l'orthodoxie : le marabout d'Assttif, dont il n'est pas inutile de se rappeler que l'intervention est forcément bien tardive puisque sa zaouia ne remonte qu'au XVIIe siècle. Les ministres véritables sont ici cette meute d'individus, à la fois associés et rivaux dans la dispute sous les coups pour la conquête d'une parcelle bénite. Ce ne sont plus, comme dans le rite de juillet, des membres collectifs du rassemblement tribal, mais des volontaires. Les techniques habituelles de l'exaltation collective contrastant, par leur individualisation tumultuaire, avec l'ordre officiel de juillet, ressortent ici à merveille. Le paroxysme effectif résulte évidemment de la violence avec laquelle les fidèles déchiquètent et s'entr'arrachent la victime sous les coups.

La première interprétation, celle du cru, est naturellement rationaliste et pudique : les gens expieraient leurs péchés par la mortification des coups de bâton. Mais il est plus exact de mettre ce rite en rapport avec tant d'autres rites agraires comportant

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

luttes ou violences (1). La flagellation même y intervient parfois, liée aux notions de bouc émissaire et de purification. Non loin dans l'Atlas, à sidi Brahim près d'Asni, une chamelle est pareillement égorgée et dépecée par les fidèles qui s'entr'arrachent sa chair sous les coups. A sidi Âbdallah u H'sayn, de Tameçluh't, la tête de l'animal est ravie et disputée à la course par deux partis rivaux (2). Enfin l'aspect communiel que suggère la répartition de viande (3), et que, dans d'autres cérémonies, atténue ou élimine un climat laïque et municipal, éclate ici dans toute sa chaleur. On ne retrouverait dans la région une telle force qu'au *musem* d'octobre de sidi Âli u Brahim des Idaw T'anan : la dispute s'y déchaîne non autour d'une victime dépecée, mais d'une pâte à consommer collectivement.

En somme le *Milâd* de Z'init' ressortit, avec une netteté et une richesse exceptionnellesà ces rites par lesquels les sociétés rurales opèrent « une série ininterrompue de concentrations et de diffusions » (4) du sacré, dans le but d'assurer la continuation de la vie des choses, et de resserrer les rapports de cette vie avec celle du groupe. Pourtant, une difficulté, et même une anomalie. Non tellement que la cérémonie revête une couleur islamisante : il n'y a là rien que de normal. Mais comment expliquer qu'elle se soit dissociée de la cérémonie de juillet ? Celle-là est restée purement civique et naturiste. Son contenu s'est appauvri, amenuisé. D'un côté, insertion saisonnière et intervention officielle des groupes. De l'autre, patronage du Prophète, justifiant, dans une intense débauche extatique, un vieux rite à la fois agraire, expiatoire et

(1) Cf. quant aux rites de mêlée, bibliographie dans W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, 1925, p. 221, n. 39, et description p. 201. La flagellation est souvent liée à la notion de bouc émissaire. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Le bouc émissaire*, tr. P. Sayn, 1925, p. 231, qui cite Westermarck (p. 235) à propos de rites marocains. Dans un domaine voisin du nôtre, les I. T'anan, R. Montagne a donné une vive description du combat auquel donne lieu le *musem* des a. Tinkert. Il le rapproche avec raison de la lutte simulée qui se livre au *mmuggar* de sidi Ah'med u Musa. Notice in. sur les Idaw T'anan, arch. d'Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Citons enfin, sans arrière-pensée de rapprochement, et, si l'on veut, pour la simple « curiosité », cette description de rite égyptien antique : « A la nuit, des milliers de personnes, armées de bâtons, veillent autour du temple ; les unes veulent empêcher qu'on réintègre dans son *naos* une statue du dieu..., les autres veulent, au contraire, faciliter l'entrée du dieu. Les acteurs, qui sont sous le portique, refusent l'accès du temple ; la foule, accourant au secours du dieu, les frappe ; ils se défendent ; un violent combat à coups de bâton s'ensuit, et mainte tête est fracassée. » (A. Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, 1926, p. 294.)

(2) Observations aimablement communiquées par G. Delaye.

(3) Aspect qui est d'ailleurs plus prononcé dans d'autres rites nord-africains, par exemple celui du saint kabyle Sidi ʿAli n-Funas à Tizi Ouzou.

(4) Définition de H. Hubert et M. Mauss, Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice, *Ann. soc.*, t. II, p. 114.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

communiel. Quand cette dissociation est-elle intervenue ? La fête de *yulyuz*, dite aussi *musem* ou même *muslem*, aurait été instituée il y a moins d'un siècle, comme par la suite l'ont été d'autres *musem*-s Seksawa ! Quoi qu'il en soit, le fait incontestable réside dans le contraste entre les deux cérémonies et cette espèce de division du travail qui s'opère entre elles. Notons ce trait, ressortissant à ces équilibres ou partages méticuleux que l'on retrouve si fréquemment dans la société chleuhe, chaque fois qu'elle compose avec quelque chose qui n'est pas elle-même. Dans le cas d'espèce, voilà une notation de plus sur l'immense problème de la répartition entre le profane et le sacré d'une part, et d'autre part entre les différentes sources de sacré, qui s'opère dans ce milieu au génie comptable et classificateur.

La dispute du *Mîlâd* est mise en rapport, on l'a vu, avec le nom même du lieu, prononcé avec redoublement de l'initiale *z'z'inil* et interprété comme une invite de la sainte à se disputer son corps. N'est-ce là qu'un calembour étymologique, ou le rite lui-même n'est-il qu'un commentaire liturgique du nom ? La première interprétation semble à préférer. Si l'on met en relations un trait légendaire, celui de la rivalité pour le corps de la sainte (1), avec un trait rituel, la dispute pour le corps de la victime, une possibilité d'assimilation, toute classique, entre l'un et l'autre corps, vient à l'esprit. Cela entraînerait l'explication dans une atmosphère très antique. Il serait naturellement imprudent de conclure sur une telle hypothèse. Tout au plus aura-t-elle le mérite d'achever de déployer les virtualités du rite, et son ample résonance religieuse, d'une richesse inusitée au Maghreb.

L'HISTOIRE

En contraste avec ce qui précède, passons maintenant aux recoupements historiques. Que pouvons-nous savoir du personnage réel de Lalla Aziza ? et d'abord ce personnage a-t-il authentiquement existé ? Son nom n'est pas habituel, on l'a vu. Ce qui le serait davantage, ce serait une Azzô, ou Azzûna. Le Moyen Age marocain offre de ce dernier nom quelques exemples (2), notam-

(1) C'est là un trait classique, cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Parfois, corrélativement, le cadavre du saint manifeste de lui-même son choix d'un emplacement : C. Trumelet, *Algérie légendaire*, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452 ; *Les saints de l'Islam*, 1881, p. 31.

(2) *Isliqçâ'*, tr. A. M., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Voici une ʿAzzûna : *Isliqçâ'*, *A. M.*, XXXIII, p. 152. L'épidémie de 1442 est dite à Fès « la peste de ʿAzzûna » (*ibid.*, p. 476). Bû ʿAzzûn est le nom d'une rivière près de laquelle se rencontrent

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ment cette « célèbre Ta°azzûnt », sœur d'un calife almohade. Il y a une Lalla °Azzûna à Marrakech. En revanche, le type hagiologique est courant. La tradition marocaine connaît nombre de saintes, jouant leur rôle dans les conflits du temps. Ainsi d'une propre fille de Mahdî almohade, ou, plus tardivement, dans le Sous à Issgdad, cette H'awâ'b. °Abd Allah, savante en *uçûl* (1). Quant au berger ou à la bergère, son caractère empreint de l'ambiguïté du sacré — faste ou néfaste, objet d'horreur ou de vénération — est un thème universel, et notamment maghrébin et musulman. Le troupeau qui paît sans que le pasteur s'en inquiète est chose commune dans la légende dorée : tel un sidi Bubker des Ahl Srif et bien d'autres encore (2). Enfin, la légende consignée par Brives suggère comme une concurrence entre les hauts lieux, dont la vierge se fait championne, et les coteaux plus modérés de la vie pastorale. La configuration du site laisse penser qu'il y a là quelque authenticité : en fait de hauts lieux, on pense immédiatement ici au Tamjlocht, qui domine la scène, et reste aujourd'hui le théâtre d'un rite annuel. Le contexte religieux de la région et de l'époque est suffisamment fourni pour expliquer la figure de Lalla Aziza. On évoque par exemple tous les saints Maçmûda qu'énumère le *Tachawwuf* (3). Ou encore tous ces prosélytes Regraga (4), dont l'un est anciennement signalé chez les a. Gasa. Ou encore ces hommes de Dieu, faiseurs de pluie et de prodiges, comme ce sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli qui résista aux grandes épurations d'Ibn Toumert. Malheureusement là-dessus l'imprécision des sources nous force à brouiller les époques.

Turcs et Chérifiens (*Sources in.*, *Esp.*, I, 1921, p. 206). Des points du littoral rifain portent ce nom (*Sources in.*, *Fr.*, 2e série, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). Il y a à Marrakech une Lalla °Azzûna et un *funduq* du même nom.

(1) *Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî*, t. I, p. 4. Cette « Ève » appartient au cycle de Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

(2) *Ibid.*, t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. Sur la bibliographie magico-religieuse du berger au Maghreb, W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

(3) Ms obligeamment mis à ma disposition par G.-S. Colin.

(4) Dans le S. marocain, les Regraga font « la soudure », si j'ose dire, entre deux cycles prophétiques : celui de Jésus et celui de Mahomet. Disciples du premier, *H'awwariyûn*, ils sont comme les « baptistes » du second, qu'ils annoncent, et qu'ils vont trouver dès les débuts de sa mission. Leur personnalité oscille entre une qualification confrérique et une qualification ethnique. Cf. sur eux R. Montagne, qui a le mérite de les lier aux Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère du Maroc, *Hesp.*, 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, *Conférences*, *A. M.*, 1927, p. 16 ; De Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au xvie siècle, *A. M.*, 1933, pp. 202 sq. Pour notre région, citons l'importante étude inédite d'Oqbani sur Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana (Arch. I., voir notamment p. 11, traduction d'un document généalogique). Les Regraga du haut a. Âbdella, en Seksawa, exhibent aussi un document généalogique daté de 1687, et un dahir de *tawqîr* du sultan al-Mançûr (1643), où l'aire de la zaouia est aussi dite *sâh'a*, comme dans le texte d'Ibn Khaldûn.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Nous en serions réduits à ces hypothèses, si l'aubaine d'un texte ne permettait une conclusion beaucoup plus radicale. C'est un passage de ce cadi Ibn Qunfûdh le Constantinois (1) qui séjourna au Maroc vers le milieu du XIVe siècle. Il était l'élève du célèbre vizir andalou Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khat'îb, lui-même chantre inspiré de la montagne maçmûdienne. Il visite la région vers 763 hég., soit 1362, et passe en curieux à la maison d'Ibn Toumert. Dans son livre *Uns al-faqir wa 'izz al-h'aqir* (2), il recueille de précieuses notations sur la chaîne du Deren, qui frappe son imagination, et l'atmosphère religieuse du lieu et du temps. Il s'en dégage l'impression d'une vie spirituelle nourrie de contrastes et puisant dans la férocité de ces populations une vive ferveur. Or, notre savant constantinois rencontre Lalla Aziza.

« J'ai vu au Maroc, en bordure des Seksawa dans le Deren, à un endroit appelé al-Qâhira, « la dame princesse » (3), la sainte ᶜAziza la Saksiwiya.

Je recueillis sa *baraka* et m'entretins avec elle. Elle s'occupait de réconcilier deux groupes importants. Elle avait des suivants, hommes et femmes. Chacune de ces deux troupes s'adonnait à l'ascèse et à la dévotion dans un endroit à part. On montait à Lalla ᶜAziza une tente du côté des femmes. Nul ne bougeait sans son ordre. Si elle tenait séance publique, elle ramenait sur elle son voile sans laisser d'interstice par où personne pût la voir. Elle était très éloquente, dans ses réponses, ses ordres et ses homélies. Rien de plus doux que ses paroles quand elle s'enquérait de l'état des gens. Elle a opéré des miracles célèbres.

Le fameux général, gouverneur de Marrakech ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâti monta jusqu'à elle, et eut avec elle une longue entrevue. Lorsqu'il en revint, il me dit : « O *faqîh*, quelle surprise ! Elle prévenait dans ses réponses ce que j'avais en l'esprit, et je n'ai pu lui refuser ce qu'elle me demandait. Je n'ai jamais rien vu de plus fort que les arguments qu'elle me développait. » Et pourtant ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad était de ces subtils que ne tient aucun argument, et il commandait une colonne d'un effectif dépassant les 6.000, et richement payée. Il se proposait de bloquer les Saksiwa dans leur montagne pour les réduire à l'hommage. Mais elle lui enjoignit de s'en retourner, s'engageant elle-

(1) Abû'l-ᶜAbbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1310-1408) quitte Constantine en 1358. Il visite en 1362 la maison d'Ibn Toumert : c'est de ce moment que l'on peut dater son passage dans le Dir, bien qu'il reste au Maroc un certain nombre d'années. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, La *Fârisiyya* ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide, *Hesp.*, VIII, pp. 37 sq.

(2) Manuscrit de Rabat, fol. 41 *a*, l. 2 sq. L'orthographe du nom des Seksawa a été retouchée, et est ainsi donnée : *sksiwia*.

(3) Je traduis ainsi sur la foi de G.-S. Colin, *Sources in. Port.*, III, p. 157, n. 1, à propos d'une autre *sayyidatu'l-h'urra*. Mais il est à remarquer que ce terme est constant dans les actes du S. marocain.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

même à ce qu'ils se soumissent. Il s'en retourna donc, et avant même d'être arrivé, il reçut un écrit par lequel ils faisaient leur soumission et l'assuraient de leur bon vouloir (1). »

Que de précision historique ! ʿÂmir al-Hintâtî est un personnage bien connu, ami d'Ibn al-Khatîb, et qui finira dramatiquement. ʿAbd Allah, plus communément appelé « le Saksiwî » est également historique. Lalla Aziza surgit de ce texte avec des traits bien vivants. Énumérons-les. Une île de « résistante » dans la *siba* maçmûdienne contre les Mérinides. La modestie toute musulmane de son maintien, trait de prosélytisme qu'il faut sans doute mettre en rapports avec l'arabisation définitive de son nom, ou peut-être seulement avec l'optique du témoin. Une vocation de conciliatrice entre groupes ou fractions, rôle qu'elle partage avec un grand nombre de personnages légendaires du Sud. Ce qu'on peut entrevoir d'une division de la population en groupes organisant chacun à part les deux sexes à l'occasion de rites ou de fonctions sociales déterminées. Enfin, synthétisant le tout, une figure nationale, protectrice de la montagne contre la plaine.

L'aubaine de ce témoignage, qu'il n'y a aucune raison de suspecter, et qui au surplus s'autorise d'un certain nombre de recoupements, achève dans la précision historique une partie des inductions auxquelles l'archéologie d'une part, la critique de la tradition orale et l'interprétation du rite d'autre part, avaient conduit.

Pourtant, il n'y a pas lieu d'en tirer plus qu'il ne nous apporte : l'atmosphère du Deren à l'époque, avec ces contrastes bien maghrébins entre un fond archaïque et de brillantes fusées spirituelles ; l'effort de la plaine : en l'espèce un conquérant diplomate, une armée régulière mais prudente, un cadi lettré venu de loin, curieux d'héroïsmes et de miracles. Et voici que leur barre la route au seuil de la vallée, une personnification de la vieille race, pleine des prestiges du sacré, et incarnant son peuple avec une force dont près de six siècles n'ont pas épuisé le frémissement.

1) Ibn Qunfûdh met en rapport Lalla Aziza, comme beaucoup d'autres personnages dont il parle, avec le grand Abû Madhyân de Tlemcen. Il y a là une invraisemblance, mais instructive, car elle montre dès cette époque le jeu des rattachements confrériques. Abû Madhyân naît vers la fin du XIIe siècle. (Cf. abbé Bargès, *Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien*, 1884), et meurt en 1197. Il vient étudier à Fès sous la direction d'ad-Daqqâq, lequel y enseigne au temps des grands mystiques marocains H'irzihim (m. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (m. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Yacza (m. 1177). Sur cette période A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan et son maître ad-Daqqâq à Fès, *Mélanges R. Basset*, t. I, pp. 31 sq. et bibliographie, *ibid.*, p. 32, n. 1. A noter que H'irzihim et Abû Madhyân sont partisans de l'*Ihyâ'* de Ghazzâlî, comme Ibn Toumert lui-même. La génération précédente de mystiques marocains a connu Ibn al-ʿArif, m. à Marrakech en 1141 (Bel, *op. laud.*, p. 59, n. 1).

[P.299]

II

CONCURRENTS MALHEUREUX DE LA SAINTETÉ

Le rattachement, plus ou moins tardif, du culte de Lalla Aziza au maître-lieu Z'init', l'hégémonie rituelle et sentimentale qu'elle exerce dans toute la vallée et au delà, ont refoulé ou absorbé d'autres figures légendaires. Trois seulement se détachent d'un fond d'hagiologie communale pour revêtir, comme la sainte, mais avec infiniment moins de couleur individuelle, et d'implications dans la vie du groupe, quelques traits personnels ou sociaux qui auraient pu ailleurs leur valoir une autre fortune. Ces demi-ratés du spirituel n'en ressortent pas moins originalement de la troupe pullulante des saints de village, anonymes quémandeurs de poulets ou de chevreaux. L'un a même sur Lalla Aziza l'avantage de l'ancienneté. L'autre est, mieux qu'elle, de type classique. Le troisième est plus proche de l'actualité. Et ces deux derniers saints, quoique moins intenses d'imagerie, moins ambitieux de portée n'en ont pas moins gardé dans la vie de leur groupe, en l'espèce les conquérants Idma, une fonction morphologique qui, bien au delà de l'anecdote, les rattache à notre propos.

LE CYCLE DU FONDATEUR

Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, dit parfois Baba ᶜÂmer, a son tombeau en a. H'adduyws, c'est-à-dire dans la *taqbilt* de haute montagne qui se réclame elle-même de l'éponyme H'addô u Yûsef. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de critiquer l'orthodoxe mais anachronique rattachement almoravide dont ce H'addô fait maintenant l'objet. La coupole de son fils, ᶜÂmer, entre les villages des a. Zemlal et des a. Bâh'ammo, sur la piste qui remonte le Seksawa en direction de Fensu, érige une modeste bâtisse, siège d'un culte dont l'importance semble s'être de plus en plus réduite. Culte fossile, dirait-on. Un observateur notait en 1928 que seuls les gens d'Agadir n-Tsuggin, d'a. Bah'ammo et d'Uzaga y participaient. Mais il note aussi, et cela est plus important, qu'ici encore il y a non pas une, mais deux frairies : l'une de vocation naturiste avouée, au moment de la mise en eau des rigoles (mars), l'autre coïncidant avec la Nativité du Prophète. Ce parallélisme avec le culte de

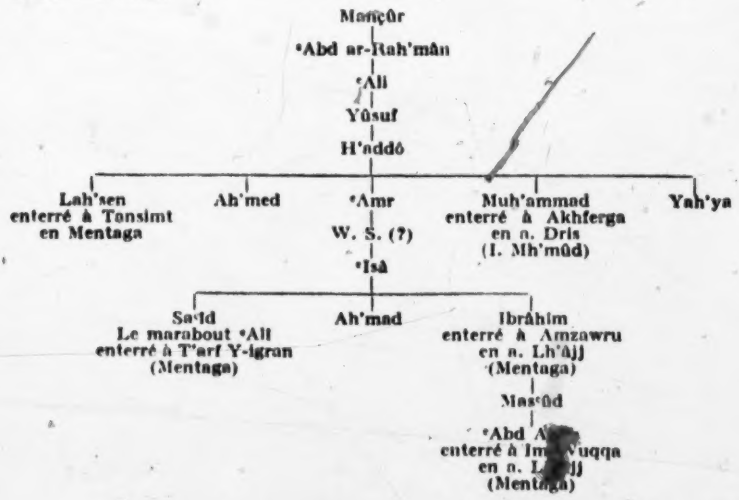
Lalla Aziza doit retenir l'attention, et appelle les mêmes remarques, encore que sur un champ bien moindre.

Ces éléments un peu maigres n'autoriseraient aucun commentaire si l'on ne disposait bien opportunément ici d'actes anciens dont l'analyse va permettre de resserrer le problème des rapports entre la tradition légendaire, les dévolutions successorales et l'histoire.

1) Une copie récente (fin *ramad'ân* 1341 hég.) d'un acte très vraisemblablement trouvé en tribu Mentaga, à Tansimt. C'est la *waçiyya*, « donation testamentaire », que ᶜAmr aurait, de son vivant et à son profit, signifiée aux gens d'un certain nombre de villages : a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. Elle nous a été exhibée au sanctuaire, un jour que je lui rendais visite en compagnie de R. Montagne. Elle stipule, au bénéfice du saint et pour chaque année, une toison par troupeau, la récolte de trois noyers, trois barratées de beurre en mars, une frairie en mars (noter que celle de la Nativité n'est pas mentionnée), et, par foyer, au premier jour du Jeûne, l'apport d'un plat de bouillie dûment garni de matière grasse ; « quiconque en mangera, le *h'arâm* fondra dans son corps comme le sel dans les mets ».

Voilà, sur le vif, l'une de ces stipulations *chchard'* imposées, et sans doute débattues, et qui forment si souvent le point de départ des bénéfices de saints. Noter aussi l'archaïsme de la procédure testimoniale (il s'agit en l'espèce d'une sorte de témoignage par turbes, antérieure ou étrangère à la fois à l'instrumentation adoulaire et au *lafif* organisé). Enfin, la bonhomie du détail sur le banquet purificateur ne manque pas de sève.

Suit une généalogie, destinée sans doute à déterminer les ayants-droit. La voici.



1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Cet ᶜAbd Allah meurt dans un guet-apens des Zenaga, que sa malédiction disperse et extermine aussitôt. Il laisse comme héritier son cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, que cette mention identifie sans doute avec l'auteur des excipants. Quelle que soit l'authenticité de l'acte, il offre l'intérêt de constituer liaison hagiologique, avec la face Sud de l'Atlas et ces groupes tels que Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, aujourd'hui détachés des Seksawa, mais que les documents almohades alignent avec eux dans l'unité Genfisa, quelle qu'ait été cette unité. Il sera également intéressant de comparer cette généalogie à celle qu'indiquent les documents suivants.

2) Si, compte tenu des remarques générales qui ont été faites sur l'historicité de ce genre de documents, la *waçiyya* de ᶜAmr procède d'un passé peu situable mais à coup sûr fort ancien, les deux actes dont voici maintenant l'analyse ne remontent, mais plus authentiquement, qu'à notre XVIᵉ siècle, période d'intense fermentation religieuse dans le Sous, et même dans cette partie de l'Atlas qui eut à subir les contre-coups de la poussée saâdienne, plus en résistante qu'en participante.

Voici d'abord un document daté de 999 hég. : 1591. La première partie est anecdotique et concerne les Almoravides, auxquels, en dépit de toutes les possibilités chronologiques, est rattaché Yûsuf, père de ᶜAmr. On a déjà signalé cet anachronisme, probablement plus ancien que le XVIᵉ siècle. Par cette voie, le généalogiste remonte à Quraych en partant d'un Saᶜîd qui descendrait, à la 12ᵉ génération, de ᶜAmr. Notons que le laps de trois siècles ainsi indiqué reporterait, pour l'ancêtre, à la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle, ce qui n'est pas sans grossièrement correspondre à la chronologie khaldûnienne. Notons aussi que le rattachement au saint, qui se fait par un ᶜAbd Allah, ne coïncide pas avec la généalogie donnée plus haut. Mais cet ᶜAbd Allah, qui est peut-être le personnage historique contemporain de Lalla Aziza et d'Ibn Qunfûdh, a son nom qui revient souvent dans ces généalogies. Pas toujours à la même place : tantôt comme fils, tantôt comme arrière-petit-fils seulement, mais non sans que cette répétition n'offre, en une matière tellement conjecturale, quelque élément de stabilité. De même est ici mentionné, comme descendant à la 4ᵉ génération, un T'alh'a. Ce nom revient aussi dans d'autres documents. Et les a. D'alh'a, encore représentés, sont donnés par la tradition orale comme les seuls descendants directs de l'ancêtre en Haut Seksawa. La rencontre est au moins singulière.

En termes extrêmement obscurs, le généalogiste fait une sorte de mise au point des ayants-droit du bénéfice. Ces mises au point devaient être fréquentes, parce que reflétant des compétitions entre héritiers. Selon notre document : « Voilà les fils de la femme arabe parmi les Awlâd Tah'jamt (?) ; ils sont fils de la femme berbère *(ᶜajdmiyya)*. Quant aux Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, ils sont les fils de Yah'ya b. H'addô. Quant à Buzid la succession ne le compte pas parmi les ayants-droit. Quant aux Awlâd Yûsuf b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah les a intégrés parmi les siens. Quant à l'esclavage, il l'a intégré pour un tiers. Quant aux fils de Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, ils ont émigré. »

Un tel classement reflète un syncrétisme opéré entre différentes

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

branches, différents étages, ou même différentes origines de la lignée de ᶜAmer u H'addô. L'auteur de ce syncrétisme pourrait être ᶜAbd Allah, le contemporain de Lalla Aziza. Notons au passage une distinction intéressante entre les mères arabes ou berbères, et la mention de ces esclaves ou servants parmi les bénéficiaires, selon un processus qui, dans le cas actuel de Z'init', a abouti à faire d'eux les seuls ayants-droit. Notons enfin les noms de Yah'ya et de Sulaymân, personnages historiques, qui précisément sont ceux dont on montre encore le tombeau aujourd'hui.

3) Voici un acte du XVIIᵉ siècle. Il offre cette particularité d'avoir un signataire connu : ce sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancêtre de la lignée des marabouts d'Asstif, et dont le seing est assez fréquemment exhibé sur de vieux papiers Seksawa. L'acte est de 1086 hég. : 1675. Lui aussi fait une mise au point des bénéficiaires de son temps, en même temps qu'il justifie cette position par leur rattachement à un Mah'ammad, 5ᵉ descendant de ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. Il y a à ce moment 6 parts revenant non à des individus, mais à des familles désignées par *ait.* le nom de ces familles est : Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh', Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. Pas d'autre remarque à faire sur l'éparpillement de la lignée, ainsi constaté dès le XVIIᵉ siècle, et qui a dû aboutir à un effacement total, puisque seuls les gardiens du tombeau revendiquent aujourd'hui le bénéfice, mais en tant que *foqra* et non comme descendants. Il faut toutefois remarquer que l'un de leurs *ikhs* porte le nom intéressant de a. Iz'm, « gens du Lion », et l'on sait que ce surnom est attesté historiquement dans la chronique des rois du XIVᵉ siècle.

4) D'autres vieux actes Seksawa intéressent plutôt l'histoire de l'ensemble des populations de la haute vallée, que simplement celle du saint. Ainsi une *ççadaqa* de 976 hég. : 1569 ; une généalogie des a. D'alh'a de 1144 hég. : 1732 ; et une généalogie des a. Umgan, vieille population disparue aujourd'hui, mais revendiquant dans cet acte de 1244 hég. : 1828, une ascendance de ᶜAmr, toujours par ᶜAbd Allah, et qui offre cette curieuse vraisemblance que le laps de vingt générations qui y est détaillé nom par nom, nous ramène bien lui aussi au XIVᵉ siècle.

La conclusion à tirer de ces documents, c'est qu'ils postulent non certes une filiation attestée depuis les personnages royaux du Moyen-Age jusqu'à nos jours, mais la croyance à cette filiation. Cela, de notre point de vue, revient à peu près au même. Toutefois, le culte qu'ils autorisent n'est point celui d'un ancêtre ni d'un héros. Chose significative. Malgré sa liaison à l'Éponyme, c'est comme un saint quelconque, et auquel il a paru nécessaire de refabriquer une légende de basse époque, que survit très médiocrement Sidi ᶜAmer. Cela est si vrai que semblent être intervenus, au cours des âges, des reclassements périodiques mettant à jour une liste d'ayants-droit de plus en plus touffue et indistincte, jusqu'à ce qu'elle disparût enfin par l'effet de sa propre sura-

bondance, ou de l'oubli des fidèles. Ainsi se fixèrent, à des stades chronologiquement identifiables de la tradition, des noms parmi lesquels se détache celui d'un certain ᵉAbd Allah, et des lieux où l'on retrouve la mention des principaux groupes de l'ensemble circum-Tichka, ce vrai cadre de notre histoire.

Pour compléter cette série de traits d'authenticité, il suffira de rapprocher de ce saint Baba Âmer, le personnage également donné par Ibn Khaldûn comme fils de H'addô. Il s'appelle ᵉUmar ou ᵉAmr et porte le titre de roi *agellid*. Il impose à ses contemporains sa curieuse figure de juriste et magicien. Comme de Lalla Aziza, près de six siècles nous séparent de lui. Que si ces concordances entre la chronique arabe, la tradition montagnarde, les archives familiales et l'archéologie ne paraissaient pas entièrement fantaisistes, l'indice ne serait pas mince sur la teneur en histoire d'une société trop souvent étudiée comme si elle se mouvait en dehors du temps.

UN INTELLECTUEL

Sidi Lah'sen d'Assttif est, lui aussi, un individu entièrement historique. Nombre d'actes sont conservés en Seksawa, où figure son paraphe. Il en est fait usage çà et là dans cette étude. Cela situe son personnage : un lettré assumant le rôle de notaire et peut-être du « cadi », au sens que cette société donne au mot. D'après l'actuel chef de la zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, cet ancêtre, comme Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man d'Ammern, serait des Idma. Il appartiendrait donc au groupe conquérant qui s'installa dans la moyenne vallée en éliminant par le sabre les a. Gasa. Les deux saints seraient partis étudier dans l'Anti-Atlas auprès de Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, saint fort réputé dans la légende et les jurisprudences du Sous. On retrouve ici l'atmosphère savante et dévote que reflètent les collections du S. marocain. Plus précise encore est l'appartenance de Sidi Lah'sen à la geste Idma. Dans la généalogie qu'exhibe cette *laqbilt*, il prend sa place comme 6ᵉ descendant d'un Sliman qui vint de l'Anti-Atlas en Seksawa dans le courant du XVIᵉ siècle. Les actes datés de sa main datent de la deuxième moitié du XVIIᵉ siècle. Contemporain, on l'a vu, selon la légende, du saint d'Ammern, il précèderait d'un siècle environ un autre saint Idma assez important, le Lah'sen b. Bûbker enterré à Ad'erd'ur. Donc, individualité locale très vive, en même temps que participation à un mouvement des esprits qui nous est attesté pour le Sous au XVIᵉ siècle.

La zaouia, où une moitié des habitants actuels se disent des

cendants de Sidi Lah'sen, s'érige sous les noyers, au fond d'un creux qu'opprime la masse dénudée de l'Afuzar. Terroir d'une sécheresse terrible. La ravine qui l'unit à la vallée est pleine de ruines calcinées d'anciens villages a. Gasa. Vers le S. une piste escarpée la rattache à Ikis, par une maigre forêt de petits chênes. Du côté de l'Afuzar, on aperçoit le col ardu du Meggayed'. Derrière, ce sont les Gedmiwa, ou du moins leurs hauts cantons, où s'est réfugié le restant des vaincus. Loin dans l'autre tribu, la zaouia perçoit son *chchard'*. Elle fait donc jonction entre deux systèmes aujourd'hui séparés, mais que la vieille histoire, révélée par une toujours jeune hagiologie, unissait. Nombre d'étudiants d'au-delà de la crête viennent ici. Et la zaouia possède des immeubles en a. Gasa. Autant de signes d'un ancien chevauchement de part et d'autre de l'Afuzar. Les saints, dont le service enjambe les précaires limites humaines, mettent souvent le chercheur sur le chemin d'antiques solidarités. Nous pouvons dresser avec ce que la tradition sait de leurs itinéraires, de leurs périmètres d'attraction ou de rayonnement, un véritable document cartographique.

L'intellectualité des origines de la maison d'Assttif s'est perpétuée jusqu'à nos jours. Elle a même eu une *fqîha*, Lalla Fad'ma, savante en *Mudawwana*. Surtout, elle a donné naissance, et de nos jours mêmes, à un saint : Sidi Muh'ammed u Âbdallah, dont il sera question plus loin. Très intégrée à l'histoire agressive des Idma, elle n'a pas cessé de prêter à ceux-ci son appui de patronne, de garante et d'arbitre. C'est elle qui présidait, à Inraren Z'dinin, aux élections de chefs. Sa position frontalière lui permettait d'étendre son action politique loin vers l'E. Dans la période récente, au moment du développement du pouvoir des grands caïds, elle joua ainsi un certain rôle en faveur de l'hégémonie des Mtugga.

Elle a toujours évité, nous l'avons noté, de s'intégrer dans les frairies naturistes des autres saints Seksawa. Sans doute ses origines orthodoxes et son attachement à une atmosphère individualiste l'ont-ils armée contre ce genre de confusion. A quoi son allure doit quelque originalité, mais aussi quelque bizarrerie. Elle n'a pas de *mârûf*, et le marabout actuel en tire orgueil.

Avec son intime association à la geste des Idma, dont elle partage l'énergique et sournoise personnalité, c'est ce quant-à-soi individuel à l'égard de l'hagiologie d'alentour, cette veine persistante de culture orthodoxe, ici associée à une critique dédaigneuse du milieu, qui font sa particularité.

UN CLASSIQUE

Beaucoup moins intellectuelle est la figure du saint d'Ammern. Et beaucoup moins précise. Les traditions sur son origine diffèrent. Selon l'une il aurait été un Idma, contemporain de sidi Lah'sen. Selon d'autres, il serait venu de ces Ammeln de l'Anti-Atlas, dont sa zaouia porterait encore le nom déformé, et ceci se passerait vers le début de notre XVIIIe siècle. Selon d'autres enfin, il remonterait, par l'intermédiaire classique du mystique de Marrakech al-Ghazwânî, au grand Machîch al-ᵉAlamî. Trois traditions, trois systèmes : un « national » ; un autre conforme au mouvement des populations venant de l'Anti-Atlas ; un troisième s'intégrant au cycle du *çufisme* marocain, avec origine nordique et relai à Marrakech. Luxe de la légitimité !

Selon la dernière tradition, dont s'autorise une *silsila*, document consignant une « chaîne initiatique » sur copie non authentifiée, qu'on exhibe à la zaouia, sidi Mh'and serait mort en 820 hég. : 1417. Huit intermédiaires le sépareraient du Cheikh du Jebel ᵉAlam. Cette date contredit celle, beaucoup plus récente, que supposerait un compagnonnage légendaire avec le saint d'Assttif. Mais rien d'inattendu dans ces antiquités, ni dans ces combinaisons de cycles : l'incertitude sur les origines est un adjuvant pour la ferveur.

Le fait est que les deux saints sont accolés dans une série d'aventures où on les voit « remontant » de la plaine, non sans démêlés avec le pouvoir central.

Sidi Mh'and et sidi Lah'sen cultivaient ensemble un champ en Inzzüyma. Mais à cette époque, régnait sur la Qaçba un tyran, Amjjot', « l'homme des Mjjat' » ou « le teigneux », qui pressurait tous les cultivateurs de piémont. Mh'and en pleurait des larmes qui, tombées au sol, rejaillissaient en flammèches. En vain Lah'sen, désireux d'incognito, les essuyait-il de sa main : le tyran s'en émeut. Il convoque les deux saints et leur offre tous ses biens s'ils veulent entériner ses exactions. Mais Mh'and, secouant une serviette qui traînait là, en fait pleuvoir des écus : « Tu vois, dit-il, que nous n'avons que faire de ton or. Nous t'ordonnons de libérer tous ces paysans que tu accables. » Amjjot', saisi de peur, fit la prosnesse, et les deux saints regagnèrent la montagne. Dieu seul sait si le tyran exécuta l'engagement.

On peut voir en cette légende l'indice de conflits entre les Seksawa et le pouvoir de la plaine qui bâtit des forteresses pour les bloquer : Qaçba Umjjot' dans l'olivette au N.-O. d'Inzzüyma ou Qaçba n-Qihra à l'étranglement de la vallée. Souvenir égale-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ment de cultures des gens de montagne en plaine, sur des terres que les *taqbilt*-s inférieures se sont maintenant réservées.

Selon d'autres récits, sidi Mh'and était maître d'école pérégrinant : en Asif Lh'lu, où l'on montre sa maison, à la mosquée d'Usikis, à Tugg Lkheyr, à la zaouia Timzughin en Mez'ud'a, en a. Âbdella où il entre en compétition avec sidi Ghânem et où il est persécuté, à l'instar de tant d'autres particularités berbères locales, par le « Sultan noir » ; comme *fqih* encore en Nfifa à Lalla ʿAriba, à Atella n-talat (Imintanout), dans les gorges de l'Amejnes, au Tizi Wargyun, etc. Partout en somme.

La figure qui ressort est tantôt celle d'un magister, tantôt celle d'un faiseur de sources. Les traits qu'on lui prête en ce sens sont nombreux. On attribue à ses miracles les eaux de Meghdir, T'abya, ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina de Sidi Ah'med u Âli. On lui attribue enfin la source de l'Amerdul, sur le Tabgurt, célèbre par de difficiles règlements d'irrigation entre villages de haute montagne. Les lettres et l'hydraulique, voilà deux spécialités bien adaptées au milieu. Si bien adaptées qu'elles se fondent dans le climat moral du pays, sans qu'en émerge de visage personnel. On rentre ici dans le courant des saints campagnards, dont sidi Mh'and incarne le type.

Mais, chose frappante, il est pratiquement le seul à l'incarner chez les Seksawa, qu'une originalité très nette oppose, sur ce plan, aux groupes voisins. Chez les Demsira, par exemple, abondent les figures de saints maghrébins classiques. Voici sidi Nâçer, de Tamarwut qui, époux patient d'une femme acariâtre, emploie comme ouvriers en forêt, pour lui casser et lui lier son bois, des lions. Encore des lions qui servent de monture à deux docteurs de Maâred'. Et sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim qui, toujours par des lions, faisait battre son maïs ! Que de lions, dira le profane ! Mais c'est que leur nom, au pluriel figuré *iz'mawn* désigne proprement les pouvoirs de l'homme de Dieu. C'est ainsi qu'on parle des « lions de sidi Ah'med u Musa » : le terme entre dans le lexique de la mystique populaire. Nous l'avons retrouvé dans la topographie des a. Musa. Toujours en Demsira, sidi Brahim n-ait Lqad'i, instruit les plus redoutables génies dans la forêt. Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed d'Iregh chassait les oiseaux et les rongeurs, si néfastes aux récoltes. L'hagiologie Seksawa, impérieusement centralisée sur une héroïne, Lalla Aziza, apparaît comme plus sèche, plus organisée. Dans ce domaine peu exploitable des comparaisons entre tribus, il faut s'arrêter ici à une impression, que seule l'investigation monographique de cette partie de l'Atlas pourra infirmer ou confirmer. S'il se vérifiait, ce trait rejoindrait un certain

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

nombre d'autres pour composer aux Seksawa l'originale physionomie qu'on leur connaît, sans pouvoir toujours la définir.

Sidi Mh'and, on l'a vu, est probablement ici le seul de son espèce. Inventeur de sources, et protecteur de champs et de troupeaux, son importance est grande, surtout en Idma. Parèdre de sidi Lah'sen dans les actes intéressant la vie de la *laqbilt*, il perçoit un cens également dans d'autres groupes Seksawa.

Environ 80 villages servent au saint ce que nous avons appelé un « abonnement ». Soit par *taqbilt* : Idma, 4 villages ; a. Musa, 1 ; a. H'adduyws, 10 ; a. Châib, 4 ; a. Bkhayr, 2 ; Afella Issen, 2 ; Irohalen (Demsira), 2 ; a. Lh'sen, 5 ; Sekrat, 2 ; a. Daud, 4 ; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2 ; Iberhan, 2 ; a. Abdella, 4 ; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1 ; Dwiran, 2 ; Mez'ud'a, 6 ; a. Tigidar, 1 ; Ind Maghus, 1 ; Amejnes, 1 ; a. Gasa, 1.

Cette expansion déborde largement, dans tous les sens, le proche rayon de la zaouia d'Ammern. Ensemble circum-Tichka d'un côté, tribus du col d'Imintanout d'autre part, et pointes sur le Dir, jusqu'en Gedmiwa. Soit un périmètre de quelques dizaines de kilomètres de rayon. Et il ne s'agit que d'un saint d'importance somme toute assez restreinte.

Le contenu du *chchard'* est naturellement variable. En général, il consiste dans l'affectation annuelle par chaque foyer d'une demi-mesure d'orge ou de maïs, et de la barattée de beurre « d'un vendredi ». Pour la seule tribu Seksawa, une évaluation grossière donne les quantités suivantes :

Un millier de foyers, groupés en quelque 25 villages versent annuellement à Ammern : 63 qx d'orge, 161 kg. de beurre, 26 qx de maïs, 3 moutons, un bovin et 12.000 noix. Soit, au cours de 1951, une valeur de 250.000 fr., environ. Ce total semble devoir être quintuplé compte tenu des dons et offrandes surérogatoires, objet des quêtes fructueuses pratiquées par les *igwrramen*, selon la méthode itinérante. En 1951, un des bénéficiaires ayant, à l'insu des autres, recueilli sur place les présents d'un seul village d'Ind Maghus, une plainte fut déposée. La transaction finale porta sur 5.000 fr. A quoi s'ajoute le produit de la grande frairie célébrée chaque année à Ammern même et le casuel des pèlerinages au tombeau de sidi Mh'and.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de poursuivre ce genre d'évaluations. Les chiffres qui précèdent donneront toutefois une idée suffisante du support économique de l'hagiologie en Seksawa, et du rôle qu'elle joue dans la circulation des biens, comme foyer d'attraction et de consommation.

Depuis une cinquantaine d'années, Ammern est, le 10 septembre, le siège d'une cérémonie dite d'immolation *tighersiwin*, comme celle de Lalla Aziza, laquelle est toutefois plus ancienne. Un bœuf est sacrifié par chaque canton des Seksawa, auxquels s'ajoutent les Iberhan. Les ressemblances avec la cérémonie de

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Lalla Aziza sont grandes, sauf que la procession se fait ici dans le sens de la remontée de la vallée, jusqu'à une aire sise au-dessus du sanctuaire. La même litanie mohammédienne y résonne, grandiose dans cet âpre site. Puis sont déposées des offrandes en argent, tandis que dans le sanctuaire bourdonne la récitation des clercs. La foule se presse, curieuse, émue. On fait des affaires : animaux, olives, amandes. On lie connaissance, on s'accorde pour épousailles ou autres combinaisons. Un bateleur moraliste égrène, assortie de gesticulations emphatiques, la *h'ddil*, « homélie d'instruction » sur les devoirs de prière, d'ablutions, etc. Il catéchise son auditoire à qui il a fait joindre les mains dans le geste du vœu *ddu'â*. Et sans doute ne se hâte-t-il pas de les lui faire rouvrir trop tôt : car il le met peu à peu dans un état non de transe, mais d'émotion et de plénitude, dont la collecte finale se ressentira. Avec des gestes pathétiques, entremêlant astucieusement son prône de couplets religieux, de chants, d'interrogations *ad hominem*, agitant une feuille couverte de caractères qu'il feint de consulter, bien qu'il ne sache pas lire, il impressionne les bonnes gens, dont il provoque de temps à autre les applaudissements ou plutôt ce que nous appellerions un ban (1). Dans l'immense brouhaha de la foule et des animaux, parfois s'élève sur un seul ton une note de tendresse jeune et poignante venue des entrailles : quelque *ll'aleb* invoquant le nom de Dieu. Du plan de la foule, de la commune, de la frairie rurale, ce cri s'élève à un autre plan. Il échappe à la sociologie des groupes.

(1) Car cette société connaît l' « applaudissement », *chchamkha*. Expression du bateleur : « Un ban ! », *chchamkhat âli-h*, locution où se mélangent l'arabe et le chleuh !

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[p.309]

III

DÉPASSEMENTS INDIVIDUELS

DIEU CHEZ LES SEKSAWA

« Un dieu compris n'est pas un dieu (1). » Et cette étude délaisserait l'essentiel si elle se bornait aux rites, aux figures, en un mot à ce qui peut être appréhendé du dehors. Au dedans reste le *tremendum*, « le mystère qui fait trembler ».

Par une nuit d'août, un peuple dévalait des escarpements du Tichka. La fête, toute la journée, avait battu son plein. Mais on avait donné dès le repas du soir le signal du retour, car il valait mieux faire à la fraîcheur la difficile étape du Tabgurt, six heures de marche. Un visiteur français, par une incroyable pente en lacets plongée dans des ténèbres qu'épaississait encore la lueur tremblotante des lumignons, se confiait à sa monture. Il n'y avait rien à faire d'autre. C'était une mule éléphantine qui, par secousses précautionneuses dans le noir, descendait quelque chose d'aussi raide que l'escalier du Sacré-Cœur. Ce noir était plein de cris : une foule indistincte bondissait sur le chemin. A peine entrevoyait-on au passage quelques taches mouvantes : blancheur d'un vêtement furtivement éclairé. De longs hurlements, à ricochet aigu, cascadaient dans les parois rocheuses. Tout se taisait soudain et l'on entendait une pure phrase mélodique : stance ou litanie. Et de nouveau, sur 1.500 m. de verticale, se déchaînait la clameur : « hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â... ». La foule se reconnaissait dans son cri. Le visiteur se tourne vers son compagnon musulman, dans l'hébétude de la marche sur les trois heures du matin. « Ils ont peur », lui dit l'autre. « Peur de quoi ? — Des *gens* de la montagne. — Où sont-ils ? — Sache que la nuit en est pleine. »

Exaltation panique, mêlée de crainte irrationnelle : moment religieux brut. Il est ici le fait d'une masse. Mais il est encore plus souvent le fait de l'individu. Du rôle de la foule se dégage alors celui du spécialiste : marabout, initié, docteur, *l'l'aleb*, questeur de science ou fabricant de grimoires. Et se dégage celui du fidèle en tant que personne.

(1) R. Otto, *Le sacré*, tr. 1929, p. 45.

Or nul ne sait ce qui se passe dans la conscience du chleuh quand il prie, s'affilie à une confrérie, rend visite au tombeau des saints. Ou, ce qui revient au même, on en est réduit pour le savoir à l'intuition. Plus scientifiquement, on n'aurait le choix qu'entre deux méthodes : ou l'approximation par les voies nombreuses et ardues de la psychologie moderne, ce qui n'est pas praticable pour l'instant ; ou l'analyse partielle, consciente de sa discontinuité. En fait, c'est là la seule voie qui reste ouverte. Si nous la négligeons, mieux vaudra renvoyer à la littérature descriptive, ou, mieux encore, au talent du romancier, au cas où il s'en trouverait un pour faire sentir, grâce aux suggestions de la fable, une réalité infiniment synthétique et dérobée (1).

Au moins cette méthode des vides et des pleins, à laquelle il faudra bien qu'on se résigne ici, comme en d'autres parties de ce travail, a-t-elle une chose de bon : le manque de présomption. Même, elle n'est pas seulement honnête crainte et révérence devant la complexité du fait. Sur des points particuliers, elle osera affirmer ; sur d'autres, elle hésitera, ce qui sera peut-être plus instructif. Sur d'autres enfin, elle devra renverser les idées reçues et ouvrir de nouveaux débats. Mais par-dessus tout, si positive qu'elle s'avère quant à certains résultats, elle ne vaut que par son doute méthodique quant à l'ensemble.

Et cet ensemble est de ces domaines que la science nord-africaine n'a que bien timidement abordés, à moins qu'elle ne les ait traités, superbement, par le dédain.

ÉTAGEMENT DU SACRÉ

Et voici, dès l'abord, deux opinions qui s'affrontent. Selon l'une, qu'une option de primitivisme a vouée, parfois non sans bonheur, à certains aspects d'une société qui tranche sur d'autres sociétés maghrébines, plus « évoluées », moins « pures » ou simplement moins « curieuses », les structures magico-religieuses du monde chleuh, voire berbère au sens large, dominent son droit, son économie, son folklore, et jusqu'à sa langue.

Selon l'autre opinion, c'est par un caractère profane accusé, une orientation laïque des institutions, et en tout cas leur relative indépendance à l'égard de la religion et de ses prestiges, qu'un tel milieu affirme sa nature originale.

Tenter de résoudre une telle opposition de tendances par un

(1) Voir, par exemple, dans un autre domaine, quelques nouvelles d'Ahmed Sefroui, et surtout l'œuvre de François Bonjean.

choix ou une conciliation entre ses deux termes, c'est là, sans aucun doute, une des nécessités préjudicielles les plus importantes d'un examen, fût-il circonscrit aux Seksawa.

Or la démarche de ce travail nous aura peut-être préparés à aborder le problème. Ce n'est pas dans un éclectisme transactionnel qu'il faut, je crois, en chercher la solution. Mais à l'aide de l'une des lois les plus constantes qu'il nous ait été donné d'observer ici : la différenciation entre fonctions et paliers. C'est dire que le jugement et la définition doivent varier selon qu'il s'agira de spiritualité individuellement atteinte par l'élu, ou du foisonnement rituel que portent les structures agraires. Entre les deux, tous les étages de pratiques, d'élaboration et même d'interprétation.

Au niveau de l'ordre rural, circonscrit aux nécessités de constance juridique et d'efficacité naturiste du groupe, se distingue une espèce de sacré ne pointant que rarement en hagiologie, et qui s'identifie pour une bonne part au mouvement le plus fruste de la communauté. On est ici en deçà des destins individuels, de l'explication légendaire, et même des rapports historiques.

D'un tout autre niveau sont les clientèles qui rattachent les cantons à un saint de type banal, comme celui d'Ammern, ou à l'héroïne de Z'init'. L'un et l'autre assument, inégalement, leur fonction de symbole unificateur des Seksawa, en même temps que celle de protecteurs ou de vengeurs. En la personne de Lalla Aziza, en celle d'Âmer u H'addo, qu'estompe l'éloignement, cette vocation politique s'avive d'une précise historicité. Dans la polarisation rituelle sur cette espèce de saints réside une originalité des Seksawa, à mettre en rapports avec leur passé si personnel.

Ce qui leur est sans doute moins particulier, mais paraît au contraire un trait général, c'est le contraste entre saints d'un naturisme exclusif de visage défini, voire de nom, et saints historiques. La rareté des seconds contraste avec l'hégémonie qu'ils exercent, là où on les repère. Cela tient sans doute à une évolution concrète du milieu. Mais il n'est pas indifférent qu'entre le sacré agraire des rites villageois, et le primat spirituel d'une sainte politique, attestée par les documents, la place des figures merveilleuses reste secondaire, et en tout cas statistiquement comprimée. Le *social* presque pur qui s'observe au rez-de-chaussée de cette vie religieuse laisse, à l'étage des grands patrons, la place à quelques personnalités historiques, toutes extrêmement concrètes, et en quelque sorte vérifiables.

Là l'histoire a prévalu sur le mythe. Mais elle n'a pu le faire qu'en raison de la vocation si caractéristique de ces groupes à

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

affirmer leur gestion temporelle. Nous voyons cette capacité s'exercer à l'échelon même des frairies de cantons. Ce qui y domine, ce n'est pas l'aspect communiel, c'est l'aspect contractuel. Enchères, ventes à terme, enregistrement notarié : le profane déborde de toutes parts l'antique rite sacrificiel. Un débat individualiste, une gestion communale, des opérations purement juridiques se font déjà jour, et se déploieront avec une ampleur grandissante à mesure que le cadre d'activité s'élargira. Le droit et la religion vont désormais faire route à part.

Et voici une sainteté des grands individus et des grands espaces. Son action tentaculaire pourrait être figurée sur la carte, du Haouz au Sous et au Drâ. Sa protection est quémandée de loin. Son avidité s'exerce plus loin encore. On la sert en ordre libre, avec dévotions particulières de groupes, villages, familles. Ce mysticisme à expression géographique tend lui-même à une autre forme, plus secrète. Celle de l'affiliation personnelle à un maître. Ce phénomène, en Afrique du Nord, a connu, sous le nom de confrérisme, une extension à laquelle répond, depuis un demi-siècle au moins, un excessif engouement de nos chercheurs. Dans le confrérisme, le plus souvent et essentiellement ésotérique, la communauté locale ne joue pas, ou joue moins. Il règne une atmosphère d'organisation et de hiérarchie. Concurremment, l'individuation hagiologique prend un relief extraordinaire. Tels sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, ces « phares »...

En somme, au cours de cette ascension, nous aurons vu se succéder plusieurs couches de réalité religieuse. Aux deux termes, des formes rivales, s'exerçant à plein. En bas, le sacré naturiste anonyme du Tamjlocht par exemple, lieu de profonde vibration collective ; de l'autre, la grande figure du mystique du Tazerwalt, et son idéalisme aux larges correspondances orientales et méditerranéennes. Intégration sociale presque absolue d'un côté. Individualisme coloré de mystère et de légende de l'autre. Ordre rural en bas. Sagesse initiatique en haut. L'antithèse pourrait se prolonger longtemps, ce qu'on évitera de faire par crainte de la fausser. Il nous suffira de retenir cette contribution que l'étude des niveaux étagés de la vie religieuse, dans l'étroit milieu des Seksawa, peut apporter à l'analyse générale du phénomène.

LES IGᵂRRAMEN

Mais il n'est pas nécessaire de monter jusqu'à des « Pôles » comme le saint du Tazerwâlt, pour observer la fonction qu'assume, sur place même, et concurremment avec des formes profondément

: Berque MW11 Shluh

incarnées en rythmes collectifs, ce genre de personnages. Un type fait la transition entre les formes communautaires et individuelles. C'est celui des descendants ou desservants de saints. A des nuances près, qui les distinguent les uns des autres, ils partagent une qualification rituelle qui fait d'eux des dispensateurs d'influences fastes ou néfastes. Toutefois, et bien que chacun d'entre eux dispose, selon une hiérarchie qui leur est propre, d'une partie de ces pouvoirs, ils se présentent en tant que collège organisé, que *jemâa* particulière. Des formes procédurales ou notariales musulmanes : actes de fondation, arbres généalogiques, fixent leur pouvoir traditionnel, et sont invoquées en cas de conflit. C'est ainsi que l'*agurram*, plur. *igᵘrramen* (appelons-le par son nom berbère, le terme divulgué chez les Européens de « marabout » n'étant pas ici en usage) s'offre, dans la « division du travail social », à mi-chemin entre la vocation collective et la spécialisation individuelle (1). A peu près comme la corporation d'artisans ruraux ou urbains constitue, dans la vie économique, un stade intermédiaire entre la qualification tribale et la profession.

Étudions un cas concret, celui des a. Wammern, descendants de sidi Mh'and.

Leur *moqaddem* joint à ses fonctions hagiologiques et à la science de quelques tours impressionnants (par exemple faire le mort), le talent d'un joueur de tambourin. Il est l'auxiliaire fort demandé de tous les chœurs et danses dans cette partie de la montagne.

Autour de lui s'agite une légion de cousins, avides de leur part du bénéfice et ne reculant pas devant la compétition astucieuse ou

(1) Aussi cette catégorie comporte une véritable ampleur statistique. Elle figure à juste raison, dans les vieux recensements des bureaux d'A. I., sous une rubrique spéciale. Dans les Dwiran et les Mez'ud'a voisins, les « marabouts » constituent une portion importante de la population. Naturellement, le fait que telle ou telle « fraction » assume, dans la division du travail social, ce rôle d'avant-garde, alimente aussitôt une fiction généalogique. Celle-ci rattache la collectivité ainsi marquée à un saint ancêtre, ou bien au Prophète. C'est le type même de ces corporations ou confréries à argument d'ancêtre, dont Durkheim avait bien noté les caractéristiques de forme de passage. Il traduit le « mélange de l'organisation professionnelle naissante avec l'organisation familiale préexistante » (G. Davy, *Eléments de sociologie*, I : *Sociologie politique*, 1950, p. 115). Mais la fiction n'est parfois pas nécessaire : le statut est créé par auto-affirmation, si l'on peut dire. On pense à ces tribus touarègues décrites par le Cdt Cauvet et qui, sur leur simple attestation, arrivent à être considérées comme maraboutiques (H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, 1944, p. 163). Dans le cas marocain, celui des Ud Bessebâe par exemple, un milieu intellectualiste fournit aussitôt la prétention collective d'arguments pédantesques : la revendication chérifienne entre dans la catégorie de ces classements pseudo-historiques qui ont joué un rôle si important dans le passé maghrébin.

violente. Outre l'offrande « portable », qui arrive au moment des *lighersiwïn*, ou lors de l'acquittement des cens particuliers, il en est de casuelles, ou « quérables », que tel ou tel des ayants droit s'en va chercher, courant sa chance, de tribu en tribu. Cette queste n'est exclusive ni d'âpres disputes ni parfois de fourberie. Tel *agurram* rafle la part du dévolutaire légitime. Cela finit en procès, sous l'œil débonnaire des chefs temporels ou de la *jemâa*.

Nulle dignité particulière, nulle tartufferie ne caractérisent ces comportements. Titulaires par héritage d'une parcelle de l' « effluve bénéfique », ou *baraka* et, corrélativement, d'une portion des cens ou redevances dus au saint, ses descendants l'exploitent avec une naïve impudeur, où le bon peuple n'est pas loin de reconnaître un trait de cette simplicité dans les passions qui est si compatible avec la profession du sacré.

Comme les *ig*^{w}*rramen* d'Assttif, et plus qu'eux encore, ceux d'Ammern aident à comprendre la particularité de vie résultant d'une origine « maraboutique ». A leur prestige ne se mêle aucun jugement moral, aucune idée de mérite. Ils peuvent être querelleurs, âpres ou débauchés comme aucun de leurs voisins. Une moindre absorption dans les travaux des champs, une nourriture plus carnée, résultant de tant d'offrandes sacrificielles, une sélection physique témoignant de plus d'expérience, et de plus de goût dans le choix des épouses, les différencient physiquement du profane. Plus de liberté d'allures aussi, due aux traditionnelles exemptions fiscales, *tawqîr*, et à de moindres inhibitions. L'*agurram* est celui qui vit pleinement. On laisse en lui parler la nature, même sous la forme des appétits les plus débridés, ou de l'incohérence, car cette nature est elle-même porteuse de *baraka*. On recherche en elle une sorte de complicité avec le ciel, complicité qui s'achète par bien des tolérances, ou même à prix d'argent. L'ethnologie nous a familiarisés avec ces incarnations, ou ces collusions : encore qu'un islamisme qui n'est jamais en défaut, peut-être parce qu'il correspond en l'espèce à un sens critique très aiguisé, reconnaisse à l'*agurram* faveur ou gratification divine, mais nullement association au divin.

Pas la moindre nuance de cette fameuse « anthropolâtrie berbère » dont se régalèrent, un peu indiscrètement, certains ethnologues ! Et même, ce qui frappe dans le milieu, c'est que toutes les conséquences soient tirées d'une telle faveur, sans que s'y mêle la moindre nuance éthique. A chacun son rôle. Le bon croyant s'efforce à la vertu. Le marabout jouit de la *baraka*, et, à ce titre, peut faire de sa vie entière une frairie ou un carnaval : il peut être sans blâme l'homme pleinement naturel. On pourrait dire de

lui, parodiant la formule de Nietzsche, qu'il a le droit d'être « le plus chaud des monstres chauds ».

L'attitude du fidèle à son égard est ici très nette : service attentif et quelque peu intéressé, dévotion attendrie ou secrètement envieuse, mais jugement réaliste, entière indépendance morale. La *baraka* est révérée, et mieux encore « servie », mais strictement cernée dans un système de division du travail où le marabout ne déborde pas la fonction à lui impartie par la croyance et les mœurs. Relégué dans sa fonction, ses exemptions, ses exceptions, il doit laisser place, pour tout le reste, à l'ordre civil.

HOMMES DE DIEU

Venons-en à des types plus individualisés.

D'abord le docteur. Notre collection des paradoxes psychologiques du terroir ne serait pas complète si l'on ne mentionnait à cette place un savant citadin sorti du sanctuaire montagnard et enfoui de Z'init'. Il en garda d'ailleurs le nom à Marrakech : si Muh'ammad Uzinit', tel est le nom sous lequel le repère l'*I'lâm* (1). Et dans la région même, si nous débordons quelque peu le cadre des Seksawa, le cas n'est pas isolé. Les barbares a. Mh'and u Musa ont bien nourri un « cadi » Ulwâh', docteur réputé, foudre de jurisprudence (2). Passons des phénomènes de ce genre naturellement plus abondants dans le Dir, et ces moraines de zaouias et de médersas qui bordent la montagne. C'est plutôt, malgré la difficulté que crée l'éloignement de ces figures dans le temps, du côté des grands juristes et des grands saints du Sud, tous venant des recoins les plus personnels, les plus claquemurés de l'Atlas, un Suktânî, un ᵉAbbâsî, un Nâçirî, un Tamanârtî, des Samlâlî par dizaines, et tant d'autres encore, qu'il faudrait orienter l'analyse. Une telle recherche d' « histoire littéraire », comme eût dit Renan, aurait bien de l'intérêt. Elle pourrait jeter d'utiles lumières sur l'histoire culturelle du Sud marocain, si mal connue jusqu'ici. Mais mieux vaut y renoncer par scrupule de précision, ou plutôt de localisation.

Plus directement observable, sinon plus déchiffrable est le *l'l'aleb* d'hier, d'aujourd'hui et de toujours. Nous reverrons poindre sa silhouette au moment d'étudier les structures juridiques du milieu : là aussi son rôle est grand. Pour l'instant, ne nous attachons qu'à son rôle spirituel. Certes, il a tout un côté

(1) ᵉABBÂS b. IBRÂHÎM, *al-'Iclâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch*, t. V, 1939, p. 307.
(2) Al-H'ARÎZ' al-FÂSî, *Riyâd' al-Jinna*, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

orthodoxe : la récitation périodique du Livre et l' « attachement » *mulâzama* au sanctuaire communal. Mais sa face hétérodoxe est plus large encore. La psalmodie des hauts textes, le maniement de cette chose dangereuse qu'est l'écriture, l'utilisation plus ou moins occulte des formulaires arabes, enfin un mode de vie à part, où les mains sont dépourvues de cal, le visage blême, les bras sans muscles, le corps étroit, la santé précaire, tous ces traits composent au *l'l'aleb* une physionomie singulièrement équivoque et puissante. Ne parlons pas de ses mœurs, qui n'ont rien à voir en l'objet, sinon qu'elles constituent parfois un élément de plus de ségrégation.

En fait, très peu de ces lettrés résistent à la tentation d'utiliser leur pouvoir. Vente d'exorcismes ou composition de charmes, il n'y a là que moindre mal, et cette société, peut-être parce qu'elle n'a pas de clergé, n'y voit nulle simonie. Mais il y a magie blanche et magie noire ; il y a surtout démonologie et nécromancie. Dans la croyance commune, le *l'l'aleb*, après quelques succès qu'il emploie à la réalisation de ses appétits, est lui-même victime des forces qu'il a déclenchées. Tel l'apprenti sorcier, il est désormais dominé par ces forces : les démons le commandent, et finalement le font dépérir, le mènent à male mort, ou le précipitent dans l'erreur. C'en est fait alors de ceux qui le fréquentent ou lui ont fait confiance. Le passé, même récent, du Sous et de l'Atlas, offrirait bien des exemples de ces déviations. En général, elles ont pris la forme de manifestations du fanatisme ou bien du messianisme. Pour ne remonter qu'au dernier *amghar* indépendant du Haut Seksawa, ce furent des *l'l'aleb*-s des Mentaga, qui, lui faisant miroiter des alliances démoniaques et lui promettant la « maîtrise de l'heure », le lancèrent dans une aventure sans espoir. Beaucoup d'anecdotes de même type pourraient être rapportées. Et certaines encore plus récentes.

Voici un document émanant d'un *fqîh*, non point des Seksawa, mais d'une tribu montagnarde toute voisine, les Ergita, document recueilli à l'occasion d'une affaire judiciaire, autographe, et offrant, du point de vue ethnologique un tel intérêt que nous le donnerons ici *in extenso*. C'est une confession.

Sachez que je quittai la mosquée de X... dans un trouble et une inquiétude extrêmes. Cela en avril. Je demeurai dans cette transe plus de quatre mois. Un jour, je vis une lueur semblable à celle qu'émet la lune devant le soleil. Quand elle vint jusqu'à moi, je me mis à annoncer la prière. « Très bien », dit une voix.

Un songe me vint dans la mosquée. Quelqu'un me disait : *parle aux*

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

t'olba ad-dawla. Je partis alors en montagne pour raconter aux *t'olba* ma vision.

Et il me dit : « Le salut sur les *t'olba* d'Y ». Je restai là-bas jusqu'à ce qu'il m'eût dit : « Le salut sur toi ».

Je suis venu alors à cet endroit dont les oiseaux me dirent : « Parle à ton Dieu à la mosquée de Z... » J'acquiescai à trois reprises. Je demeurai donc là jusqu'à l'approche du Suq Tleta. C'est alors qu'une voix me dit : « Mbarek uld Brahim, quitte le Tleta. »

Nous nous mîmes en route avec Si Ah'med ou Bihi. Nous trouvâmes le travail et la bastonnade. Nous retournâmes chez nous.

Le second mardi, nous n'achetâmes rien au marché.

Le 3e mardi, j'allai au marché décidé à accomplir cet acte. Je me dis alors : « Non » et revins à Z...

Mais cette nuit même, je le vis moi-même qui me dit : « Pourquoi n'as-tu pas exécuté mon ordre ? » Épouvanté, je me levai. Mon fils était, aussi, épouvanté. Je me rendormis. Mon fils prit peur une seconde fois. Sa mère demanda ce que c'était.

Je partis chez Si Moh'ammed N. et lui dis : « Qu'est-ce que cette vision ? »

Un être m'a parlé dans la mosquée et m'a enjoint d'aller parler aux *t'olba ad-Dawla*. Je partis donc en montagne et le leur dis (à l'un dans la zaouia et à un autre en Ichekad'en). « La nuit passée il m'a dit : « Le salut sur toi. » J'ai vu un oiseau qui m'appelait à Dieu. Je lui dis « oui ».

— « Pratiques-tu donc la thaumaturgie ?

— Non.

— Chasse ces visions au fond de toi-même », me dit-il.

En général, la forme prise par cette communication avec l'au-delà est celle de la prédiction millénariste. Ce vieux thème, en effet, si familier aux sociétés sémitiques — mais à bien d'autres aussi — est très fréquent dans le Sud marocain. En Seksawa même il donne lieu à maintes rédactions très obscurément combinées, selon les lois propres à ce genre de littérature, dans un langage chleuh, mêlé de formules savantes, et que rend très improprement l'écriture arabe.

L'un de ces textes, par exemple, provenant des archives de l'*amghar* révolté, remonte à une époque ancienne et tumultueuse : celle du mouvement d'al-Hiba. Dans un langage violent, le rédacteur prédit d'obscures mais terribles calamités à tous les chefs du Dir, et notamment au grand Mtuggi, « ce chien ». « Toi, Aguzzal » (1), s'écria-t-il, « tu fuiras plus rapide que le dard. Et

(1) Petit chef des a. Daud, fourrier des Mtugga du côté de la montagne. Entre les traditions de millénarisme et l'opposition politique prenant de temps à autre le visage d'un « maître de l'heure », le lien est étroit et constant. Ch. Richard, à propos d'événements algériens, *Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846)*, 1846, 85 sq., analyse avec finesse la psychologie sociale

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

vous, votre force sera brisée comme par le vent qui dévaste les feuilles de l'amandier. Vous resterez en morceaux comme du *meksûr* » (« noix en pulpe concassées et vendues en vrac »). Accent biblique !

D'autres prophéties circulent, dont les unes, prêtées à un Sidi Lârûsi, évoquent une fin du monde autour des années hégiriennes 70. Aux moments graves : 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin et al-Hiba ; 1931, rébellion d'Ah'med Umulid ; plus près de nous, en 1940, tout un millénarisme latent relève la tête.

LA SAINTETÉ

Selon une ambiguïté classique : faste ou néfaste, divin ou démoniaque, bonne ou mauvaise magie, initié ou contre-initié — le profane ignore si ces transes méritent l'une ou l'autre qualification. C'est ainsi que l'erreur le guette. A vrai dire ce débat ne se pose qu'à l'individu, et lorsque sa personnalité s'exalte, par la richesse ou la puissance. C'est là le juste risque encouru par l'orgueil de qui s'évade du cycle communal. C'est la juste rançon des possibilités qui s'ouvrent alors au delà de mesquins horizons. Mais il est une garantie bénéfique que Dieu ouvre alors à l'homme : les pouvoirs qu'il dispense aux saints. Voilà pourquoi toute cette société vit en relations anciennes et précises avec ses saints.

Elle est archiviste minutieuse du sacré territorial, de ses figures, de ses légendes. Sa sensibilité est touchée par la constante sollicitation d'une héroïne, Lalla Aziza. Mais elle va plus outre. La miséricorde de l'Unique et l'intercession de cet archange dont le nom, Jebrir (Gabriel), est parfois donné aux enfants, font que le « mystère de grâce », *ssirr*, ne soit pas tari. La sainteté est encore présente, reconnaissable à son accent miraculeux.

En voici une manifestation entre autres :

Sidi Moh'ammed, père de l'actuel *fqih* de Talmst en Nfifa, descendant de sidi Âmer u H'addo, s'apprêtait un jour à prendre congé de moi, quand éclata un orage violent. Je voulus en vain le retenir. Malgré mes insistances, il partit donc de la maison, et gravit, en plein orage, la crête si exposée qui mène à Imintanout. Je l'accompagnais. Malgré le déchaînement des éléments, pas une goutte d'eau ne nous atteignit. Une zone

du *mûl s-sâca*. Dans le S. marocain, beaucoup de ces traditions ont pour foyer le *ribâl'* de Massat, R. Montagne, Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain : Massat, *Hesp.*, 1924, p. 364. Tout dernièrement encore, une conjonction curieuse de ces traditions avec le purisme islamique s'est produite en la personne d'Ibn al-Muwaqqit, érudit de Marrakech, dont une prédiction sur la fin du monde a beaucoup agité les cercles de *l'l'olba*. A. Faure, Un réformateur marocain..., *Hesp.*, 1952, p. 191.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

de préservation s'étendait autour de nous. Quelle ne fut pas ma stupeur, rentrant au village, de constater qu'une véritable tornade avait sévi, arrachant les arbres et inondant les demeures !

Dans la croyance à cette immunité du saint, il y a mieux que « superstition » : le narrateur est un croyant éduqué. Si on lui demandait d'expliquer le phénomène, nul doute qu'il ne fît appel à l'intervention divine ; nul doute même qu'il n'y mêlât des notions éthiques sur le rôle du saint et la juste rétribution qui, par des privilèges *karâmât* comme celui-là, la rend reconnaissable au fidèle. Ces signes distinctifs peuvent être utiles, on l'a vu, à éviter de néfastes confusions, dans un milieu où la figure équivoque du *l'l'aleb*, participant à la fois d'un scientisme ingénu et de vieilles traditions ésotériques, assume la communication avec le monde invisible. Les puissances nouvelles recélées par l'écrit arabe, dans une société qui en est éprise au point d'y rattacher tout son droit, ont pour rançon ces risques. Classiques ambivalences, et d'autant plus dangereuses, aux yeux mêmes du croyant, que l'écrit se pare d'un air de piété et de culture.

A cet égard, elles ouvrent, dans la vieille atmosphère rurale, une évolution vers le reniement. Le coudoiement de l'*agurram* illettré et du scribe de furtive sapience, à l'intérieur d'une même zaouia, ou d'un même village, fait déjà ressortir un contraste. Il n'est pas rare que le lettré du cru affirme très tôt sa défiance à l'égard des rites agraires. Il affiche un scepticisme dont l'expression, étonnamment libre, démentirait la bonhomie d'un tel milieu si nous ne savions à quel point ce milieu se prête aux ruptures de ton, aux voisinages paradoxaux. Unanimité rurale, critique rationaliste et occultisme se fondent, de façon étrange et diverse, dans l'affirmation musulmane. Certes le dépouillement des contraintes communales, la révolte s'incarnent en un tel individu, détaché de la foule. Mais elles peuvent s'incarner aussi, plus obscurément, en chacun. Chacun peut ressentir l'appel de la protestation, de la fuite, de l'aventure. Et cet appel rencontrera celui des « lumières » et de l'orthodoxie. D'où la complexité du phénomène.

Ce progrès est également celui de la variété des esprits et de la division de travail. Il est souvent accompli par l'émigré. Il comporte alors des traits économiques et pourra cesser lorsque ces traits s'effaceront : récupération de la terre et retour à la montagne, fortune une fois faite. Mais ces étapes peuvent être franchies spontanément par telle ou telle mentalité individuelle.

Ce qui est le plus fréquent aujourd'hui, c'est l'évasion de l'ouvrier, par le syndicat et la politique des villes, et l'évasion du

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

militaire, par l'impiété joviale des camps. Mais le lettré lui aussi « s'évade » à sa façon, par les puissances occultes de l'écrit, l'avancement de sa culture, la répudiation des impératifs ruraux. Le rôle d'officiant communal, qui lui est prêté par le groupe, est dépassé de loin par ses élans d'individu plus affiné que ses frères. Ce dépassement peut mener à l'erreur. Mais il peut mener aussi à la sainteté. Dans la période récente, les Seksawa ont connu au moins un exemple de ces exaltations de la personne, ou — c'est l'autre face du phénomène — de ces personnelles élections d'Allah.

Ce n'est qu'en 1915 que mourait l'*agurram* Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah, descendant à la 10e génération du saint d'Assttif. Il passa une grande partie de sa vie à la zaouia des Mez'ud'a, où son intervention rétablit l'harmonie lors d'une difficile succession de *cheikh*. On sait que cette zaouia, rénovée par l'enseignement de Timgilcht, et mère de plusieurs autres zaouias de la plaine, exerce une grande influence en montagne : sur les a. Lh'sen notamment, sur les Tigguga, mais aussi sur l'ensemble des Seksawa.

Ce qu'elle a de remarquable, dans la conscience populaire, c'est que la sainteté s'y est, au cours des générations, renouvelée, et chaque fois sous une figure différente. Au XVIIe siècle, sidi Sâid u Bubker, chérif d'Orient, s'agrège au cycle nâçirien, alors dans toute sa fraîcheur. C'est un homme si juste que, lorsqu'il circule, il musèle son âne pour éviter la moindre déprédation dans les champs d'autrui. Son petit-fils, sidi Ah'med u Âli est un guérisseur. On l'appelle le saint « des abeilles », *lwali n-tiz'z'wa*. Ses abeilles butinaient la plaine en aval. Des gens de la lointaine Chichaoua vinrent s'en plaindre à lui. « Marquez-les, » leur dit-il ; ce qu'ils firent, en aspergeant les bestioles de henné. Le saint ayant alors la preuve du *ta'addi*, condamna les coupables à quitter sa montagne. Au-dessus de son tombeau, dominant l'immense perspective de la plaine Mez'ud'a et Ud Bessebâc, s'érige une *madrasa*, encore réputée, et qui a essaimé en plaine, la couvrant de ses filiales — Bucanfir, Sacidât entre autres. Un savant des Ilalen, diplômé de Timgilcht, vient à temps rénover le vieux corps. C'est un musulman puriste, attentif à repousser, contre ses disciples mêmes, toute réputation miraculeuse. Mais il n'en est pas de même d'un de ces derniers, venu d'Assttif, et qui est l'*agurram* sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, sur le nom duquel s'est ouverte cette digression.

Ce Seksiwi, lui, ne répugne nullement au miracle. C'est le soir. Les étudiants tiennent séance, et l'éclairage de la salle incombe à l'un d'entre eux. Ils n'ont pas prévenu l'homme d'Assttif que c'était son tour de préparer le luminaire. Ils escomptent sa confusion. Mais c'est eux qui vont être confondus, et édifiés : frottant son doigt contre la natte qui tapisse la salle, il l'élève et de la lumière s'en dégage. Il faut les injonctions prudentes du maître pour le dissuader de continuer l'exercice de ses *karâmât*.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah est doué du don de voyance. Selon une tradition mystique bien établie, ses visions intervenaient durant son sommeil. Précieux est le récit d'un songe de 1312 hég. : 1895 qui lui permit de converser avec un ancien Cheikh défunt et avec le Prophète lui-même. C'est là un beau texte de religiosité berbère, et d'autant plus remarquable qu'il émane d'un personnage issu d'un des cantons les plus archaïques de nos Seksawa. Sa valeur de signe spirituel, fort révélateur de l'atmosphère de ces zaouias du Sud et des échappées mystiques qui se font jour parfois à quelque interstice de ces sociétés closes, est assez remarquable pour qu'il ne soit pas inutile d'en donner ci-dessous une traduction partielle.

« J'étais dans un demi-sommeil. Je me vis dans le mausolée de sidi Ah'med u Âli, conversant avec le bienheureux sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, savant dans les questions se rapportant à la zaouia. Nous éprouvâmes le besoin de demander l'avis du vénérable sidi Mh'and. Mon compagnon l'appela, et sidi Mh'and parut à la porte. Je l'embrassai, et il m'embrassa comme l'ami fait l'ami. Il me demanda : « Es-tu l'ami sincère ? » Je dis que oui. Nous poursuivîmes alors le débat jusqu'à ce que je fisse observer que la présence du Prophète nous était nécessaire pour résoudre un point particulier. Je l'appelai par trois fois, et nous fûmes éblouis par une lueur immense, et telle que chacun de nous fut contraint d'abriter son visage de sa main. Et le Prophète entra parmi nous, par la porte extérieure de la zaouia. Mon demi-sommeil en fut illuminé. Le Prophète tenait par la main Abraham. Ils s'installèrent sous la fenêtre qui donne sur l'E., et nous nous plaçâmes en rond autour d'eux. Et le Prophète nous exhortait à suivre sa voie, et nous disait des choses que j'ai oubliées. Alors pénétra parmi nous Sidi Âbdallah Frugi. Il traînait un sabre comme s'il arrivait d'une bataille... »

Et la séance continue, pleine de couleur pour les yeux et d'enseignement pour le cœur. Le rapport qui en est fait contient des allusions précises à la crise alors traversée par la maison, et annonce des événements qui, paraît-il, se produisirent depuis sans faute. On a donc affaire ici à un oracle jurisprudentiel (1). Non certes à un *Songe de Scipion*. Mais la continuité avec le message abrahamique, le rappel des grands Témoins s'y expriment avec une vigueur qui devait faire de ce dernier saint des Seksawa un être d'imitation et d'édification.

Ce que peuvent, auprès de tels êtres, ressentir, non le vulgaire épris de contrats d'assurance agricole ou payeur d'amulettes, mais l'humble disciple, adolescent « de prière et de désir » (2), qui tapit sa ferveur dans les logettes obscures de la zaouia, en voici un témoignage encore chaud. Sur la page blanche d'un volume, à la

(1) Sur la *mantique* du songe, L. Massignon, Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans, *Mélanges René Basset*, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269, Anecdotes nombreuses de ce type dans les *Manâqib al-H'ud'aykl*.

(2) Selon la magnifique expression de L. Massignon.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

fois gage solennel et talisman, un jeune homme, Brahim Nffisi « voue son être, ses biens, son destin » au chérif sidi Jilâli b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ'i, en échange de sa *mu'âchara*, et celui-ci s'engage à la lui dispenser. Il serait trop facile de ne voir dans ce véritable acte d' « affrèrement », daté de 1194 hég. : 1780, qu'un trait d'amitiés suspectes. Ce Sibâ'i est un saint dont la mémoire survit à la zaouia de Takerkuzt (1), au S. de Marrakech, d'où vient ce volume. Cette *mu'âchara* que sollicite l'exaltation d'une jeune âme, c'est le commerce initiatique.

Terminons là-dessus l'étude de structures religieuses dont l'esquisse serait restée inexacte si, à côté de leurs rattachements au groupe rural, on n'avait aussi mentionné ce qu'elles laissent passer d'élans au delà de ce groupe. Tout ce que nous pourrions dire maintenant ne concernerait plus les Seksawa, ni même les Chleuhs en tant que tels. Laissons la parole à E. Dermenghem, explorateur ému de la sainteté maghrébine.

(1) Aujourd'hui submergée par les eaux du barrage du Nffis.

[P.323]

UN SYSTÈME JURIDIQUE

I

TECHNIQUES DE RÈGLEMENT

Remontons à une trentaine d'années en arrière, c'est-à-dire avant l'institution des actuels Tribunaux Coutumiers. C'est peu pour une investigation historique. Cela suffit néanmoins à révéler un triple ordre de phénomènes, correspondant à trois couches de la réalité sociale, en même temps qu'à trois sortes de techniques.

Mettons à part les litiges plus ou moins importants dont l'autorité, *jemâa*, *amghar* ou *moqaddem*, s'arroge la décision. L'expansion du pouvoir personnel est ici limitée par une tradition très stricte sur les dévolutions de compétence. Il s'agit surtout, on le verra, des matières intéressant l'ordre public, c'est-à-dire mettant en jeu la structure interne du groupe ou sa combinaison avec les groupes voisins. Une seconde catégorie de litiges, les plus fréquents dans une société rurale, ressortit au droit juré. Nous l'avons étudiée plus haut. Elle vise à rétablir entre patrimoines riverains une intégrité distributive, mettant ainsi en jeu un ordre agraire sur l'exacte nature duquel il a fallu réserver le jugement.

Voici enfin les conflits d'ordre personnel ou immobilier. La procédure — il s'agit bien alors de procédure — y est à deux temps. L'autorité temporelle, saisie en premier lieu, provoque et enregistre l'accord des parties sur la personne d'un *muh'akim*, le plus souvent individu religieux ou lettré. Qu'est-ce au juste que ce personnage ?

JUGEMENT OU ARBITRAGE ?

Les attributions judiciaires en pays chleuh sont aujourd'hui confiées à un Tribunal collégial. C'est là une extension de la compétence ancienne de la *jemâa*, qui ne connaissait habituellement que du droit public, et de la première phase de l'instance judiciaire proprement dite. Mais cette extension n'est sans doute pas exorbitante d'une tradition communautaire vivace dont on s'explique que, par contraste avec les formes féodales observées en plaine, elle ait impressionné le réformateur.

D'autre part, et sur le plan historique, rien ne permet d'affirmer qu'à nombre d'époques, cette extension de compétence ne s'était pas produite spontanément. La démarcation entre les espèces du droit public et du droit privé est ténue, car la plupart des litiges immobiliers procèdent de conflits entre groupes ou subdivisions de groupes, ce qui est aussi le thème de la vie publique du canton. Quelques traces écrites de règlements de ce genre autorisent l'hypothèse.

Un acte de 982 hég. : 1572, intéressant la *gens* bien connue des a. D'alh'a et des personnes de Tawanghast, mentionne que l'un des intéressés « a produit, au sein de la *jemâa*, l'acte de garantie du douaire de sa mère », *kharraja ʿala wasat'i'l-jamâʿa*. En cette affaire, visiblement de droit privé, l'intervention de la collectivité paraît avoir la valeur juridictionnelle ou notariale. Ce témoignage est d'importance. Il n'est nullement isolé.

On rencontre souvent dans les vieux titres Seksawa mention de la *jemâa* non seulement en tant que Sénat, ou en tant que gardienne de l'ordre public, mais dans des attributions judiciaires ou arbitrales. Un écrit de 1042 hég. : 1630, en a. Ḥ'adduyws, la mentionne siégeant simultanément avec un « cadi ». Plus récemment, en 1315 hég. : 1897, une longue pièce relate la réunion de toute la *jemâa* des Idma, avec ses deux *moqaddem*-s, pour résoudre une affaire grave qui, compte tenu des réticences du texte, paraît avoir été le viol d'une fille de notable.

La *jemâa* est d'ailleurs toujours présente, comme le chœur de la vieille tragédie. Mais elle est souvent aussi le protagoniste de la pièce, soit qu'elle exerce sa fonction ouvertement, soit qu'elle n'agisse qu'indirectement, par des personnages qui tendent à se différencier d'elle ou même à la concurrencer : chefs profanes comme le *moqaddem* ou l'*amghar*, hommes de piété, d'étude ou de bénédiction comme le *l'l'aleb*, le *fqih*, l'*agurram*.

Il est un point cependant où une division du travail semble toujours s'opérer. C'est dans la procédure immobilière et successorale. Le trait distinctif en est le dualisme. Les affaires, d'abord présentées au chef ou à la *jemâa*, font l'objet d'un renvoi à un personnage qu'on a fait agréer aux deux parties. En l'espèce c'était le plus souvent le marabout des zaouias d'Assttif, ou de sidi Ah'med u Âli, ou de Buʿanfir, loin dans la plaine. C'était parfois aussi un spécialiste nommé « cadi » (1). L'existence de ce dernier est inter-

(1) Sur ces personnages dans l'Atlas et le Sous, cf. J. Berque, Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle), *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 388 sq., avec références à juristes du Sud.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

mittente. Elle paraît le plus souvent liée aux progrès du pouvoir personnel et naturellement aussi au voisinage des villes. Il est soutenu mais aussi imposé et orienté par le chef. Il n'en juge pas moins toujours « par mutuel accord », *s-larad'i*, et son intervention est récusable, comme celle de tout autre arbitre. Mais s'agit-il bien d'un arbitre ? Quelques documents anciens permettront de mieux analyser l'institution.

C'est d'abord un acte de 923 hég. : 1518 des a. H'adduyws, consignant une sentence rendue dans un procès immobilier, et qui confirme à l'une des parties la propriété de parcelles occupées en contre-partie des dépenses d'un office mortuaire. Et ce dans un grand concours de Seksawa et d'Idaw i-yzimmer. Le *h'âkim* fonde son autorité sur le recours mutuel et écrit des deux adversaires à son prétoire, dit prétoire du *char'*, « de la loi » : *ba'da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char'i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'i*.

Un autre acte de 1109 hég. : 1698, des I. Geryun, en très mauvais arabe, relate une procédure complète. Le *moqaddem* et la *jemâa* défèrent deux parties à un *fqih* désigné par le sort *ba'da d'arabat la-hum al-qur'a*, « afin qu'il les frappe du sabre du droit ». Il s'agit d'une affaire de habous. Les deux plaideurs s'engagent, en cas de défaut, à acquitter trois *mithqâl*-s d'amende entre les mains du *moqaddem*. Citation et comparution initiale, désignation d'un juge, renvoi, astreinte en cas de défaut : tous les moments de la première partie de la procédure sont ici mis en lumière.

Encore une consignation de *tarâd'i* datée de 1122 hég. : 1710, et émanant de deux personnages d'Alus, qui constituent solennellement pour les départager un « cadi » des a. Tikssit : « Ils sont d'accord (pour placer) la *charî'a* de Dieu entre les mains du *faqih* un tel... pour tout ce qui s'est obscurci entre eux en fait de sol, d'arbres, maisons, meules, *manâhil* (abris de transhumance), biens inanimés, cultures en sec, et toutes autres prétentions de l'un sur l'autre. »

Ce que pouvaient être ces sentences, lorsque le magistrat se piquait de culture, nous en avons un exemple dans un long écrit de 1118 hég. : 1707, où un lettré originaire des a. Ish'âq développe, d'une belle écriture à comparaisons et citations, son point de vue sur une affaire de habous. Il s'agit d'un patrimoine disputé entre branches de dévolutaires dont certaines sont éteintes, *munqarid'în*, cas d'espèce que la guerre et les épidémies devaient rendre fréquent. Le docte s'autorise d'une citation indirecte d'ar-Rasmûkî, puis d'un précédent mekkois, du juriste de Fès az-Zaqqâq, d'autres encore... Tel argument, dit-il, est nul, inexistant, *ujûdu-hu ka'l-'adam*. Il est comme le mirage que l'imagination s'imagine être de l'eau, alors que si l'on y arrive, on ne trouve plus rien.

On goûtera ce paradoxe d'atmosphère, si j'ose dire, qui inspire à l'humble juriste montagnard la poésie du chamelier. Significatif est le respect voué par des cantons apparemment barbares au

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

lettré, cheikh de zaouia ou « cadi » (1). Et il ne l'est pas moins qu'un tel juge, souvent éloigné du lieu du litige, coupé de toute possibilité d'enquête, et choisi pour cela même sans doute, ne fonde sa sentence sur nulle donnée objective, voire parfois même pas sur l'audition des deux parties. La décision se présente souvent en effet sous la forme d'une lettre remise à l'un des plaideurs, et sans doute sur la seule foi de son exposé. On pourrait s'étonner dès lors qu'une société rurale confiât ses plus chers intérêts à un magistère aussi fantaisiste. Mais, d'une part, l'immense majorité des conflits ressortit au prédroit et n'arrive donc jamais au débat procédural. Et, d'autre part, ce dernier met en jeu des facteurs non négligeables d'*auctoritas*. D'abord le poids de la personne, de l'écrit, de la référence à la Loi. Puis, le recours à une culture et à une éthique extérieures, ressenties comme telles, mais auxquelles on adhère à point et lieu nommés, sans plus, et qu'on fait intervenir quand il le faut et quand on le veut. Dans la seconde phase de ce dédoublement procédural, se lit une des attitudes du comportement chleuh à l'égard de l'arabisme et de la civilisation externe en général. Ne nous engageons pas ici dans un débat de psychologie sociale qui pourrait mener loin.

L'appel à une sapience éminente (2), l'action talismanique de l'écriture arabe sont certainement ce qui caractérise le plus cette instance, plutôt que l'aspect arbitral suggéré par sa terminologie.

(1) Pouvons-nous remonter plus haut que ces observations ? L'ancienneté de ce dualisme procédural permet-elle d'évoquer, à travers le gouffre du temps et de la distance, la division de la procédure romaine en deux phases ? Loin de nous l'idée de retrouver dans l'Atlas quelque chose qui rappelle la profonde originalité de la *formula*. Mais peut-être dans les renvois à l'arbitrage épiscopal, fréquents à partir de Constantin, pouvons-nous trouver quelque chose d'excitant pour l'imagination, sinon de sérieux pour la comparaison. La première hypothèse a déjà été émise par G. Surdon, *Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain*, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. On trouve dans cet ouvrage de fort exactes notations, mais incomplètes et dispersées. Par exemple sur les *alwâh'*, pp. 12, 142, 179, 181 ; sur l'instinct de préservation patrimoniale chez les Imazighen, pp. 35 sq. ; sur le vrai caractère du *rahn*, pp. 196 sq. ; l'*asghurl*, p. 128. Nous nous devions de signaler ces rencontres avec notre propre observation.

(2) Au XIIIe siècle, al-ʿAbdarî montre les gens du Sous happant littéralement les lettrés de passage, tr. Cherbonneau, *Journal asiatique*, IV, 1854, p. 151 et ms B. Nat. 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 *de fine* sq. Notations de même ordre dans Léon, du côté de l'actuelle Imintanout, *Description de l'Afrique*, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. I, p. 219 (en « Semada », avec arbitrage décrit tout au long), et citation dans L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIe siècle*, 1906, § 106, p. 127. Il faut cependant opposer à cet aspect (extériorité du juge), ce que Léon nous dit du véritable « parlement » qui fonctionne en ait Daud dans un climat professionnel semble-t-il accusé (*ibid.*, Schefer, p. 153).

Exemples de procédure dualiste en ʿA. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, Les a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen, in *CHEAM*, p. 111), l'Anti-Atlas (Huot, L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, in *CHEAM*, p. 15).

Il n'y a pas ici de conciliateurs, mais des magistrats, et mieux encore des libérateurs de forces. Forces que le milieu considère comme transcendantes, et qu'il maintient soigneusement au loin.

L'expression *s-larad'i* (1), « par mutuel accord », concerne à coup sûr la désignation du juge plutôt que le caractère de la sentence. Il est vrai que même un jugement proprement dit, celui des tribunaux actuels par exemple, doit, pour être exécutoire, rallier peu ou prou la partie succombante. *Ur rd'igh*, « je ne suis pas d'accord » : une telle parole indique parfois le non-ralliement, et par là même que le mécontent fera appel à d'autres voies de recours : obstruction, manœuvres dilatoires, voire résistance violente. Faut-il en conclure qu'un aspect arbitral, profondément ancien et authentique, a survécu même à l'organisation de juridictions à la moderne, et qu'*a fortiori* l'ancienne décision *s-larad'i* n'était qu'arbitrage pur et simple?... Tout ce qu'on peut supposer, c'est que le développement du procès chleuh implique aujourd'hui encore, et à plus forte raison impliquait autrefois de vieilles mœurs rendant obligatoire, à peine de nullité ou d'échec, un « engagement » de l'une et l'autre partie. Cet engagement a pris significativement la forme contractuelle. En revanche l'éloignement où la *jemâa* prend soin de se tenir par rapport au règlement de l'affaire, soustrait celui-ci au sentiment du groupe. Et la réaction des procédures citadines a revêtu la personne du magistrat et sa manière d'agir d'un style doctoral et compassé, celui-même d'une justice éminente.

DEUX FORCES PROCÉDURALES : L'ÉCRIT...

Le verbe arabe classique *islaz'hara*, « produire, manifester les preuves d'un droit », est très souvent employé dans les archives Seksawa, à propos de litiges immobiliers. Malgré son pédantisme rassurant, je ne suis pas sûr qu'il ne faille pas le mettre en regard de la pratique qui consiste à lire les actes que s'opposent les parties sur le lieu du litige (*qerri afella*, « produire à l'encontre de... » ou factitif *saghra*, *saqra*, « faire lire »). Et peut-être même, à un stade plus ancien, l'acte était-il purement et simplement déposé sur la glèbe contestée. Hypothèse ? Les caractères d'efficacité non point

(1) L'ethnologie maghrébine aura fait un réel progrès lorsqu'elle pourra suivre, sur toute la gamme des sociétés nord-africaines, le cheminement de telle ou telle notion, réduite à sons sens précis, sous les vêtements linguistiques les plus variés; et corollairement, étudier les variations sémantiques de tel terme institutionnel. Je pense par exemple au mot *cherl'* ou *chchard'*, ou à ce mot de *taramamt*, bien connu dans le droit matrimonial kabyle, et que je retrouve aux Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), voire même dans un vieux texte du Sous...

intellectuelle et médiate (« éléments de preuve »), mais directe et concrète qu'offre l'emploi de ces titres mènent naturellement à ce genre d'hypothèse.

Une immense flore paperassière, pointant timidement à partir de la fin du xve siècle, déjà plus féconde au xvie siècle, s'étale ensuite avec de plus en plus de luxuriance. La montagne Seksawa est un conservatoire de chartes (1). Il arrive que ces vieux actes fassent eux-mêmes mention des journées de dépouillement que le coffre ou l'outre coûtèrent à des lettrés pour ce appointés à l'occasion d'un procès. En 1193 hég. : 1779, les a. Març, à l'occasion d'un litige, inventorient leurs actes. Coût : 5 *mûzûnas*-s de salaire au *fqih*, qui y a passé quatre jours de travail !... Le papier est en général épais et étroit, à gros grain, véritable carton dans certains cas. Déchiffrement difficile, vu l'incorrection de la langue, à la fois pédantesque et rustique, et la grossièreté des caractères. A cette prolifération de l'écrit correspond le rôle judiciaire majeur qu'on lui fait jouer. Combien ce rôle est exorbitant, une comparaison avec le *fiqh* voisin aidera à le mieux saisir.

Dans le *fiqh* l'acte n'est que la matérialisation du témoignage (2). Son lien avec la parole humaine y est toujours présent, en ce que cette parole à la fois offre de solennité (cf. la *chahâda*, dans le sens de « profession », d' « attestation »), et doit traduire de sincérité. Aussi la critique musulmane du témoignage oscillera-t-elle entre les deux pôles de la vérification psychologique et du contrôle de la forme. Droit de la parole humaine, le *fiqh* n'aura nul égard particulier envers la preuve autographe, non plus qu'envers l'enquête objective. Il repoussera, presque comme deux idolâtries égales, le culte de l'écrit et celui des faits. Entre les deux, il suivra un chemin élégant, celui des formules bien réglées, et non point tant sujettes au formalisme qu'à une certaine justesse de ton, fixée une fois pour toutes, et soumise au double contrôle du grammairien et du moraliste. Les motifs d'infirmation seront dès lors l'impureté de l'agent et le vice du langage, plutôt que l'inadéquation au réel. Le contenu du « dire », *al-qawl* et l'autorité du « disant », *al-qâ'il*, restent les principaux objectifs de la critique. Par là, le système des preuves ne fait qu'un avec l'enchaînement de la tradition et l'application de cette norme essentielle qu'est l' « opinion dominante », *machhûr*. Une remarquable unité de méthodes se manifeste en tout cela. La même critique du témoi-

(1) Cf. Et. in. de B. de La Forcade, Les actes en pays de coutume, *CHEAM*, s'appliquant surtout à la région d'Igherm.

(2) E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, 1945, p. 5.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

gnage oral préside à l'imitation du Prophète, à la construction du droit et à la théologie. L'ensemble forme un tout éloquent, séduisant, accueillant, conquérant, bien dans la manière arabe.

Rien de tel dans la société Seksawa. Les actes *arralen*, *rrusûm*, *laçl*, y constituent la base légitimante et l'ultime recours de toute possession. L'écrit porte en lui-même sa force, si misérable, si « chiffon de papier » qu'il puisse paraître. Peut-être parce qu'il prolonge la force de telles attitudes individuelles : on l'a vu dans le cas de l'*istirâ'*. Mais encore et surtout par sa nature d'écrit. Le nom verbal de *ara*, « écrire », est attesté avec le sens de « charme, talisman » dans plusieurs dialectes (1). Le scribe rural, *l'l'aleb* ou *lfqih* cultive encore aujourd'hui concurremment l'activité notariale et la compétence magique, en même temps qu'il exerce une fonction religieuse municipale, celle d'*imam* et de maître d'école. Ce cumul caractéristique a duré jusqu'à nos jours. Il révèle une confusion pleine d'enseignements entre divers ordres de choses que nous classerions volontiers dans des catégories fort tranchées : culte officiel, organisation communale, éducation des enfants, tabellionnat, exercice plus ou moins clandestin de la magie. Si l'on ajoute que l'arabe, langue de tous ces actes, a toujours dans une certaine mesure conservé valeur de langue initiatique et de parler professionnel, on mesurera la force qui réside en ces écrits généreusement prodiqués aujourd'hui par les parties au cours de leurs litiges. On peut sans exagération estimer que, bien au delà de sa valeur de preuve préconstituée, c'est l'acte en lui-même qui agit le plus souvent, *ex opere operato*, pour parler comme notre Moyen Age.

La matière même du titre compte au moins autant que son contenu. A preuve, parfois, la parfaite vacuité de celui-ci. Telle *jrida*, « liste de parcelles », victorieusement brandie à l'appui d'une cause, ne repose que sur les dires absolument unilatéraux d'un aïeul : quelle créance mériterait-elle en stricte procédure ? De là encore la fréquence du faux. Dans la joute judiciaire, chaque expédient compte. Qu'est-ce après tout que ce faux, sinon un méritoire trait d'astuce, de soin à mieux prouver, et, somme toute, d'intelligence dans la querelle ? Plus profondément, si la force d'un titre consiste, d'une part, en sa matière même, d'autre part, dans l'intensité émotionnelle qu'il révèle de l'usager ou du déclarant — force de la chose d'un côté, force de la personne de l'autre,

(1) A. Basset, Six notes de linguistique berbère, *Ann. I. E. O.*, t. V, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., nie le rapport pourtant tentant entre *ara*, « écrire », et *tiuri*, « malédiction ».

la distinction entre acte faux et authentique ne sera que subtilité. C'est bien ce que ressentent confusément, aujourd'hui encore, les plaideurs comme les juges.

La notion de témoignage oral, sur laquelle repose l'acte écrit en *fiqh*, ne pouvait donc ici trouver entière application. D'une part, elle est supplantée, en cas de conflit, par la preuve chirographe (1). D'autre part, elle est débordée par le droit juré : serment plural entre autres. Le « témoin » s'efface devant le cojureur. Ici l'ordalie, là la parole humaine.

... LE SERMENT

On sait combien la *cojuratio*, par son caractère magique encore accusé, mêlé d'âpres computs, a retenu l'attention de nos sociologues (2). Dans le Moyen Atlas notamment, son milieu d'élection, ils l'ont posée comme le seul mode de preuve. Au Maroc comme en Algérie, elle tient une place d'honneur dans les études berbères, qui ne semblent pas avoir, selon un errement général, circonscrit suffisamment ses aspects. La société chleuhe et plus précisément Seksawa, avec ses démarcations soigneuses, permet-elle de le faire ? Elle permettra en tout cas, grâce à une bonne fortune, la découverte d'un acte de la fin du xve siècle, de jeter quelque jour sur un problème considérable, celui des rapports historiques entre le témoignage plural et le serment plural, *cojuratio* et *lafif*, en droit musulman marocain.

Le serment en Seksawa est avant tout un déclenchement de forces magico-religieuses. Cela est démontré par ce que j'appellerai « l'exception d'Aldébaran ». Nul serment ne doit être prêté dans la montagne avant l'époque dite d'Aldébaran (début mai) : c'est celle où la fructification des amandiers est considérée comme assurée. Si l'on rompt l'interdit, toute la récolte sera perdue. En revanche, le serment, même insincère, reste inoffensif pourvu qu'il soit prêté par les Seksawa en plaine. On n'allègue aucune explication morale, châtiment du parjure ou autre. C'est bien, et presque expressément, le déclenchement de forces dont on redoute l'effet. Notons en corollaire que les a. H'adduyws proscrivent non seulement la prestation du serment, mais la célébration de noces *lameghra*, pendant l'époque critique. Ainsi font aussi les Idma, les Imt'ddan, les a. Lh'sen d'en haut, les Iguntar. Seuls échappent à

(1) Ainsi en a décidé, en 1953, à propos d'un cas d'espèce, le Tribunal coutumier des Seksawa.

(2) Bibliographie et discussion sommaires dans J. Berque, Les Ajwiba d'al-ʿAbbâsî, *R. al.*, 1950, sous § 15.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

la règle les a. Âbdella et les a. Musa. Encore parmi ces derniers, ceux d'aval interdisent-ils les prestations de serment avant la frairie *ddurt* des Regraga en mai. Dans les hauts cantons, l'interdiction ne s'étend pas seulement aux prestations de serment, et à la célébration des noces, mais aussi à la lecture solennelle des titres sur le terrain, ce qui apporte une belle confirmation aux vues exposées ci-dessus.

Pour revenir à la matière du serment, faisons encore appel à un commentaire des a. Lh'sen.

Les serments, disent-ils, sont si dangereux qu'il est interdit d'en prêter dans certains lieux particulièrement efficaces. Telles la *timezgida* d'Awines, celle de Tifesfas, celle d'Iguntar, le sanctuaire de Sidi Musa. Ce dernier punit d'un ouragan dévastateur le parjure et tout son canton avec lui. Il est irascible. Il suffit que quelque femme vindicative vienne gratter le sol de sa tombe pour qu'il déchaîne le vent. Il faudra entourer cette tombe d'une enceinte fermant à clef, sans quoi nous resterons exposés à ces risques. A Iguntar, personne n'ose jurer à la mosquée. L'on va le faire sur de petits saints Regraga inconnus, du côté de l'*agadir*. La *timezgida* de Tifesfas, qui surgit un jour toute bâtie du sol, fit périr pour faux serment 12 cojureurs et leurs 12 adversaires : cela pour une affaire de 12 dinars. Des familles, qui prodiguaient à la légère leur *cojuratio*, ont été châtiées par une médiocrité perpétuelle : ainsi les ait Bella d'Ighilan. Ils osèrent un jour affirmer contre les a. Barka, pourtant descendants de Sidi Musa, et à ce titre redoutables, qu'ils avaient eux-mêmes planté des oliviers contestés : or, ils s'étaient contentés d'en détacher des drageons qu'ils fichaient dans le sol. Mais les a. Barka, grâce au secours de leur ancêtre, confondirent les fraudeurs, qui désormais périclitèrent au point que leur souche soit aujourd'hui toute proche de l'extinction.

Ce témoignage des a. Lh'sen mélange curieusement l'expression naïve à la réinterprétation. Une autre chose en tout cas prouve que le serment cache sa vertu ailleurs que dans sa véracité. C'est qu'on le défère à un groupe défini d'avance plutôt qu'à une personne qui ressemble à un témoin de réalité. Les cojureurs sont invités à attester des choses qu'ils ne peuvent manifestement pas connaître, qu'ils n'ont pas vues, qu'ils sont réputés ne pouvoir avoir vues. C'est leur appoint pur et simple qui est requis, et rien d'autre. Cet appoint s'identifie avec celui du groupe. Il est le groupe même, savoir, dans notre région et aujourd'hui, le groupe de la parenté selon l'ordre de proximité agnatique décroissante. Et lors même que c'est l'adversaire qui, comme dans certains cas, a le choix des cojureurs à fournir ét qui se dénomment alors *mord'iyin*, c'est immanquablement ces proches qu'il désigne : ceux-là mêmes qui, en *fiqh*, seraient récusés par lui. Certes, le

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

droit Seksawa offre ici une richesse moindre, une moindre variété que d'autres droits maghrébins, où la structure du groupe fait appel, outre le facteur parental, à un facteur consensuel (1). D'autre part, il est possible que la diminution, pour le moins consécutive à notre intervention, de l'effectif des jureurs, jadis considérable en cas de meurtre par exemple, ait appauvri l'institution. Voici quelques indices datables qui permettent de le supposer.

Un acte de 1257 hég. : 1841, de la basse vallée, et se référant « au temps du *h'âkim* sultanien Ibn Abdeççadoq », c'est-à-dire à une ambiance plus ou moins makhzénienne, constitue un procès-verbal de carence d'une *cojuratio* cinquantenaire pour affaire de meurtre. Cette carence est certifiée par 12 témoins — le taux du *lafif* : curieux point de jonction entre les deux ordres procéduraux.

Un acte de 1233 hég. : 1818 (a. H'adduyws), révèle un trait autrement archaïque. Au cours de cérémonies non décrites, mais qui ressortissaient sans doute aux pactes d'alliance, et après déclaration solennelle à la *timezgida* de Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), des subdivisions d'*ikhs* des Idaw Geryun fixent entre elles l'ordre de prestation des serments pluraux. Acte grave et engageant l'avenir. Les a. Benâisa de Messdat parlent aussi au nom de leur progéniture à venir. Des protestations de pardon mutuel et éternel sont échangées. Finalement, l'on convient d'un ordre fixe, dans lequel s'opéreront les cérémonies futures. D'abord jurera telle famille des a. D'alh'a (les a. Bubker), puis telle autre du même *ikhs*, en troisième lieu les a. Benâisa de Messdat. « Si on les requiert de jurer, ils se soutiendront mutuellement ».

Un tel texte est important. Il se réfère à des prestations où la famille agnatique n'arrive pas à fournir le nombre imparti de cojureurs : c'est notamment le cas des espèces criminelles. Le présent pacte constitue donc à certains égards une assurance mutuelle contre l'imputation de meurtre. L'alliance entre a. D'alh'a et a. Messdat suggère d'autre part de possibles interférences entre un système généalogique et des accords contractuels : les échappées ainsi ouvertes sont riches. Or la date d'un tel pacte

(1) De Leyris signale, Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab, in *CHEAM*, la *tulit*, qui serait un groupe cinquantenaire de gens se devant réciproquement l'assistance par le serment, p. 9. Le cojureur qui se dérobe peut être contraint à s'exécuter par 5 serments de la partie intéressée. On sent ici une grande richesse dans les nuances de l'obligation de solidarité. Voir cas intéressant de l' « isolé sacramentel », *agummam*. En ait Mgild d'Azrou, l'étranger peut se constituer des cojureurs par un sacrifice (Coudino, Le serment en a. M., in *CHEAM*, p. 13). Il faudrait signaler ici en sens inverse, comme un progrès simultané de l'individualisme et des « lumières », le cas de l'*agummam*, qui s'exempte solennellement de toute participation à une *cojuratio*. Cf. l'intéressante étude d'A. Adam, Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental, *Hesp.*, 1948, pp. 299 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

est assez récente : à peine du siècle dernier, où il détonne comme un archaïsme. Enfin, la manifestation à la *timezgida*, l'emploi de racines musulmanes éveillant des notions religieuses, celles de *s.m.h'*, *gh.f.r.*, *ch.h.d.*, procèdent du ton volontairement conféré — ou surajouté — à l'opération. Dans ce pacte de fraternité, lointain rappel peut-être de ceux que mentionne l'antiquité berbère, notamment pour la période almohade, il est remarquable que l'*initium* sacramentel ainsi assumé mette en premier lieu deux familles des a. D'alh'a. Cela s'explique par leur autorité de descendants des rois Seksawa. Et hors du cas d'espèce, on entrevoit ainsi d'intéressantes hiérarchies juridiques entre *ikhs-s*, complétant d'autres hiérarchies inhérentes à l'ordre agraire.

Mais voici de quoi refroidir chez le chercheur, si besoin était, un début d'enthousiasme primitiviste. Dans un acte de la même vallée, beaucoup plus ancien, puisqu'il est de 981 hég. : 1573, un *fqih*, Âbdelâziz b. Brahim, rend une consultation selon laquelle doit être récusé le témoignage de l'ennemi. Là perce une critique morale. Des scrupuleux spécifient qu'ils ne prêteront plus serment. Dès lors, aucune règle de parenté, aucune règle du jeu, ne pourraient plus les faire participer à une *cojuratio*. En 1206 hég. : 1792, à Azend'o, un personnage, que l'on sent pieux et rassis, atteste qu' « il ne prêtera plus désormais serment ni pour ses frères, ni pour ses enfants, ni pour personne d'autre. Il se met à l'écart », *radda nafsa-hu fi jihal*, et « retourne », *tâb*, à Dieu pour le reste de ses jours ». Une telle évasion individuelle, une telle renonciation au contrat social semble ici avoir été plus rare que dans le Sous par exemple, où elle a donné lieu à une forme juridique particulière.

Mais quelle complexité, quel anachronisme de la matière ! Critique de témoignage au XVIe siècle, scrupule du Géronte au XVIIIe, pacte de solidarité au XIXe. Notons ce trait persistant du système : la juxtaposition qu'il offre des éléments les plus hétéroclites, les plus anachroniques. Nul doute que le pacte de fraternité sacramentelle souscrit par des groupes Idaw Geryun ne soit d'accent plus archaïque qu'une critique de témoignage. Or la seconde est en fait de beaucoup antérieure au premier : de plusieurs siècles ! Il est probable que ces sociétés Seksawa comportaient simultanément des institutions, des esprits de l'une et l'autre forme, voire des impulsions de l'un ou l'autre genre dans les mêmes esprits. Toute explication génétique s'avère dès lors singulièrement suspecte. Ce qui est vraisemblable, au contraire, c'est que ce genre de contraste a été de tous les temps, et que cette société, si l'on peut dire, l'a vu d'un bon œil.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

UN DOCUMENT SUR LES RAPPORTS HISTORIQUES ENTRE LE SERMENT PLURAL ET LE TÉMOIGNAGE « LAFÎF »

La pratique judiciaire marocaine a fini par admettre une forme subsidiaire du « témoignage », initialement réservé aux seuls « justes », *ᶜadl*. Contre ce concept canonique, le *lafif* restitua le concept statistique de témoins quelconques, c'est-à-dire, en fait, des proches ou complaisants (1). Ce n'était là, prenons-y garde, que la pure traduction d'un appui du groupe. Entre l'ordalie qui est la base du serment plural et la critique morale à quoi le droit religieux soumet le témoignage, le *lafif* constitue en quelque sorte une tierce position, influencée par la pratique notariale. Celle-ci se spécifiant, on discrimina les témoins non plus en « justes » *ᶜadl* et non-justes, mais en professionnels et simples particuliers. A Fès, ce mode mit du temps à s'imposer. La polémique règne à son sujet tout au long du XVIᵉ siècle. Le *lafif* est constamment présenté comme une tolérance campagnarde. Cependant, la longue et dure controverse qui eut lieu pour l'admission du serment complémentaire imposé par le cadi aux co-témoignants du *lafif*, était peut-être dominée par la hantise d'éviter, dans ce mode testimonial difficilement acclimaté en ville, quoi que ce fût qui sentît la rustique ordalie.

On mesurera dès lors de quel poids peuvent être des documents, dus aux hasards de la découverte, qui permettraient de conjecturer avec quelque chance de précision, le passage d'une forme à l'autre. C'est peut-être le cas de l'acte suivant, fort ancien pour cette société : 899 hég. : 1494.

Il se compose de deux titres. D'abord une fondation habous qui débute dans un pur style épigraphique : « Que tous ceux qui tomberont sur cet écrit sachent que ᶜAbd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus a constitué habous, etc. » Après la définition de l'immeuble par ses riverains aux 4 points cardinaux, et une énumération redondante des effets de la fondation, l'acte poursuit : *ᶜaldmuᶜdyanat il-bayyinat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ᶜald'l-h'ubûs wal'-h'iydzat wa'd-duᶜâ'i bi'lbarakat*. Soit, textuellement, « sur la constatation visuelle de la preuve *(sic)* : les purificateurs agréés, quant à l'immobilisation, à la tradition et à l'invocation de la *baraka*, etc. ». Ces « purificateurs agréés », c'est-à-dire les cojureurs du degré le plus proche (que ce degré soit parental ou contractuel) sont considérés ici comme suffisamment connus pour que le scribe se dispense

(1) Al-ᶜIraqî, La preuve par témoins, *lafif*, *Revue du Maghreb*, 1939, nº 9, pp. 1 sq. (« Doctrine »). Question fréquemment abordée dans la littérature juridique marocaine. Elle a fait l'objet d'un traité complet de al-ᶜArabî al-Fâsi au XVIIᵉ siècle. Cf. aussi al-Wazzâni, *Commentaire de l'ᶜAmal*, pp. 93 *in fine* sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

de les énumérer. Noter l'emploi de *bayyinat*, dans ce sens personnel, où il recouvre quelque terme de droit berbère. Enfin, pas de paraphe, la vertu de l'écrit étant censée suffire.

Le deuxième acte, accolé au premier, en est la transposition en *lafif*. « Requiert *astawqafa* (le fils du fondateur) de la preuve qui ont témoigné *(sic)* du habous en sa possession, et que son père avait pris à témoins *astachhada* dans l'acte ci-dessus qu'il leur a bien dit, etc. » Le fils fait recopier « de peur de destruction par usure » l'acte initial, dit ici *sijla*, en fait témoigner 6 personnes, et assortit le tout de trois *responsa* rudimentaires justifiant l'opération. Cela se passe évidemment au XVIe siècle. Dans l'espace de la génération qui vient de s'écouler, s'est prononcée l'insuffisance de l'ancienne stipulation orale, à sanction magico-religieuse, plongeant dans la solidarité de la *jemda*, et sans doute illustrée du rite qu'évoque le mot *du'â'*. Le fils vit dans un milieu à préoccupations notariales et formalise la fondation paternelle en réutilisant, mais cette fois comme témoins, le nom des anciens cojureurs.

A vrai dire, un document isolé ne pourrait fonder suffisamment l'hypothèse. L'impropriété des termes employés par des scribes ne connaissant que médiocrement l'arabe peut d'autre part fausser l'interprétation du premier texte (1). Mais des coïncidences chronologiques assez troublantes lui confèrent un certain poids. On sait que le genre des Formulaires est un genre proprement marocain. La veine en court tout au long d'une histoire culturelle de six siècles, depuis les *Walhâ'iq* d'al-Mattît'ī jusqu'au récent commentaire de la *Fir'ûniya*. A quel moment cet art pénétra-t-il le Sous ? On relève un *Kitâb ummahât al-walhâ'iq* de Daud at-Tamullī ou at-Timlī, m. en 841 hég. : 1438. Cette date paraît bien apporter le terminus *a quo*, et l'on observera qu'elle précède d'une cinquantaine d'années le tournant procédural que révèlent nos deux actes Seksawa. Ce délai de transmission entre la doctrine d'un savant du Sous, probablement l'initiateur ou le vulgarisateur, et la pratique notariale de ce canton reculé est assez vraisemblable.

ROLE NOTARIAL DU T'T'ALEB

Quant au rôle du « juste » *'adl*, dont une évolution panislamique a fait un professionnel salarié, il est instructif de le com-

(1) As-Suktânī, *Afwiba*, ms. de la zaouia des Ud 'Abdalmawlâ, qui s'attache à plusieurs de ces notions techniques, par suite des rapports épistolaires nombreux qu'il entretenait comme consultant avec les justiciables de tribus encore plongées dans la coutume, *bâb ach-chahâdât*, pp. 135 sq., paraît employer *murd'iy* dans le sens de « témoin agréé ». Mais toute cette matière est extrêmement confuse. Bien qu'il soit fréquemment fait allusion à des formulaires *walhâ'iq*, la pratique en reste souvent au témoin unique et aux interférences entre le serment et le témoignage (p. 140 b.).

parer à celui que joue, dans le Haut-Atlas occidental, le *t'l'aleb* instrumentaire. Car là aussi il y a eu spécialisation, encore que dans un sens tout autre.

Certaines tribus, dont les Seksawa, et, en général, les tribus du circum-Tichka, réservent la capacité notariale aux seuls *t'l'olba* attachés *mulâzim* aux mosquées de village. Par là ils sont revêtus de la force qu'émane un concert collectif matérialisé par telles pratiques communautaires : repas d'investiture, rétribution cotisée, etc. Le lettré nomade et quêteur que connaît également ce milieu est donc écarté de la fonction notariale, même en dépit parfois des prestiges de la personne. Un jugement récent de Tribunal coutumier refusait toute force probante au paraphe d'un important marabout, raison tirée de ce qu'il n'était pas *imam* de village, instrumentant dans ce village.

Vers la fin du XIIIe siècle, un voyageur décrit les habitants du Sous happant les lettrés de passage pour leur conférer des fonctions d'*imam* de village. Quatre siècles après, les *Ajwiba* d'an-Nâçirî consacrent de longs passages à cette institution. L'ajustement qu'elles signalent entre la rétribution de ce *fqih* et l'ordre des tours d'eau révèle une corrélation antique et profonde entre le système et les assises mêmes de cette société. Peu importe que le personnage soit inculte, garde la tête nue, ne porte qu'une chemise, laisse ses femmes vaquer à des travaux plus ou moins décents : l'utilitarisme malékite le tolère quand même, car, sans lui, le village ne prierait plus, et ne passerait plus de contrats.

Ces différents traits achèveront d'entourer deux motifs essentiels de la procédure Seksawa, voire chleuhe au sens large : l'écrit et le serment, de leur atmosphère municipale. Du même coup, un début de précision historique, en une matière qui en est ordinairement si dépourvue, vient jeter quelque lueur sur le rapport de modes juridiques dont on commence ainsi à percevoir l'articulation dans le temps. Encore qu'étroitement circonscrits au champ de cette étude, de tels éléments valent pour l'ensemble du Maroc, cela même conférant au Sud marocain, comme nourricier de formes juridiques, un primat inattendu.

[p. 337]

II

DROIT FAMILIAL

FAMILLE AGNATIQUE OU FAMILLE CONJUGALE (1)

Supposons que les groupes, à l'inverse des exigences d'une logique individualiste, se déterminent du plus au moins large plutôt que par une amplification qui commencerait à l'individu. Cette idée de Durkheim risque de se vérifier historiquement des Berbères dont le morcellement actuel peut avoir été précédé de vastes conjonctions. L'étude des grands ensembles du Maghreb médiéval, puis celle des ligues du proche passé, puis des confédé-

(1) Ce problème est absolument central dans notre enquête. Il ne pouvait donc être traité qu'au fur et à mesure du développement de l'exposé. La notion de groupe agnatique, en tant que base de la société berbère, a depuis longtemps passé les frontières de la monographie. Elle remonte à des observations très anciennes, faites notamment à propos d'habitat morcelé, ou de quartier, et telles qu'on en trouve par exemple dans les *Voyages d'Ali bey*, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. MASQUERAY, *Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie*, 1886, en tire de précieuses analyses. Toute la littérature du « bureau arabe », Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., avait insisté sur le côté « patriarcal » de la vie maghrébine. Ces vues sont systématisées par M. MORAND, *Etudes de droit musulman algérien*, 1910, pp. 10 sq. et A. BERNARD et LACROIX, *L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, 1906, dans leur très riche chapitre IX sur la vie sociale, pp. 271 sq. Ils y font état de la profonde étude d'E. DOUTTÉ, L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'âh'a, *Rens. col.*, janv. 1905, qui se rapproche de notre secteur, pp. 8 sq. Observations de W. MARÇAIS dans un domaine plus éloigné, mais valable pour l'ensemble nord-africain, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, 1925, pp. XI sq. ; bonne bibliographie de A. MOULIÉRAS sur la *cazwa* des Jebala, *Le Maroc inconnu*, 1895, t. I, p. 66 ; d'H. BRUNO sur le *caz'âm*, Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central, *Arch. berb.*, 1918, p. 306. Sur ce contexte d'observations, R. MAUNIER n'hésite pas à rapprocher la *takharrubt* kabyle de la *gens* romaine, *Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine*, 1930, p. 64, et décrit une société « segmentaire ». Ces idées ont été très répandues. VIDAL DE LABLACHE lui-même, *Principes de Géographie humaine*, 1922, p. 291, compare la société berbère à un ensemble de cantons helléniques qui n'auraient pas opéré leur « synœcisme ». Pour revenir à l'observation concrète, au Maroc, l'étude approfondie de l'*ikhs* est entreprise par R. MONTAGNE dans une série de travaux parus dans *Hesp.* à partir de 1924, et aussi *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc*, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. MONTAGNE affirmera, par la suite, l'importance de la famille patriarcale, par exemple, tout récemment, dans *Naissance du Prolétariat marocain*, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. MARCY, de même, *Le droit coutumier Zemmour*, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insiste sur l'importance du groupe agnatique, bien qu'il ait posé la famille conjugale comme « cellule élémentaire ». Il avait déjà exprimé cette idée, notamment dans L'alliance par colactation, *IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes*, 1936.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

rations, des tribus, des cantons, apporterait à celle de la famille agnatique (1), et en second lieu de la famille conjugale, des bases de plus en plus précises et un arrière-plan progressivement éclairé.

La vie familiale est par excellence le lieu de rencontre des ordres de faits les plus divers : magie, folklore, mode, droit positif, morale, religion. La démarcation entre eux est ténue. Lequel d'entre eux choisir comme le plus révélateur ? Or, pour les Seksawa, c'est le droit familial qui se réclame le plus de l'éthique musulmane. Il ne veut connaître que la personne individuelle, et se réfère en tout aux normes du *fiqh*. A vrai dire, il s'agit là d'une profession théorique plutôt que d'une pratique réelle. Un aboutissement idéal, si l'on veut, mais que cette société se propose à elle-même. Un point d'arrivée aussi, si l'on songe que les constructions du passé décèlent, autant qu'on puisse les scruter, quelque chose de bien différent. Mais de quand dater le changement ? Et y a-t-il eu changement à une époque appréciable ?

La première approche de notre enquête donnait là-dessus, et justement en ce qui concerne les sociétés de montagne, des résultats propres à inspirer la prudence. L'habitat, le genre de vie et jusqu'à la nourriture nous sont apparus comme nettement divis à l'échelon de la famille conjugale. Laissons-nous donc conduire par l'actualité observable à une première approximation de la fuyante réalité sociale qui fait l'objet de ce chapitre. A l'instar de l'usager, on concentrera l'attention sur la famille conjugale, *lahat*, généalogiquement reliée à l'ascendant commun de toutes les autres familles de l'*ikhs*. Définissons ce dernier comme une « famille agnatique différenciée », aboutissant à l'individu — homme ou femme — en tant que sujet de droits. L'*ikhs* lui-même est refoulé dans l'ombre, avec les autres soubassements de tout ce qui n'est pas devenu institution avouée par la commune et soumise à l'estampille de l'écrit. Mais il affleure parfois aussi au plan du débat judiciaire. A l'occasion des serments pluraux, c'est le cercle le plus rapproché des agnats qui est convié à conférer au plaideur son appoint. Des mécanismes conservatoires, tels que la *chchfâa* ou le habous s'attachent à maintenir ou rétablir contre toutes aliénations ou amodiations foncières une immutabilité patrimoniale moins familiale au sens étroit, que gentilice. L'acte

(1) Cf. sur la « famille agnatique indivise » les idées de G. Davy, *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, 1950, 2e édit., pp. 109 sq. Le terme légèrement différent que nous employons nous paraît mieux correspondre à la réalité décrite. Sa définition ne s'en oppose pas moins, de la façon indiquée par G. Davy, à la famille patriarcale.

ancien dont excipe une partie, l'*açl*, et qui a d'autant plus de valeur qu'il est plus ancien, consiste maintes fois dans une simple affirmation unilatérale des droits fonciers de l'ancêtre. L'arbre généalogique *chchajara* et la répartition successorale *lmirath*, documents d'archives manifestant la continuité agnatique, jouent un rôle décisif dans le procès. Un instinct de remembrement s'oppose à la force dispersante des héritages et de l'aventure individuelle. Entre cousin riche et cousins pauvres, elle anime et obscurément justifie ces prises et reprises que la tradition et l'opinion assimilent moins à l'usurpation qu'à l'aubaine ou à une sorte de revanche permanente entre coayants-droit. C'est ce que seule justifie et autorise l'existence d'un ordre agraire gentilice

Tout l'effort de la jurisprudence, fût-elle des grands cadis du Sous, s'est consacré à servir, plutôt qu'à amender cette situation. C'est que l'*ikhs* s'imposait au droit privé de toutes ses attaches de droit public. Foyers conjugaux d'un côté, cité de l'autre, se font pendant, si l'on peut dire, de part et d'autre de l'*ikhs*. En lui est leur point de jonction, de chaque côté duquel règnent des rythmes sociaux profondément divers. D'un côté, la parenté et l'alliance, justiciables de la mémoire des vivants, et trouvant leur application pratique dans chaque débat successoral. C'est le règne de l'écrit. De l'autre des classements de plus en plus amples s'échelonnant de l'*ikhs* à la plus petite unité politique, la *laqbill*, et de là peut-être aux grandes partitions légendaires de l'Afrique du Nord : Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. Là commence le règne des lois non écrites.

Aux antipodes de cette vie gentilice, voici la personne individuelle. Non seulement elle est aux yeux du droit le seul sujet, mais les parades ou subterfuges que la vieille procédure chleuhe a prodigués pour maintenir contre elle quelque chose des anciennes solidarités, ne sont en somme que peu de chose au regard de la primauté qu'elle tient des mœurs. C'est ce qu'on verra notamment en matière de partage d'acquêts et d'us matrimonial. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, le caractère « patriarcal » et statutaire le cède à un caractère individuel et contractuel plus prononcé que tout ce qui peut s'observer d'analogue dans le prétendu modèle islamique. Le système chleuh va en l'espèce au delà du *fiqh*. L'influence des organisations gentilices, bien que combattue par l'orthodoxie, son notariat et sa conception des droits personnels, pouvait leur résister, mais non prévaloir sur une tradition locale puissante, celle des computs égalitaires entre conjoints, parents et enfants. Ces trois influences ont toutefois interféré, et se retrouvent toutes trois, encore qu'à des degrés inégaux, dans les différents secteurs de l'institution familiale.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

MORPHOLOGIE DU MARIAGE EN SEKSAWA

Chaque année, à la frairie du Mîlâd, affluent au lieu saint de Z'init' jeunes hommes et jeunes filles d'alentour. L'attraction s'exerce jusqu'en Mentaga vers le S., jusqu'aux ᵉAbda vers le N. C'est la foire aux épouses. Au gré des sympathies, des couples se forment, qui ne sollicitent que rarement l'estampille des parents. Dans certains cas pourtant la fiancée « présente » son fiancé à sa famille, qui va l'accompagner chez lui. Le plus souvent, est-il besoin de le dire, les unions n'ont rien qui puisse satisfaire le moraliste. « Mais », comme me le disait un *amghar* des Seksawa, « il faut croire que la sainte s'y complaît, car sa *baraka* garantit la prospérité de ces mariages et supplée aux lenteurs parfois considérables des fiançailles habituelles ». Cette foire aux filles, chère surtout aux soupirants arabes de plaine qui viennent ici choisir montagnarde à leur gré, a des fruits durables. Le seul village de Z'init' a à l'heure actuelle trois de ses femmes benoîtement mariées dans la seule tribu H'mer.

C'est là pourtant une sorte d'exception, de rappel. En effet, malgré une grande richesse cérémonielle, le mariage n'offre plus ici aucun trait qui révèle, du moins sur le plan du droit, des conditionnements collectifs. Aux yeux des juristes locaux, toute cette partie de leurs institutions s'inspire étroitement du *fiqh* (1). Une telle profession, assurément exacte si l'on s'attache au plan judiciaire, l'est moins pour qui considère les mœurs, les tensions qu'elles traduisent, les images qu'elles suggèrent. Quelle part faire à l'une et à l'autre de ces deux manières de voir, reflétant chacune un niveau différent de la réalité ? L'enquête d'un Westermarck (2), dont on a la bonne fortune de disposer dans le second de ces deux domaines, est ici de peu de secours, malgré les

(1) En ce sens, voir J. Lafond, *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous*, 1948, pp. 25 sq., et, dans un sens islamisant naturellement encore plus accusé, les chapitres du *nikâh'*, dans les ouvrages d'an-Nâçirî, ar-Rasmûkî, al-ᵉAbbâsî, etc.

(2) E. Westermarck, *Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc*, 1921, et les nombreuses allusions faites à l'institution marocaine dans les autres ouvrages de cet auteur. Sur la méthode de W., voir Lévi-Strauss, L'œuvre de W., *R. d'hist. des Religions*, n° 1, 1945. E. Westermarck a été à ce point frappé par les institutions marocaines que son *Histoire du mariage*, par exemple, tr., 2ᵉ éd., y fait de larges appels, et pas toujours heureux. Cf. par exemple, ce qu'il dit de la fameuse Nuit de l'erreur (t. I, pp. 121 sq.). Intéressantes remarques sur la courtisation (t. II, pp. 205 sq.), sur le mariage par fuite (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), le mariage par échanges de fiancées, qui est l'antéislamique *chighâr* (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, 1905, pp. 331 sq., donne une remarquable description du mariage en Reh'âmna. Il cite, même page, n. 2, une bibliographie exhaustive pour son temps et pour le Maroc.

échappées suggestives qu'elle ouvre çà et là. Elle néglige en effet l'analyse morphologique et n'apporte en fin de compte qu'une collection de traits plus précieuse à un comparatisme général, que pour l'examen d'une institution localisée dans ses rapports avec le milieu. L'exposé ci-dessous cherchera à combiner, selon le dosage qu'en offre la réalité elle-même, le point de vue du juriste local, qui déjà codifie et élabore, avec celui des usagers qui ne connaissent le droit que par ce qu'ils en voient et ressentent. Tendance à la normalisation et participation émotive, l'une individualiste et rationnelle, l'autre de génie tout communautaire, mais affleurant au droit, auront également place dans notre curiosité. A l'une comme à l'autre on essaiera de faire la juste part dans ce trop schématique exposé, qui se résignera à négliger les variétés entre groupes.

Le mariage Seksawa comporte plusieurs phases dont la succession est scandée par des cérémonies.

a) l'*asghurt*, « stage prénuptial », est une période de fréquentation préalable à la cohabitation. Elle est de durée indéfinie.

L'inaugurent :

1) l'*id'ilâb*, « demande » solennisée par le sacrifice d'une bête et
2) l'accord de la fiancée et des deux familles, sanctionnée par un repas en commun ;
3) la fête dite *asghurt* : elle donne à l'ensemble son nom qui évoque, étymologiquement un « cri rituel ».

Outre les cadeaux remis à cette occasion, procédant d'une économie du don et de la bombance, le jeune homme doit à la jeune fille, pendant cette période, le vêtement et la parure, selon des modalités coutumières. Il contribue à l'entretenir au domicile de ses parents à elle. En contrepartie, elle lui doit une intimité en général non totale, et s'associe à lui dans diverses pratiques mettant en jeu classes d'âge et rites de passage : frairies et veillées de jeunes, applications de henné. La rupture unilatérale de cet état par la jeune fille entraîne de sa part l'obligation de restituer les cadeaux et les frais engagés.

b) Les « noces », *tameghra*, comprennent une partie rituelle, une partie statutaire et une partie conventionnelle.

Partie rituelle :

1) La *tarzift* : remise par le jeune homme à ses beaux-parents de cadeaux propitiatoires, donnant lieu à « cortège » et parfois à pillage simulé ;
2) la conduite processionnelle de la jeune fille à la maison maritale, c'est l'*âid n-tslit* ;
3) l'exposition de l'apport dotal de la mariée : c'est l'*âid uruku* ;
4) la prononciation de la *fâtih'a*, formule coranique accompagnée de souhaits de bon augure ;

I: Berque MW11 Shluh

5) La consommation : c'est *l'did ukechchum*, sanctionnée, s'il s'agit d'une vierge, par le youyou de la matrone de service, *taghorit*, et un nouveau présent, *lh'aqq n-ققbdh'*.

Partie statutaire :

1) Conclusion de l'*amerwas* : engagement du marié à la mariée d'avoir à lui verser, en cas de dissolution du mariage, une somme fixée uniformément par la coutume de chaque tribu, et variant de l'une à l'autre : en Seksawa 6,50 pour la vierge, 3,25, pour la non-vierge ;
2) Droit désormais acquis par la femme à sa part d'hoirie prévue par la loi, c'est-à-dire la moitié d'une part d'héritier mâle, conformément au *fiqh*. Son droit aux acquêts reste subordonné à un délai d'un an de vie commune.

Partie conventionnelle (et facultative en principe) :

1) Le *chchard'*, « douaire stipulé » par le marié au profit de la mariée ;
2) La prise en charge par le même du *jihaz*, « apport de la mariée dans la communauté ».

Un procès-verbal de ces conventions est dressé le cas échéant par des lettrés au prononcé de la *fâtih'a* : c'est le seul moment où règne une atmosphère de droit religieux. Moment court et excentrique, au sens propre du terme.

c) L' « état conjugal », *litihal*. Son premier aspect, auquel se rattachent des notions magiques, sentimentales, et morales, est celui de la cohabitation et de la procréation.

Sous son second aspect, qui est celui d'une société de travail, il comporte le droit de la femme à sa part d'acquêts *(tizzla)* parmi les autres participants de la société familiale *(imezzalen)*, à égalité avec chacun de ceux-ci, hommes ou femmes, et déduction une fois faite de l'apport des uns et des autres. L'apport marital compte d'office pour une moitié sur l'ensemble des acquêts. C'est là un préciput patrimonial.

Le droit de la femme à sa part est considéré comme la contrepartie des tâches que lui impartit la coutume, selon une rigoureuse discrimination d'avec celles qui incombent aux hommes. Il est également considéré aujourd'hui comme la compensation de la modicité statutaire de l'*amerwas*. Mais c'est là sans doute une réinterprétation.

d) « Dissolution », *uluf*. La répudiation prononcée par l'homme est toujours définitive. La libération de la femme est consacrée par la délivrance d'un document *tabrat* qu'elle exige souvent par la voie judiciaire, en même temps que sa part d'acquêts. La femme peut, comme dans le *fiqh*, demander judiciairement la dissolution du mariage pour motif (sévices, impuissance, etc.), soumis à l'appréciation des magistrats. Mais en Seksawa elle peut l'obtenir sur simple incompatibilité, ce qui constitue une originalité exorbitante par rapport au *fiqh*.

Ainsi que le disait un juge d'*orf*, la femme seule peut être juge du *d'd'arar ddakhili*, c'est-à-dire des « inconvénients cachés ». Une veine originale de tendresse protectrice à l'égard de filles et sœurs circule ici dans

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

la coutume. Elle est assez remarquable pour que la régularisation de cette pratique ayant été opérée par délibération tribale en 1949, la *jemâa*, unanime, à l'exception d'un seul, manifesta son accord formel. L'isolé était du Bas Seksawa. Un homme de confins arabes.

COMPARAISON AVEC LE MARIAGE ORTHODOXE

Sans qu'il puisse être ici question d'une comparaison historique entre l'institution chleuhe et l'institution musulmane, telle qu'elle se présente dans la théorie d'une part, dans la pratique marocaine de l'autre, on note immédiatement certaines différences.

Tout d'abord, une différence de profil dans le temps. La conclusion du *nikâh'* orthodoxe est sanctionnée par le versement d'une partie au moins du *çadâq*. C'est là incontestablement son point de départ. Rien de moins vrai du mariage chleuh, où les noces sont précédées de ce que j'ai appelé un stage prénuptial, lequel n'est pas toujours aujourd'hui, et ne paraît en tout cas pas avoir été anciennement exclusif de l'acte sexuel. Mais n'insistons pas sur cette question : elle ne saurait être convenablement traitée que dans les perspectives du comparatisme berbère qu'une controverse récemment ouverte sur les « fiançailles kabyles » (1) rend assez peu concluant en l'espèce.

Ce qui est indéniable par contre, c'est que le mariage chleuh

(1) Je pense aux malicieuses critiques de G.-H. Bousquet, *Justice française et coutumes kabiles*, 1950, p. 63. Mais, si, sur un plan juridique, elles paraissent décisives, je me demande si, sur le plan de l'ethnologie générale, la question ne mériterait pas d'être creusée. A. Magdelain, *Essai sur les origines de la sponsio*, 1943, p. 104, retrouve, dans le très ancien droit romain, une opposition entre les « fiançailles », forme plus conservatrice, plus imbue de rites magiques et de la notion de *patria potestas*, et le « mariage », forme individualisée et consensuelle. Mais de très bonne heure, le lien juridique des fiançailles est tombé à Rome en décadence. De même, en droit musulman, le point de départ de l'institution dans le temps, au sens juridique du terme, est la *fâtih'a*. Pourtant, la fréquence en droit chleuh des litiges que nous dirions « en rupture de promesse de mariage » est significative, et recouvre à tout le moins la notion d'un état juridique déjà noué antérieurement au prononcé de la *fâtih'a*. C'est ce que j'appelle le stage prénuptial, par allusion à des pratiques de cet ordre tombées au niveau du simple folklore dans certains milieux européens par exemple. Cf. Van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français*, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. Dans le domaine berbère lui-même, il ne sera pas aventuré de rapprocher cette phase de « fréquentation », où la fille reste au domicile de ses parents, de tel trait du mariage touareg : « la coutume veut que les nouveaux mariés habitent à côté des parents de la femme pendant un an », M. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, 1908, p. 18. Au Maroc même, le Moyen Atlas connaît différentes pratiques ressortissant à une vie conjugale préalablement assortie de travail au domicile des parents, selon le thème biblique de Jacob chez Laban. C'est la coutume de l'*amhares*. Quelque chose d'analogue chez les ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara, d'après de Ligniville. G. Marcy, *Le droit coutumier Zemmour*, 1949, range trop rapidement, sous le nom de *tiddukla* « compagnonnage », des traits de ce genre (p. 7). Même reproche à faire à sa discussion de la théorie d'H. Basset, tirée de l'uniformité de l'*atig* en a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. et 9, n. 4).

est une société de production égalitaire (1), où chaque ayant droit, femme comprise, apporte son capital et son travail. Le capital de la femme, c'est le *jihaz*, et sa part d'acquêts la *lizzla*. Rien de pareil en pays arabe. A Fès par exemple, les mœurs imposent bien au bourgeois qui marie sa fille de lui remettre un « douaire », dit *chuwâr* ou *tajhiz*, d'un montant égal au double de la partie immédiatement acquittée du *çadâq*. Mais c'est là une libéralité somptuaire qui se retourne comme menace d'un dédit en cas de répudiation. Assurément pas, comme dans le Sous, une société qui s'investit. Économie ostentatoire et tension entre grandes familles : tel est le climat de Fès ; modeste et méticuleuse communauté de travail : tel est celui du Sous. Le sens de la pratique diffère complètement de l'un à l'autre cas : mais de l'un à l'autre, il est vrai, pas de solution de continuité, et parfois emploi d'homonymes pour désigner des formes très dissemblables.

Plus instructif encore est le report indéfini du versement de cet *amerwas*, censé correspondre au *çadâq*. On sait qu'en *fiqh* une partie au moins du *çadâq* doit être versée comptant. Absolument pas dans le Sous. Le fait que le versement de l'*amerwas* y soit pour totalité différé jusqu'à dissolution du mariage : 1) le dissocie nettement de la consommation du mariage, et l'éloigne par là même de son rôle orthodoxe de purificateur canonique de l'acte sexuel (2) ; 2) mène à chercher dans d'autres traits du mariage chleuh les véritables formalités inaugurales.

L'invariabilité de l'*amerwas* dans une même tribu (3) est le second des caractères qui l'opposent au *çadâq*. Le montant de ce

(1) J. Berque, Les *Ajwiba* d'al-ᶜAbbâsî, *R. al.*, 1950, §§ 1 sq., et notes. Rien de plus instructif que l'embarras du juriste orthodoxe pour justifier les solutions aberrantes du milieu.

(2) Et pourtant un juriste « marabout » comme an-Nâçirî, *Ajwiba*, ms. de la zaouia des Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 14, doit considérer que le report indéfini de l'intégralité du *çadâq* (en l'espèce l'*amerwas*) est sans inconvénient, et ne rend pas le mariage illicite.

Rappelons — sans bien entendu vouloir établir de comparaison — que le droit hébraïque marocain réunit ces diverses notions sous le nom de *kilubba*. Celle-ci, tout comme l'*amerwas* berbère, n'est exigible qu'en cas de dissolution du mariage. L'aspect « dédit » est du reste en elle plus prononcé. Cf. sur la *kilubba*, E. Malka, La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage, *Revue marocaine de droit*, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

(3) Westermarck l'a déjà observé, *Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc*, 1921, pp. 61, 67. Il donne même un exemple remarquable : celui des Glâwa, où son *quantum* varierait selon les sous-groupes (p. 62). Dans le cas de fuite de la femme mariée, le taux de la compensation varie, écrit-il, selon les tribus ou subdivisions de tribus (pp. 57 sq.). Les juristes arabes citent, comme entachée de bédouinisme, la pratique d'un *çadâq* invariable. Cf. at-Tasûlî, *Comm. Tuh'fa*, éd. 1355, t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., et 27 sq., avec citation de cet Abû ᶜAlî que nous trouvons toujours comme révélateur d'authenticité marocaine : *lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh'* : « beauté ou laideur n'y font rien », dit, souriant un peu, le célèbre cadi !

dernier en pays arabe n'est pas statutaire, mais contractuel. Mais en a-t-il été toujours de même ? Là encore, nous retrouvons, attesté par les juristes, un stade bédouin ancien, où la pratique d'un *çadâq*, invariable et payable seulement à la dissolution du mariage, aurait à un certain moment été général puisqu'on cite à ce propos des autorités aussi éparpillées qu'Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès) et des cadis de Sijilmâsa (1).

INDICES SUR L'ÉTAT ANTÉRIEUR

En tout cas l'uniformité et la modicité de l'*amerwas*, sa liaison non point à la consommation, mais bien à la dissolution du mariage, conduisent, pour le groupe chleuh du moins, à l'hypothèse qu'il peut s'agir là d'un élément superposé, peut-être par voie d'autorité, à une institution autochtone, dont on trouverait des survivances dans l'*asghurl*, et où il ne se serait encore qu'incomplètement fondu. La comparaison des institutions n'aboutit là qu'à une impasse, car nous voilà revenus au problème historique de la pénétration du *fiqh* dans cette région du Maroc.

Au dossier encore bien léger de ce débat, je n'apporterai qu'une contribution, mais précise et datable : c'est un texte extrait des *Nawâzil* du Cheikh Mah'ammad ibn Nâçir (m. 1674), maître d'une grande confrérie religieuse, et initiateur du Sud marocain.

Le Cheikh mariait des personnes qui étaient venues s'en remettre à lui. Il commença par interroger d'eux d'entre elles, qui étaient de la même tribu, sur le montant du *çadâq* en leur pays, ainsi que sur leur us matrimonial. Après beaucoup de réticences, elles lui répondirent : « Nous sommes de ta foi et de ton troupeau. Fais ce que tu jugeras bon de faire. » « Quant à nous, dit le Cheikh, notre pratique est facile. J'avais moi-même une fois accordé une de mes parentes en mariage sans rien exiger de plus qu'un plat de couscous pour les clercs. Telle était en effet la coutume de nos ancêtres. Mais je l'ai réformée et abandonnée pour m'attacher à la *sunna* du Prophète. Notre pratique actuelle est des plus faciles, qu'il s'agisse du banquet ou du *çadâq*. J'ai fixé ce dernier à trois *mithqâl*-s de monnaie au poids. » Il ajouta alors : « Où est le mandataire du marié ? » On le lui désigna. Il requit alors des témoins, et lorsqu'ils furent devant lui en présence du mandataire de la femme, il prononça : « Louange à Dieu. Nous Le louons et sur Lui nous guidons. Témoignez que j'ai marié une telle fille d'un tel et un tel fils d'un tel, tous deux de tel pays, dans les droits et stipulations de la femme, la *sunna* du Prophète, et contre *çadâq* légitimant (2). »

(1) At-Tasûlî, *Comm. de la Tuh'fa*, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.
(2) Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Darᶜî, *Ajwiba*, ms de la zaouia des Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ceci se passe en plein XVIIe siècle. Il s'agit d'un pieux personnage, saint homme et convertisseur. Sa famille est du Drâ, dont s'étaient élancés, au siècle précédent, dans une intense fermentation religieuse et guerrière, les Saâdiens. Ne prenons pas ce témoignage pour autre chose que ce qu'il est : un trait isolé dans l'état actuel des dépouillements. Mais tel quel, il ne laisse pas d'être troublant, tant par ce qu'il révèle des pratiques de l'époque, que par son orthodoxie encore d'un goût bizarre.

Mais ne trouvons-nous pas, dans la foire aux épouses de Z'init', la trace d'anciennes organisations ? D'après un témoignage du XIVe siècle, la sainte campait entourée de deux groupes séparés : les femmes et les hommes. Il n'est pas impossible qu'il y eût là l'indice d'un rite classificatoire. Encore maintenant, la promesse échangée par les fiancés, dans l'exaltation de la frairie et du sacrifice, près du tombeau de Lalla Aziza, crée une obligation irrémissible. Un homme des Gedmiwa, qui avait osé s'y dérober, fut trouvé, il y a quelques années, pendu dans sa chambre. Trace d'anciennes fonctions collectives ? Les sources écrites infligent sur ce point à l'hypothèse une salutaire leçon de prudence.

Un acte de 916 hég. : 1510, et qui offre l'intérêt de reproduire cet *hapax* que semble avoir été, depuis Ibn Khaldûn, le nom des Genfisa, est un contrat de mariage, rédigé selon les pompes habituelles du style citadin. Il prévoit un *çadâq* de 200 dinars, somme inouïe pour l'époque. A quoi s'ajoutent vêtements, bijoux, esclave. Le tout pris en charge par le père du marié, avec production de sûretés réelles. Un *naqd* est versé. Sont stipulés à la charge de l'époux, chose curieuse dans un témoignage émanant d'un milieu si ancien et censément si fruste, « l'agrément dans les rapports, l'enseignement à la femme de sa religion, et de l'application au bien ». Ce texte, par le style, le contenu, et, pourrait-on dire, le sentiment, détonne dans ces cantons reculés.

Autre acte plus récent, et provenant de la grande famille de la haute vallée, ce repaire d'authenticité que sont les a. D'alh'a. Il date de 1299 hég. : 1824. La perfection du formulaire y est encore plus marquée : eulogies du début en prose rimée, souhaits de bénédiction et de bon augure, faste description des deux mariés. Le *çadâq* est de 50 *mithqâl*-s de monnaie *ʿabbâsiyya*.

Un autre contrat dont il a déjà été fait usage, et qui est de 1042 hég. : 1630, porte aussi un *çadâq* élevé en espèces et nature. Il est vrai qu'il s'agit d'un jeune seigneur *ach-chaykh ach-châbb*, expression singulière qui met sans doute sur la voie de la compréhension.

Il est évident qu'un style particulier : rédaction littéraire, hyperboles numériques, soin mis à conserver le document, devait présider aux ententes matrimoniales dans la mesure même où elles

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

échappaient à la banalité statutaire. Autrement dit, il devait s'agir de cas exceptionnels : fils et filles de chefs ou de marabouts, émergeant du milieu, sans que cela puisse infirmer statistiquement la règle générale. De tels témoignages ne reflètent pas seulement une caractéristique variété. Des contrastes de base ont pu se faire jour de tout temps dans la montagne entre le vilain et le seigneur, le traditionaliste et l'original, l'impie et le lettré. Le milieu a dû y trouver une issue aux insatisfactions causées par l'inégalité de culture ou de fortune.

Quoi qu'il en soit donc, non seulement dans le partage des acquêts, mais même, dans certains cas, en matière de don nuptial, la femme Seksawa connaît une éminente dignité économique. On a vu plus haut combien l'institution débordait le patron musulman, sur lequel on a voulu après coup la modeler. Elle le débordait tant par la richesse cérémonielle, les soubassements magico-juridiques, l'égalitarisme statutaire, que par l'acuité contractuelle. Rien ne fera mieux ressortir l'originalité du système que son opposition à un autre système, le kabyle (1), qu'on s'imaginerait tout proche de lui, du fait de tant d'analogies dans l'habitat et le droit public. Or ce qui frappe dans le système kabyle, c'est sa brutale masculinité, sa négation de toute équité bilatérale dans le statut des conjoints. C'est même là un scandale permanent aux yeux du réformateur français, mais un scandale fort résistant, et contre lequel on n'a pu faire jusqu'ici en somme que peu de chose. C'est dire sa profonde adhérence au milieu.

Contentons-nous de cette brève référence à un autre droit maghrébin, pour faire ressortir le caractère équilibré et la valeur morale du type Seksawa. Et la comparaison aura encore un avantage : c'est de dissuader le chercheur de solliciter un hypothétique fond commun d'institutions berbères pour rendre compte de leur originalité (2).

(1) Essentiellement HANOTEAU et LETOURNEUX, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., et la critique qu'en fait G.-H. BOUSQUET, *Justice française et coutumes kabiles*, 1950, pp. 48 sq. Dans le stade décrit par H.-L., ce qui frappe, c'est la nullité des droits de la femme, non seulement sur ce qui correspondrait à des acquêts, mais même sur le « prix nuptial », *ladmamt* ou *lulchil*, que je traduis ainsi provisoirement, faute de mieux, et même sur les suppléments conventionnels ou *chrut'*. Ce qu'on appelle en Kabylie *cedak'* (H.-L., *ibid.*, p. 162), n'est en somme qu'un douaire facultatif, remis par les parents et censé valoir renonciation d'hoirie. Les pouvoirs du mari sont exorbitants, puisqu'ils comportent parfois outre-tombe une sorte de droit de rétention, *ladllak'ith* (*ibid.*, p. 156), et, en cas de répudiation, un pouvoir négociable d'interdit, susceptible de rendre la femme *thamaouak'i* (p. 178), etc.

(2) La comparaison avec les Ud Bessebâe voisins est caractéristique. La « masculinité » de leurs mœurs est tellement marquée que la femme abandonne souvent les droits que lui donne le *fiqh*, comme par exemple, la pension

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

LA FAMILLE DANS LE TEMPS

Sous une telle rubrique se grouperont des aspects qu'une classification par trop imbue de nos manuels étudierait successivement aux titres de la filiation, de l'état des personnes, de la tutelle, du statut successoral, de l'adoption, et de la fondation (1). Cette famille dans le temps, qui est aussi, on l'a vu, une famille dans l'espace, c'est l'*ikhs*. Or ses traits n'apparaissent plus que sous forme d'entorses ou de subterfuges, de dérobades au *fiqh*. C'est d'ailleurs là une méthode classique, mais dont ici la cohérence, l'obstination comme traquée, l'opiniâtreté bourrelée de scrupules, n'ont guère d'analogue ailleurs en Afrique du Nord.

La loi agnatique se heurterait en effet chez les Seksawa non seulement à l'adhésion musulmane, mais au genre notarial. Aucune partie de leur système n'est davantage dominée par le *fiqh*, c'est-à-dire en l'espèce par les formulaires. Cela se conçoit, l'écrit étant venu, avec ses prestiges, seconder et déformer à la fois la mémoire du groupe. D'où une richesse technologique bien curieuse : sous les noms de *tenzil*, *istirkab*, *assyas*, *tarikt*, *labanni*, *waçiyya*, *ççadaqa*, s'est affinée et précisée, mais toujours en fonction de l'écrit, une personnalité juridique qui, en matière de droit matrimonial on l'a vu, avait su rester exorbitante des schèmes abstraits. Rien d'étonnant à ce contraste. Dans l'adaptation au *fiqh*, cette partie du système, par défaut, ou peut-être par excès de substance originale, a marqué à la fois plus de résistance et plus de docilité que le reste.

Plus de docilité, de vulnérabilité parce que le développement de l'acte, justification portative, arme individuelle, bien mobilisable, trouvait dans le sens contractuel du milieu un adjuvant inouï. Il l'emportait aisément par là sur tous les autres procédés mnémoniques, et bénéficiait de l'écrasante supériorité que manifeste l'écrit dès qu'il s'agit de fixer un moment, un nom, une circonstance. Mais plus de résistance aussi, car la permanence de l'*ikhs*, l'accent profond de sa vie restent inséparables de son support matériel, inconcevables sans son articulation aux struc-

alimentaire des enfants. A vrai dire, l'*cAmal* marocain a naturellement enregistré, comme pratique « bédouine », le calcul d'une indemnité correspondant à la *sicâya* de la femme, c'est-à-dire à son va-et-vient hors de la maison. C'est ce qu'on appelle le *kidd*, et que les cadis appliquent volontiers aux tribus berbères soumises au *chra*, telles que Mtugga et Mez'ud'a.

(1) C'est ce que fait J. LAFOND, *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous*, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

tures agraires et plus largement aux rythmes physiques et moraux de ces sociétés. Ce point a déjà été étudié. On y reviendra dans le chapitre consacré au droit immobilier, à propos d'institutions telles que le habous et la *ççadaqa*.

Ainsi donc, depuis la généralisation de l'écrit dans l'Atlas au XVIe siècle, une évolution divergente s'est produite, écartant l'une de l'autre, à tout le moins dans le mode d'expression, les deux faces du génie local. Elle a aiguisé d'une technique sans cesse plus alerte, fortifié d'une masse d'archives sans cesse plus abondante, des instincts d'individualisme processif. Elle a refoulé dans l'ombre, au contraire, quoique sans en abolir la force, ces assises terriennes de la famille, qui la relient de proche en proche aux grandes entités classificatoires du pays. Un tel divorce était grave. Générateur de conflits de plus en plus profonds il finira par être fatal à la personnalité locale. Il ne l'a pas encore été à la famille Seksawa, là du moins où aucun facteur externe n'est venu, comme en a. Âbdella, faire prévaloir les forces d'éclatement.

Mais tout est devenu affaire notariale. Le *l'l'aleb* de village, aux fonctions toutes chargées de vertu communale il est vrai, est devenu l'artisan, et à certains égards l'arbitre de la permanence juridique du groupe. La continuité de celui-ci dans le temps y a perdu certes pour partie des modes d'expression originaux tels — on peut du moins l'imaginer — que la légende héroïque ou la poésie chorale. Elle ne s'est plus traduite que sous les schèmes abstraits de l'acte, du formulaire. Mais elle y a porté son ardeur compétitive et son sens du vieux temps. Au point que ces actes ont immensément proliféré, que la montagne est devenue une bibliothèque de chartes, et que toute cette littérature y a même connu une densité historique inconcevable dans le Maroc des plaines, ou les cités dites de droit écrit.

Mode d'expression combien déformant ! De soi, il faisait évader l'essentiel. Par loi de genre, il transposait et mutilait ce qu'il laissait passer. Des deux faces du droit familial, celle qui regarde le groupe et la terre d'une part, celle qui regarde les contentieux individuels d'autre part, seule la seconde pouvait ainsi transparaître, et encore au prix de stylisations. Quoi qu'il en soit, et sous ces réserves, de telles archives peuvent restituer, à travers plusieurs siècles, la permanence des familles. C'est ainsi que le nom des principaux *ikhs*-s, et leur dispositif encore actuel apparaissent, tout au long des quatre derniers siècles, dans les actes dits d'*inçâf*, « tarification répressive », mais dont nous pouvons déjà observer qu'ils expriment un droit non gentilice, mais communal.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Voici un acte de 1168 hég. : 1755. Il intéresse la *jemâa* d'Ad'erdur (Idma). Il précise l'*ikhs* de chacun des personnages mentionnés : A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (aujourd'hui : a. Dris), a. Arbâi (aujourd'hui Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disparus), a. Bjikko (disparus), a. Bajja. Soit 8 *ikhs*-s contre 6 seulement aujourd'hui, parmi lesquels on retrouve les a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Deux ont disparu. D'autres ont fondu et ne sont plus comptés comme *ikhs*-s. Les lois de ces évolutions mériteraient une analyse monographique, que l'on ne peut ici entreprendre. Toujours est-il qu'en gros, ces *ikhs*-s, dont chacun fournit un aide au chef du village, sont les mêmes que de nos jours. Des exemples d'une telle permanence, inouïe au regard des incertitudes du Maroc des plaines, seraient indéfiniment renouvelables.

Il est vrai que nous sommes là en plein droit public. L'atmosphère est tout autre dès qu'on passe aux actes intéressant la famille conjugale : et celle-ci est seule à y apparaître, soit au moment de sa constitution, par le mariage, soit à l'occasion de tous les actes impliquant son exercice ou sa perpétuation.

L' « adoption », *assyas*, *tabannî*, constitue une première divergence avec le système orthodoxe. On voit ainsi affleurer au plan du droit avoué une forme qui ailleurs, en Afrique du Nord, en est restée à celui de la coutume supplétoire (1). Elle est toutefois rare en Seksawa et ces modes latéraux d'augmentation de la famille sont loin d'y revêtir la même importance qu'ailleurs. La stricte adaptation au *fiqh* a éliminé ici les interférences entre les pactes de travail ou d'alliance et la filiation, si caractéristiques du Moyen Atlas. Effet, dirions-nous, de l' « acculturation ». Sur un autre point, le système Seksawa diverge du *fiqh*. On sait que dans ce dernier la représentation n'existe pas. Trace peut-être d'un vieux principe de continuité magique : la succession est rompue par le manque d'un chaînon : le petit-fils n'hérite pas de l'aïeul si celui-ci a survécu au père. Divers subterfuges ont obvié, dans l'orthodoxie même, à la rigueur de ce principe. Mais ils ont connu des limitations auxquelles le système Seksawa ne s'est pas astreint, non plus que son recours à la « substitution », *tenzîl*, *istirkâb*, n'est resté dans les proportions statistiquement restreintes de l'institution musulmane. Mais le vrai problème était ailleurs.

Le grand fait de la famille Seksawa, c'est l'arrivée de l'enfant, fille ou garçon, à la nubilité, qui fait de lui un coopérateur. Des questions se trouvent alors posées, qui sont toutes résolues, chose remarquable, dans un esprit non d'indivision patriarcale, mais de

(1) G.-H. Bousquet et R.-P. Demeerseman, L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne, *R. afr.*, 1937.

comptabilité. En effet la filiation crée des droits, du temps même des parents, et bien au delà de la seule capacité d'hériter.

D'abord un droit à bénéficier de la société familiale, et de la part d'acquêts en découlant ; pour la fille c'est, en sus, le droit au « douaire dotal », *jihaz*, au « trousseau », *aruku*, au moment du mariage, à l'entretien en cas de veuvage ou de besoin. L'autonomie économique du fils s'accentue encore par la pratique de l'émigration saisonnière ou permanente. Enfin, la séparation des biens, séparation d'usufruit et d'administration tout au moins, est fréquemment obtenue par les enfants du vivant même du père. L'acte prend alors la forme d'un habous, d'une *ççadaqa* ou d'une *waçiyya*. C'est un testament anticipé où figure souvent l'étrange stipulation par le constituant d'une réserve à son profit, ce qui semble impliquer désaisissement immédiat du reste.

C'est ainsi qu'en 1028 hég. : 1619, à Alus, en Idaw Geryun, un *fiqh* des a. Umgan et son épouse font donation *çadaqa* à leurs petits-enfants d'un bien dont ils exceptent une « marge » : la parcelle de Taglagelt.

A Alus encore, un acte de 1061 hég. : 1651 décrit le partage d'un patrimoine entre frères. Ils opèrent avec toutes les garanties de technique et d'équité : « plein accord, évaluations, tirage au sort, convention, arpentage ». De plus, le partage est opéré « par-devant la *jemâa*, au roseau, selon des limites et par tirage au sort, et suivi de prise de possession, en présence et sous les auspices *bi-wajh* du père ». Ce dernier se réserve, de même que la mère, une marge, *h'âchiya*. Tout cela sous la présidence de l'aïeul, le chaykh Sa'îd b. 'Abdallah. Ambiance patriarcale, mais soucieuse de preuves préconstituées, communautaire mais comptable. Ce double aspect de l'institution chleuhe ressortira un peu partout.

Une telle pratique, où se combinent et la permanence patrimoniale et l'autonomie de la personne, ne passe que défigurée dans les actes auxquels elle donne lieu. Une discordance éclate à cet endroit entre le fond juridique et la forme qu'il a revêtue : celle-ci se base sur la libre disposition, voire même la libéralité du père ; mais il est peu probable que ce rattachement traduise le climat authentique. Ce dernier est bien celui d'un véritable droit exercé par les fils sur le père, encore en vie, au nom d'une certaine solidarité entre eux tous quant au patrimoine ancestral, et en vue de libérer l'initiative de chaque ayant droit dans la réalisation des « augments », *zawâid* (1). Amasser, arrondir le lopin en rongeant

(1) Il est arrivé cette année même qu'en Demsira, *taqbilt* des Irohalen, des enfants viennent revendiquer contre leur père encore en vie le droit de se par-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

progressivement la pente ou la forêt, accumuler de génération en génération, comme de nouveaux sédiments, les humbles progrès que réalise la peine de l'homme, tel est l'idéal paysan que révèle cette forme classique du procès. Primus oppose à Secundus une *chchfâa* résultant de l'existence d'un habous constitué par son bisaïeul. L'achat consenti par le père de Primus, dont se réclame Secundus est donc nul. Mais Secundus démontre que la fondation n'a porté que sur une superficie très inférieure à l'immeuble aujourd'hui revendiqué et que telles et telles extensions ont été réalisées, postérieurement au habous, par l'aïeul et le père. Le débat s'oriente alors vers des vérifications de l'état civil des parcelles par la production d' « inventaires nominatifs » anciens *jrida*.

La division du travail entre ces coopérateurs familiaux coïncide le plus souvent avec une indivision immobilière qui peut se ramifier, sur des laps de plusieurs générations, voire même sur toute l'histoire d'un *ikhs*, en monstrueuses arborescences juridiques. La femme héritant, en principe, sur le patron du *fiqh*, les mineurs et les incapables se trouvent donc engagés le plus souvent dans de vastes solidarités agnatiques dont les abus trouvent un correctif dans l'insécurité des situations acquises, l'imprescriptibilité des droits et la critique d'origine à laquelle ce milieu livre inlassablement toute possession. Là encore une sorte d'équilibre à terme se réalise. Dans le temps il est vrai : et plusieurs générations s'écoulent parfois avant qu'il y ait récupération. La disparition de tels individus, de telles familles, par « extinction » par exemple *inqirâd'*, thème qui revient assez souvent dans les vieux actes, n'est pas sans aboutir à la constitution d'une certaine marge de « biens sans maître », étroitement inventoriés d'ailleurs dans la conscience du groupe, et qui, tacitement, sont l'apanage des puissants du jour. Prime aux appétits individuels, et rudiment d'un domanial.

Ainsi la déprédation individuelle et la contrainte communale cernent la vie de l'*ikhs*. Le droit moderne des Seksawa s'est peut-être fait de l'exubérance des rapports d'action et de réaction noués, de part et d'autre de l'*ikhs*, par ces deux concurrents. Sans doute la structure gentilice, évoquée par les lois non écrites de l'ordre agraire, a survécu jusqu'à nous. Mais, sur le plan juridique, elle a finalement plus souffert que le groupe de l'invasion de l'écrit notarial. Et son débat avec les chances économiques de l'individu dure encore, et s'envenime. Si jamais elle a pu — stade

tager le fonds. On trouve, dans un autre domaine marocain, cette tentative passée au stade de la jurisprudence, *R. J. cout.*, n° 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu d'Ahermoumou).

tout hypothétique — présider à une forme de cette société où tout se serait répondu harmonieusement autour d'elle : autonomie rituelle de la famille patriarcale, hagiologie d'ancêtres, droit de type agnatique, cela s'est depuis longtemps effondré. On a l'impression que depuis quatre siècles au moins, à la place de ce qu'on peut imaginer de l'*ikhs* antique, la société s'est défaite ou, plus exactement, refaite (1).

(1) Ces réactions du groupe sur la *gens*, parfois par voie législative, sont connues dans l'Antiquité classique, où elles constituent en somme l'essentiel des « réformes » qui interviennent çà et là. DURKHEIM l'a profondément noté, *Ann. soc.*, t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., à propos des *genè* et *phylai* athéniennes. Nous reviendrons sur cette idée dans nos conclusions.

[P. 354]

III

DROIT DES TERRES

DOUBLE CARACTÈRE DE CE DROIT

Le maintien du groupe agnatique dans son assiette foncière sera le motif central de ce chapitre. Mais une totale liberté d'opérations immobilières entoure ce motif d'une frange de moindre application ou même de contradiction. Dans des cas extrêmes, mobilisation et aliénation de la terre interviennent, et mettent en jeu un vif individualisme contractuel. C'est là un thème important de ces sociétés. Il interfère avec celui, non moins important, de la permanence communautaire. Tous deux réagissent constamment l'un sur l'autre. De là contrastes et antithèses, auxquels pourrait s'en tenir une vision superficielle, mais dont on essaiera de voir si l'existence n'est que hasard pittoresque ou répond à quelque chose d'historique.

Deux adages, reproduits par les juristes chleuhs, illustrent les deux faces du problème (1). « Le champ », dit as-Suktân!, « est, dans le Sous, plus essentiel qu'ailleurs la maison ». « Nos champs », dit un auteur des Ammeln, « sont notre monnaie. Aussi en usons-nous comme autrui de la monnaie ». Comment l'assise terrienne permanente de cette société peut-elle en arriver à une mobilité toute fiduciaire, c'est ce que l'on va essayer de comprendre.

L'espace, j'entends l'espace irrigué et valorisé où se meut cette vie, est follement exigu. Des chiffres ont été donnés qui en illustreraient, aux yeux de l'économiste, la vanité fondamentale : quelque chose comme une humanité sur pots de fleurs ! Mais cette insuffisance même semble avoir de tout temps concouru, avec d'autres facteurs, à la pratique de l'émigration. Départs saisonniers ou à plus long terme, descentes côtières ou hauturières, si j'ose dire, en plaine, désertion devant la famine ou la maladie, évacuation devant l'ennemi, mouvements provoqués par la détresse ou l'agressivité : toute une intense vibration de groupes et d'individus se devine dans le passé. D'où ces dépôts encore

(1) J. Berque, Les *Ajwiba* d'al-ʿAbbâsî, *R. al.*, 1950, note au § 10.

identifiables laissés par des couches de populations disparues : a. H'ogg"a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa, dans le Moyen et le Haut Seksawa. Indices d'un passé de violences, certes. Mais la violence, à elle seule, n'explique pas tout. La légitimité immobilière y est irréductible. La meilleure preuve en est que, dans le cas de la conquête guerrière, le conquérant juge lui-même son droit insuffisant tant qu'il n'est pas arrivé, par de longues et difficiles négociations, à consolider son emprise en achat régulier. En voici trois exemples.

Des titres a. Gasa ont été exhibés en 1948, à l'occasion d'un contentieux portant sur des terrains sis entre Z'init' et Jjgit. Ils venaient à l'appui d'une revendication qui ne craignait pas de s'attaquer à une occupation d'un siècle et demi au moins.

Un acte de 1234 hég. : 1819 enregistre une convention entre les a. H'adduyws au sujet des biens des a. H'ogg"a. La *jemâa* proclame l'inopposabilité des habous dont exciperaient les a. H'ogg"a pour faire pièce aux aliénations et amodiations immobilières, même souscrites sur des parts de femmes, dont se réclame un conquérant. Une telle délibération, qui implique l'existence de litiges nombreux et argumentés atteste que les a. H'ogg"a, encore que chassés par la guerre et dépossédés de fait, sont toujours considérés comme l'origine de tous droits immobiliers, et qu'il faut remonter jusqu'à eux par achats réguliers, pour justifier une possession. Le fait d'éliminer la difficulté provenant des habous ne limite nullement cette préoccupation d'origines : elle la confirme, au contraire, puisque ce n'est qu'à des achats que les habous peuvent être opposés. On a donc cherché à acheter.

Un troisième exemple est offert par un document de 1310 hég. : 1894. Quelques années auparavant, les mêmes a. H'adduyws avaient conquis sur les Idma le terroir de Tasselli. Par rançon ou contre-attaque, les Idma le récupèrent. Mais certains *ikhs*-s ont trahi, étant du parti de l'adversaire. Leurs biens sont alors divisés en parts adjugées aux membres de la coalition. Ce trait paraîtrait opposé aux précédents. Il ne l'est qu'en apparence. La légitimité du propriétaire, si elle résiste à l'éviction, peut disparaître du fait de certaines fautes solennellement attestées. Un marabout d'Assttif préside à l'exclusion des traîtres. C'est une sorte d'ostracisme. Ni spoliation, ni même sanction civile. Le groupe, par une intense manifestation de sa tension interne, rétablit dans leur pureté les liens qui l'attachent à son sol.

Ce nouvel élément aura fait progresser l'analyse. Il résulte de témoignages écrits, et nullement d'hypothèses plus ou moins sujettes à caution. Il révèle, sous les allées et venues de l'homme, dues aux difficultés des temps, une constance qui l'attache à un terroir, et n'est pas sans aspects d'ordre magico-religieux. Ce lien peut survivre aux vicissitudes les plus violentes. A condition, sans doute, que survive le nom. Le primat et l'extrême conservation

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

des toponymes dans cette partie de l'Atlas sont peut-être la raison qui fait que cette légitimité persistante puisse y être observée, à un degré inégalé, semble-t-il, dans le reste de l'Afrique du Nord.

Le dernier de ces actes apporte aussi un élément important. On y voit que l'équilibre entre le groupe et le terroir peut subir des modifications, du fait de l'intervention du groupe. Qui sait dès lors si la représentation patrimoniale des *ikhs*-s dans les quartiers ne reflète pas des initiatives délibérées, et somme toute, des mesures d'application de la première loi ?

Quoi qu'il en soit, permanence et agitations de la vie foncière se composent selon des figures qu'il ne sera pas d'une logique trop systématique de dire liées entre elles. Or l'instrument des échanges est ici l'argent : celui qu'on amasse sur place, et celui qu'on rapporte du dehors. C'est là le double aspect d'un monétarisme qui fait l'unité entre les aspects soi-disant contradictoires, et à tout le moins contrastés du milieu. Comment s'ordonnent ces différents facteurs économiques ou moraux, c'est ce que l'on va maintenant tenter d'élucider.

LA LÉGITIMITÉ PATRIMONIALE CONTRE LA POSSESSION

Et tout d'abord, la notion de patrimoine existe dans cette société. Le droit comme les mœurs s'y réfèrent expressément. C'est la *ddment* (1), correspondant à un mot notarial, *ad-dimna*, sémantiquement bizarre. Dans les règlements d'acquêts, un préciput d'une moitié est toujours distrait comme représentant la part de ce que nous appellerions le « bien de famille », si ce dernier terme ne traduisait bien plus exactement le habous Seksawa. Un *fatwa* de 1220 hég. : 1805 (Tamt'ddit), illustre l'ancienneté de la pratique. « L'*'orf* », dit-il, « met à part une moitié des biens pour la *dimna*, par analogie avec la commandite où une part est réservée au capital initial. Le reste est acquêts et revient à ses participants ». Pourtant, ce conservatisme laisse çà et là fuser des forces d'évasion, des volontés de rupture. Telles circonstances plus ou moins aberrantes ont parfois permis à des personnalités soit importées, soit du cru, de chercher à rompre cette sorte d'immanence des *ikhs*-s à leur sol.

(1) De l'arabe *ad-dimna*, plur. *diman*, « endroit fumé par la proximité des habitations ». Cette dérivation sémantique a peut-être été inspirée par l'analogie de berb. *tamazirt*, « terrain de culture », terme général, à toute une partie de ce domaine linguistique, avec *amazir*, « fumier ». HANOTEAU et LETOURNEUX semblent faire le rapprochement entre ces deux termes, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

Ainsi, en 1147 hég. : 1733, un « caïd » du piémont, Lah'sen Twagga, s'implantant en basse vallée, affirme : « Toute cette terre n'a eu de maître — que l'on sache — ni de nos jours, ni sous le paganisme, ni sous l'Islam. Elle n'a été réputée hantée de personne jusqu'à ce que le présent Caïd, le premier, la vivifiât. Et il la vivifia en entier, de ses moyens et de ceux de ses hommes. Il la mit en état de « réplétion » (*'imdra*, par opposition au « vide désertique » ou à la « vacance », *khuluw*). Il y demeura. Il en fit un bourg fréquenté. Il y creusa une rigole, non sans en affecter une part aux saints des Seksawa, telle Lalla Aziza et les H'ançaliyin, conformément à l'usage ancestral. Il la complanta en arbres et l'emblava de céréales, et la ceignit d'une clôture », etc.

Bien plus amont, à Rekto Wasif, en 1011 hég. : 1603, un cultivateur requiert témoignage de ce qu'il a exercé l'usufruit sur une terre « depuis le temps du chérif ». Le témoin atteste « avoir participé à une *twiza* d'engrais et autres pratiques de labour et moisson avec les Aït Wasif ».

Mais la possession ne tiendra jamais contre le droit d'origine, la légitimité de base, *açl*. Le fait est assez important pour faire l'objet de délibérations et même de codifications. Il va en effet directement à l'encontre du droit musulman. Ce choc entre le maître et le disciple est frappant. En effet, malgré les exigences morales qui le rapprochent de notre droit canonique dans sa critique des vices d'usurpation, de violence, et même de précarité, le droit musulman fait intervenir la notion d'une durée dont la prolongation entraîne juridiquement la purge de ces vices et constitue à la longue titre de propriété. D'autre part, sa nature procédurière et technique, lui faisant confondre dans la plupart des cas le droit et sa preuve, le mène à conférer au possédant l'avantageuse qualification de défendeur, ce qui bien souvent conclura le procès en sa faveur sur simple prestation de serment. Rien de plus éloigné de la coutume Seksawa, où la charge de la preuve incombe au possesseur, et qui ignore tout effet légitimant de la durée.

Appliquée à la lettre, la prépondérance conférée au titre écrit, d'une technique si imparfaite et offrant si peu de garanties d'authenticité, sur la possession ancienne, conduit apparemment aux pires des hasards. En fait, la « légitimation » dont parlent les documents est la notoriété du groupe rattachant telle revendication au patrimoine bien connu de l'*ikhs*. Cette conscience généalogique du groupe, liée à la structure du terroir, est ce à quoi il faut se reporter pour rendre compte de la règle coutumière, devenue incompréhensible sous son vêtement de droit écrit. Des délibérations de ce genre, déniant toute valeur à la possession, ont été

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

retrouvées en Imt'ddan et en Idma. J'ai donné ailleurs (1) le texte et la traduction du second de ces documents, qu'il semble utile de reproduire, tant pour son intérêt de fond que comme illustration de la singulière aptitude de ces groupes à légiférer.

Copie (1348) d'un acte de *rabî'nabawî* 1266 hég. : 1870. Que l'on sache par les présentes, qu'en coutume du pays Idma, il n'y a point de droit tiré de la possession. Celle-ci ne constitue pas, même prolongée, de titre valable.

Ce n'est que si le titulaire de la possession en établit l'origine : comment le droit de la propriété lui est passé, et la preuve de son entrée en possession par vente, réméré, donation, héritage, que sa possession sera valable. La partie arguant de ventes vicieuses, ou de réméré, répétera sa créance, et le droit originel retournera à son origine.

En conséquence, la possession requiert de qui en argue une légitimation. Que si l'origine qu'elle invoque était réduite à néant, le possédant ne serait plus qu'un usurpateur dans notre pays. Sinon non.

Voilà ce que nous tenons en toute certitude de nos ancêtres passés, et qu'ils ont écrit en nos actes anciennement et successivement.

Aujourd'hui encore quiconque ne produit pas son origine, sa possession ressortit à la rapine sur les biens des orphelins, et à l'iniquité due au fait qu'en pays insoumis le faible n'obtient pas son droit (2).

C'est la raison pour laquelle la tribu a convenu de ce point, coupant court ainsi aux contestations opposées à la revendication passée ou future.

Cette hostilité au droit tiré de la possession, c'est-à-dire, prenons-y garde, à la propriété, chaque fois qu'elle ne cadre pas avec la distribution gentilice du terroir, n'est pas nouvelle. Un jugement de 991 hég. : 1583 (a. D'alh'a) se fonde sur la considération que « ces prétentions émises sur la foi de la possession sont vaines et ne peuvent pas plus être écoutées que le néant ». A ce moment la généralisation de l'écrit notarial étant assez récente, il est peu probable que l'*açl* ait été nécessairement un acte. On est ainsi conduit à supposer pour cette époque des moyens de preuve autres que la production de l'écrit. Recours à une procédure sacramentelle, au droit juré, ou à telle manifestation du groupe ? Ce qui est probable, c'est que la technique notariale a été littéralement happée par les besoins de la société chleuhe qui, en cette matière comme en d'autres, a dépassé et outré, selon ses fins propres, le prototype venu du *fiqh*.

(1) Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1948, pp. 386 sq.

(2) Beau trait de ce qu'une école moderne appellerait un sentiment « d'altérité » !

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

UNE FORME ANCIENNE MAL NORMALISÉE : LE « RRAHN »

Cette règle procédurale trouvait sa plus vive nécessité dans l'existence d'une institution qui combine stabilité et mobilisation du patrimoine. Je veux dire le *rrahn* (1). L'équivalent en arabe qui est donné dans les textes pour ce terme est celui de « vente à réméré », *thunyâ*, connu du *fiqh*. Les juristes du Sous, comme al-ʿAbbâsî, y ont consacré de longs développements. En effet, c'est une espèce coutumière si fréquente, sous divers noms, que le revendicateur est recevable à en exciper, longtemps après coup, pour demander la résolution d'une vente : il explique alors la durée de son silence par une « présomption de *thunyâ* ».

Cette vente est générale dans le Sous : *ghâlib fi buldati-nâ*. Elle y porte plusieurs noms : *iqâla* ou *rahn*. At-Tamanârtî écrit : « Pas de différence entre ce prétendu *rahn* si répandu dans le pays et la vente *thunyâ*. » Et at-Tamullî : « Ma règle en matière d'achats de terrains opérés dans notre pays sous le nom de *rahn* est de laisser les fruits au preneur, car ce qu'ont visé les parties est bien une vente *thunyâ*. »

Cette faculté résolutoire (*iqâla* proprement dite) est, en principe, une clause viciant la vente. Pourtant, la tendance des juristes est de tolérer celle-ci comme un fait accompli. Ils utilisent même l'argument de cette clause vicieuse pour rescinder la vente contre remboursement. Et cela même après des laps pouvant excéder le siècle, et pendant lesquels la possession n'aura opéré nulle prescription. Rescision et application *a posteriori* reviennent dans ce cas pratiquement au même. Elles ne nous intéressent que par la préoccupation judiciaire qu'elles traduisent de servir une forme locale absolument irréductible à l'orthodoxie.

Mais voici encore des aspects significatifs. Sous l'assimilation à la classique *thunyâ* se distinguaient déjà des éléments d'un singulier archaïsme. Ainsi dans les modes de la « résiliation ». Elle prend effet à compter du versement d'une parcelle de la somme, *lamu-*

(1) Sur le *rrahn* berbère, cf. outre notre article précité sur al-Abbâsî, notes aux §§ 12 et 14, avec citations d'al-Bakrî, de l'*Istiqâ'* et des *Manâqib al-Il'ud'aykî* sur l'histoire de cette forme dans le Sous et l'Atlas, voir as-Sukkânî, *Ajwiba*, ms. de la zaouia des Ud°Abdalmawlî, pp. 80 *b* sq. Chez les auteurs européens, cf. surtout, outre la bonne étude sur le *rahn* kabyle par H.-L., *Kabylie...*, t. II, pp. 534 sq. : G. Surdon, *Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain*, 1928, pp. 196 sq. ; Marcy, *R. al.*, 1932, L'engagement immobilier (rrehen). Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier zemmour, pp. 78 sq. ; R. Aspinion, *Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier berbère marocain* (Zayân), 1937, pp. 185 sq. ; Blanc, Effets du contrat de rehen dans les tribus berbères du Haut Gedmiwa, *R. J. C.*, 1952, n° 7, pp. 7 sq., qui décrit les formes les plus proches de celles de notre secteur.

zunt, *tauqit*, c'est-à-dire d'une « obole ». En a. Âbdella, le dépôt s'effectue sur le tas de fruits. Tout se passe comme si le bailleur rétablissait ainsi la communication qu'avait interrompue la perception du prix. Tel paraît être le substrat de ce qui a plus tard été interprété comme nantissement, vente à réméré ou sous condition résolutoire. Encore à présent, une dévaluation du centuple au simple n'a pas ôté aux Seksawa le sérieux avec lequel ils opèrent la libération du champ, sa rançon, *tefdiyya*, *ifda*, *iftida*, contre des sommes d'un montant dérisoire. Car il y a en tout cela bien autre chose que du quantitatif.

Forme ancienne, en vérité : al-Bakrî en relève l'existence, au XIe siècle, dans cette partie de l'Atlas. Il la met sans doute en rapports avec quelque hérésie montagnarde : *râfid'i*-s ou adorateurs du bélier. Aux périodes de zèle religieux, la réaction des doctes se fait véhémente. Ainsi, en 970 hég. : 1563, est publiée à Taroudant l'interdiction officielle de ce contrat. C'est une période de ferveur, et de pouvoir politique fort. Vers cette époque, meurt le mystique Ah'med u. Musa. Le Sâadien Mawlây ʿAbd Allah al-Ghâlib bi'llah a quémandé son approbation, et s'est fait décerner la qualité de *ʿadl* par les docteurs du Sud. C'est aussi le moment où la pratique notariale arabe se généralise dans l'Atlas. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'interdiction ne tient pas contre l'unanimité coutumière qu'elle veut rompre, et dont la riposte, chose significative, affecte une couleur pieuse et juridique. Le cadi *jamâʿa* de Taroudant, Saʿîd ibn ʿAlî al-Hawzâlî, consulte le saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanârtî, lequel, par un raisonnement classique de pragmatisme malékite, conclut à la tolérance : « Et voilà pourquoi cette pratique se perpétua de la sorte dans tout le pays du Sous jusqu'à nos jours. »

Si les saints viennent à la rescousse du prêteur à intérêt, c'est qu'il s'agit là d'une fatalité sociale particulièrement puissante. En effet ce mode de crédit sur gage immobilier n'est pas seulement une catégorie économique et juridique. C'est aussi un moteur sentimental : à l'effort du preneur pour consolider sa possession, s'oppose l'attaque incessante du bailleur. Tous les moyens sont bons : feinte, dénégation frauduleuse, faux, etc. Tout est de bonne guerre. Les deux parties, me disait un *amghar* des Seksawa, s'affrontent comme chien et chat : l'une cherche à déguiser le *rrahn* en achat définitif, l'autre à l'éliminer sans débours à titre de pur et simple accaparement. Plus qu'un gain, c'est probablement ainsi la posture avantageuse, la gloire au sein du groupe, que l'on vise. Cela à l'encontre de préoccupations de sincérité subjective, voire des vieilles règles d'obligation que traduit encore le *rrahn*,

c'est indéniable. Mais ce qui compte ici, c'est le triomphe dans la joute. Quelque chose de supérieur encore à la légitimité patrimoniale s'affirme dans cette tension qui divise le groupe en des conflits de plusieurs générations parfois. Ces mœurs donnent sa chance au plaideur adroit, et même au faussaire. Doit-on pour autant les attribuer à la décadence des institutions ? Non, sans doute, mais bien plutôt à un primat procédural. Et sous ce dernier se devine une vieille structure agonistique.

LA VENTE-ATTRAPE

C'est ce qui explique sans doute que, malgré toutes les objections opposées à l'aliénation immobilière, celle-ci existe cependant. Elle est rare en Seksawa, et certaines populations voisines l'ont purement et simplement abolie. Sur quatre « ventes », une s'affirme comme définitive : telle est la proportion que l'on peut très grossièrement imaginer d'après les listes d'actes anciens qui tombent parfois entre nos mains. Naturellement, aux époques de famine, l'usure exerce ses ravages. On se souvient en a. Âbdella des années 1295-96 hég., où un terrain se vendait un *riâl* ! Mais l'aïeul de l'actuel *amghar* confisqua un jour tous ces actes, en fit en Inzzûyma un tas de la hauteur d'une meule, y mit le feu : et chacun revint à son droit.

C'était là une procédure violente. Il en est d'autres. En fait la proportion des ventes est bien inférieure à celle d'une sur quatre. Or quel que soit le caractère des termes qu'il a pris soin d'y faire consigner, le droit local transformera l'acte résiliable, le fera glisser, en quelque sorte dans la catégorie inférieure, pour peu que le libellé présente une faiblesse ou irrégularité d'ordre technique : un seul notaire au lieu de deux, et de deux qui soient qualifiés ; la production soudaine par le vendeur d'une *iqâla*, « résiliation », le fait qu'il n'y ait pas eu tradition ; que le preneur n'ait pas la possession paisible, etc. Manifestement, toutes sortes d'obstacles sont élevés contre la consolidation de la vente.

C'est ainsi qu'une dissertation sans date, mais attribuée au fils de sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, et qui doit remonter au deuxième tiers du XVIIe siècle, rassemble en pot pourri toutes les nullités qui peuvent infirmer une vente : indétermination, aléa, lésion, stipulation conditionnelle. Belle manifestation de pédanterie conspirant à l'inaliénabilité que veut l'instinct local et que telle codification exprimera en édictant que quiconque est convaincu de vouloir aliéner de la terre à l'étranger, devra sacrifier une vache, en offrande à la *jemâa*.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Bien mieux encore, le vendeur peut unilatéralement revenir sur son acte, soit parce qu'il se déclare lésé, ou contraint : c'est alors une déclaration d'*istirʿâ'*, soit qu'il se « repente » : c'est alors un *istighfâr al-bayʿ*. Faute de jurisprudence écrite, on sait mal quel pouvait être l'effet judiciaire de ces déclarations. Sans doute de contribuer à créer un climat propice à la revendication, plutôt que d'orienter décisivement la procédure, désormais bilatérale. Trace sans doute, on l'a vu, d'un très ancien droit imprécatoire, disparu sous les adaptations au *fiqh*. Une amusante expression de ces repentirs est offerte par un acte d'Imsker. Le témoin revient sur sa déclaration, en proclamant que la vente n'a pas eu lieu, il a été égaré par Satan le maudit et l'appât de quelques livres de miel ! (1141 hég. : 1729). Il n'est pas rare que la conscience troublée des *l'l'olba* ne se dégage, sur le tard, par l'inscription de ces curieux actes « de repentir », *istighfâr*, infirmant tel ou tel de leurs témoignages. L'acte reste enfoui au fond d'une outre. Sa découverte accidentelle produira un coup de théâtre procédural, et fera tout repartir à zéro : la possession ancienne ne comptera plus pour rien en regard.

Corrélativement, un véritable luxe de formules orthodoxes viendra colorer les chanceuses aliénations, et compenser leur manifeste précarité par un vertueux verbalisme : « Achat ferme, licite, exécutoire, définitif, exclusif de toute cause de réméré ou d'option, conclu en toute connaissance et élimination de l'ignorance touchant au prix et la chose mise à prix, pour un montant et un forfait d'une once et demie de monnaie complète, les deux ayants droit étant mis en possession l'un de son argent, l'autre de sa propriété. » C'est sans doute qu'ainsi l'acheteur court sa chance. Bien qu'il s'engage dans une dialectique perpétuelle avec la lignée de son vendeur, il espère faire valoir ses droits, et l'ancienneté aidant, constituer un *açl*. Que cet *açl* soit contraire à la vieille distribution agnatique, c'est possible : de toutes façons, la chose n'ira pas loin, puisque cinq siècles environ de jeu de l'écrit notarial n'ont pas sensiblement troublé l'ordre des terroirs de la vallée.

Ces achats et ces *rrahn*-s portent ordinairement, plutôt que sur un fonds topographiquement délimité, sur des parcelles individualisées par le nom du légitime propriétaire dans tel ou tel quartier. L'expression est parfois : « tout ce sur quoi porte son nom » (1).

(1) Dans une toute autre société, la France du haut Moyen-Age, c'est le nom du fonds qui identifie la terre : formule diamétralement opposée à la nôtre, et qui repose, on l'a vu, sur une toute autre conception du « champ ». *Cf.* Fustel de Coulanges, *L'alleu et le domaine rural*, 1889, p. 18.

Toute visée de comparatisme mise à part, mais à titre de leçon géographique,

La vente est dite, alors, « globale », *muchâ'* (1), expression d'origine livresque que nous retrouverons pour désigner le collectif, avec une analogie orientale inattendue. Des termes autres sont parfois employés : *busiyyar* ou *basiyyar* en Nfifa par exemple. Parfois même, la plume du rédacteur s'élève à l'hyperbole : tout un pays est vendu, tout un canton de montagne. Comme le dit un acte de 1093 hég. : 1687, « tout en est vendu, y compris le chacal de la forêt », *jami' mâ la-hû fi dhi'b al-ghâba.*

A la revendication lignagère, terme qui paraît correspondre à la constance patrimoniale de l'*ikhs*, s'ajoute encore une autre ressource : la *chchfâa*. Il s'agit ici de quelque chose de bien plus large que la faculté de préemption que le *fiqh* offre à un coindivisaire du vendeur. Il n'est même pas exclu que jadis le fils n'ait été recevable à l'opposer aux ventes de son propre auteur. Une telle prétention, monstrueuse aux yeux du droit musulman, et d'ailleurs de la logique, a été gravement portée en 1952 devant le Tribunal coutumier. En fait, ce que les Seksawa appellent *chchfâa* pourrait être défini : « l'exception tirée du maintien patrimonial ». Tantôt, et c'est le cas orthodoxe, un parent intervient pour faire jouer à son profit l'option : mais par définition cette forme est aussi rare que la vente elle-même. Dans la généralité des cas, l'exception vient jouer longtemps après coup, comme moyen de faire rescinder une vente de habous. J'en viens donc à cette institution, qui, en pays Seksawa, n'a pas du tout sa physionomie classique, ni même maghrébine.

LE SÉQUESTRE AGNATIQUE

Ce qui frappe tout d'abord, c'est qu'en montagne Seksawa, les biens de zaouia, telle la zaouia de Lalla Aziza, assez grosse domainière, aient la caractéristique de fonds privé. De même le tour d'eau, par exemple, affecté aux marabouts sur la séguia d'aval. En revanche les biens privés de montagne sont la plupart du temps habous (2). De ces habous, la dévolution pieuse, même lointaine,

notons que, dans le milieu pareillement montagnard et conservateur de l'Andorre, la vente dite à réméré est de beaucoup la plus fréquente. Comme le *rrahn* des Chleuhs, le réméré andorran peut être à très long terme, cessible à un tiers, et les opérations de rachat sont liées, dans leur validité et leur effet sur la récolte pendante, à des considérations de saison agricole ! J.-A. Brutails, *La coutume d'Andorre*, 1904, pp. 198 sq.

(1) Al-'Abbâsi, *Ajwiba*, lith., t. I, p. 169, l. 8 sq., définit cette vente *muchâ'*, dont il écrit le nom, *ibid.*, p. 174, l. 15 sq. On dit localement aussi : *muchûe* ou *imuch'*.

(2) Cette signification du habous a bien été vue par J. Lafond, *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous*, 1948, pp. 81 sq. En théorie pourtant, le droit de la femme à hériter est absolu. Il ne s'exerce pas seulement dans la marge,

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

est formellement absente. C'est donc là le cas-limite de ce que l'on observe un peu partout en Afrique du Nord sous le nom de « habous privé », et où l'exégèse a justement vu un procédé d'exhérédation des femmes. Ici l'intention ne se déguise d'aucun stratagème, s'étale crûment. Le fondateur précise qu'en cas d'extinction des branches mâles, il y aura report sur l'ensemble de l'hoirie.

La guerre, l'émigration ont parfois posé ce cas. C'est l'espèce dite de l'*inqirâd'*. Elle est assez fréquente. Un intéressant *fatwâ* de 1220 hég. : 1805, émanant d'un jurisconsulte des Imt'ddan, conclut, à renfort de textes, que le report du habous ne devra bénéficier qu'aux héritiers indigents et par ordre de nécessité *(ih'tiyâj)* décroissante. Une seconde consultation, accolée à la première, s'étaie encore de l'avis des juristes des Gezzula, utilisés dans ses *Ajwiba* par ʿAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamullî. Ainsi aurait de même jugé ar-Rasmûkî.

Malgré ces tentatives de la doctrine pour concilier la théorie de la pieuse affectation avec une pratique fort différente, le habous Seksawa n'est rien d'autre qu'un « séquestre agnatique ». Il n'allègue même pas une destination de piété, et s'affiche comme pure modalité testamentaire. Une incertitude l'a toujours marqué quant à son effet sur l'inaliénabilité : celle-ci est-elle plaidable par le bailleur même ou ses ayants droit ? A un moment donné, une convention de ceux-ci peut-elle la révoquer, auquel cas les parts de femme, primitivement évincées, seraient à répéter sur la masse ? La jurisprudence Seksawa n'est pas ferme sur tous ces points. Il est même intéressant de noter que cette incertitude a provoqué anciennement une initiative légiférante.

Un document non daté des I. Geryun subordonne l'inaliénabilité du habous à l'absence d'une stipulation contraire du constituant. En 1287 hég. : 1832, sept vieillards du Bas Seksawa disposent que la consistance de la marge *Ih'âchil* laissée au profit des filles sera d'une moitié des fruits de la fondation, l'autre moitié revenant au habous. Dans ce fruit est d'ailleurs compris le produit des ventes, prêts nantis, etc. « Telle est la coutume du Deren et du Dir », ajoutent-ils sentencieusement. Mais de toute évidence une telle législation aggrave l'incertitude de ce habous qui semble à

Ih'âchil, que laisse subsister le « séquestre agnatique », mais c'est un thème procédural constant. La part des femmes étant souvent oubliée dans les actes de ventes, cela, par la suite, entraînera leur annulation pour tout ce qui touche à la part des femmes, et sans qu'intervienne de prescription. Dans des sociétés voisines, en revanche, l'Aghbar par exemple, si l'on en croit la monographie in. de Lepage, la femme ne peut posséder d'immeubles dans le *leff* Imsifern (a. Gasa, a. Tkasit, Amismatert). Elle le peut au contraire dans le *leff* Inghertit (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

vrai dire n'avoir proprement pas de contenu, sinon d'ouvrir un recours à l'héritier mâle contre la femme, et surtout au descendant contre l'acquéreur étranger. Le droit s'identifie ici à l'action, et il est probable qu'il faut ranger ce habous et la *chchfia* qui le menace parmi ces ressources procédurales à effet basé sur la surprise et la feinte, dont le rôle est si important dans le déroulement du litige.

La statistique des habous serait fort intéressante dans les tribus de montagne. Il y a une vingtaine d'années, un de nos officiers note que dans trois cantons Idaw Mh'mud (1), auxquels s'adosse directement le Seksawa (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), c'est la totalité des biens qui est obligatoirement « habousée » : d'où inaliénabilité et exhérédation des femmes s'étendant à l'ensemble du terroir. Ailleurs, il s'agit d'une simple faculté, mais tellement mise à contribution dans les montagnes d'Imintanout qu'à la même époque la proportion des habous est évaluée aux deux cinquièmes des terres cultivables. La *jemâa* judiciaire des Demsira, il y a vingt-cinq ans, avait même émis le vœu qu'une moitié de tout immeuble contesté fût considérée comme habous. Cette pratique n'a pas ici été retenue. Mais elle règne en Haut Gedmiwa, sous le nom de *laûqil* (2). En revanche, guère de habous en Bas Seksawa, en aval du confluent de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen. Une fondation du protégé de Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, à Tuz'z'umt, fut regardée comme une anomalie et donna lieu à un long procès : il est vrai que l'épouse du fondateur est une étrangère des Mtugga. Plus bas encore, dans la plaine, perméable aux influences extérieures, cette forme n'intéresse, comme en pays arabe, qu'une minorité de « grandes familles ». Il retrouve sans doute alors l'alibi de sa pieuse destination. Au contraire, il est si fréquent dans la montagne, qu'il se présume de tout fonds. Mais le juge coutumier oppose à cette exception la nécessité d'établir par « inventaire » *jrîda* la consistance initiale des propriétés sur lesquelles portait la fondation. Il y oppose aussi — mais depuis quand ? — l'argument de la possession paisible exercée par le défendeur, si toutefois le revendiquant ou ses auteurs étaient présents au pays. Manifestement, aucune conclusion ne peut être tirée de ces pra-

(1) Lieutenant Combe, in *Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud*, 1932. Il distingue deux groupes : d'une part, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen ; de l'autre, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

(2) Mais on ne peut rien conclure avec certitude, le droit coutumier de l'Aghbar semblant avoir subi des évolutions récentes et d'ordre administratif, qui en ont accentué l'imprécision. Il nous paraît aujourd'hui, beaucoup plus que le droit Seksawa, être un droit « patoisant », que ce caractère soit ancien ou acquis.

tiques. Il s'y mêle des préoccupations d'équité inspirées par le conseiller français, un concept de prescription décennale emprunté au *fiqh*, et une tendance générale à la consolidation des droits acquis. Autant d'évolutions récentes.

Cette distribution géographique marque peut-être différents stades de l'institution. Dans cette hypothèse, le plus « pur » se retrouverait en amont, et surtout dans ces trois cantons I. Mh'mud où la terre est entièrement immobilisée. Il est possible que ce soit là le stade originel. Mais s'il en est ainsi, il faut reconnaître que la liberté des parties a, par un curieux paradoxe, été plus loin en la matière que ne le voulait le *fiqh*. Chez les Seksawa au moins, une convention expresse des dévolutaires peut libérer l'immeuble. S'agit-il là d'une éventualité plus théorique qu'effective ? C'est ce qu'il est impossible de préciser. En effet, comme on sait, le règlement des affaires immobilières se faisait « sous le signe » du *fiqh* et en tout cas dans un climat tout à fait différent de celui du conflit. Pas de jurisprudence donc qui ne fût suspecte à tout le moins de transposition. Quant à la tradition orale, aujourd'hui fort entamée par la disparition progressive des vieillards, et l'influence des organisations récentes, elle devient fort sujette à caution dès lors que le problème se nuance. Elle est trop balbutiante pour qu'on puisse rien baser sur elle de précis.

Une chose est sûre toutefois. C'est que ces fondations sont subordonnées à la stipulation d'une « réserve » ou « marge », *lh'achil*, à quoi ne s'applique pas le habous. Cette portion de l'immeuble reste soumise au droit commun. Les femmes en bénéficient, soit qu'elles en disposent en propriété, soit qu'elles jouissent seulement d'un usufruit. La variété est sur ces points très grande entre *taqbilt*-s et traduit des évolutions complexes. Pourtant, et dans tous les cas, l'absence de *lh'achil* est une nullité. Dans un milieu aussi dénué de précision quant à la pratique notariale, on mesure ce que cette règle formaliste apportera de surprises en cours de procédure. Bien souvent ce nouvel imprévu décidera du litige sur un point en somme accessoire, comme une feinte dans la joute.

C'est là une nouvelle chance ouverte aux adversaires du habous, une nouvelle possibilité de jeu, rien moins que négligeable dans l'esprit du système. Mais que de risques accumulés ! La procédure immobilière des Seksawa rappelle ces appareils où le joueur doit mener, à travers une multitude d'attrapes et de pièges, sa bille jusqu'à une bien chanceuse issue. Cette issue, en l'espèce, c'est l'aliénation de la terre. Et bien qu'elle résulte des possibilités ouvertes par le droit orthodoxe, qu'on fait profession

1: Berque MW11 Shluk

de suivre, et par la forme même de l'expression juridique, on devine à quel point elle reste improbable, et douteuse même dans le succès.

VUE D'ENSEMBLE SUR LE DROIT FAMILIAL ET IMMOBILIER

Si l'on groupe maintenant les aspects les plus frappants du système, on s'avisera qu'il est le triomphe de *l'Homo œconomicus*. Du rite et de l'outil, pour reprendre les deux notions antithétiques dont, pour une société marocaine d'ailleurs fort différente, Azemmour, s'inspira le regretté Ch. Le Cœur, c'est de beaucoup le second qui tient ici le premier plan. L'*outil* au sens propre, pourrait-on même dire : à savoir la houe du paysan, cet *agelzim* qui sculpte les gradins, distribue l'eau, inscrit, en gains de quelques mètres carrés, l'œuvre patiente des générations, façonne ce paysage rural, qui est le plus *fait* que connaisse l'Afrique du Nord. Paysage ouvrier...

Mais cette impression se modifie quelque peu si l'on quitte le domaine du droit conscient, avoué, marqué par son schématisme successoral, ses gentillesses chicanières quant aux biens, ses ratiocinations quant à la vie du ménage, pour examiner ses rapports avec l'ordre agraire. A ce niveau, un commentaire cérémoniel, un contexte sentimental enveloppent gestes et mots. La solidarité agnatique apparaît comme l'une des bases agissantes de la vie du canton. Mais que reste-t-il de cette structure une fois passé le seuil du débat judiciaire, qui est aussi le seuil de l'écrit ? Peu de choses en vérité. Toute une culture gentilice semble ici avoir périclité. L'écrit a passé par là. Écrit d'une autre langue, minoritaire, professionnelle, tendant au secret. Il portait avec lui un pédantisme sentimental, une propagande doctrinale et une technique notariale. Il ne resta pas un moyen, mais devint un maître. Par lui fut profondément transformée toute la matière du droit successoral. Le droit matrimonial résista mieux. Il gardait, en effet, toute colorée de rite, une plus forte originalité que le premier, que dominent d'impérieux instincts acquisitifs. L'intensité d'émotion, d'autre part, n'était pas la même dans l'un et l'autre domaine. Paroxysme du moment dans l'un, continuité dans l'autre. La résistance devait être inégale. Fête d'un côté, durée de l'autre. Le langage notarial, impuissant à déformer la fête, s'est prêté tyranniquement aux longues patiences paysannes. Il en a régi les cheminements séculaires.

Mais en deçà du stade de l'expression, la paix communale s'est fortement maintenue ou rétablie par-dessous, dans l'ordre

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

d'irrigation, l'orchestration parcellaire. On arrive ainsi à ce paradoxe que l'économie foncière, surtout régie par des survivances de prédroit, des impératifs inconscients, mais peut-être aussi par l'initiative délibérée du groupe, ne se traduise qu'indirectement dans la multiplicité contentieuse du titre. L'essentiel de cette vie : véhémence agonistique, tension à rétablissements alternés, continuité patrimoniale, sentiment de la légitimité, passe au travers des actes plutôt qu'il ne s'exprime par eux. Le subterfuge juridique, le stratagème procédural, un élément de surprise et comme un certain culte de l'absurde menacent les constructions de l'écrit. Et cela provoque bien des troubles, suscite bien des scrupules. Mais ils restent en profondeur. Le langage notarial a tout recouvert. Son prestige mystérieux et ses malices ont séduit à la fois la fraîcheur et la duplicité de ce paysan. Car ce paysan y a trouvé son bien. Il l'y trouvera de plus en plus, comme par une sorte de compensation, et à mesure que le débat judiciaire dépouillera son antique caractère. La réaction du groupe n'arrivera pas toujours à prévaloir sur les forces d'éclatement. C'en sera fait alors de l'institution montagnarde.

[P.369]

IV

DROIT COMMUNAL

Nous allons étudier, sous ce titre austère, un aspect des « républiques de l'Atlas » qui a déjà suscité d'attachantes descriptions (1). Mais, bien que certaines de ces descriptions aillent loin en profondeur, l'analyse ne fera pas double emploi avec elles. Elle s'intéressera d'ailleurs à l'état ancien, tel qu'il ressort des documents locaux. Ceux-ci donnent du droit public une image désintéressée, parce qu'exclusive de prosélytisme. L'acte n'est ici qu'un procès-verbal. On peut en faire usage sans méfiance. Non qu'il ne reflète aucune vue assimilatrice. Mais il est sans arrière-pensée de ralliement à la Salente orthodoxe. Son rédacteur a conscience de l'autonomie cantonale. Il en est l'agent. Sa morgue de lettré s'efface devant des préoccupations de loyalisme, et probablement une chaleur municipale propres à rendre la vérité d'ambiance. D'où la valeur documentaire de ces tarifications pénales, édictées après chaque élection de chef, et qui abondent heureusement dans les archives Seksawa, notamment dans celles de la très haute vallée.

COMPOSITION PÉCUNIAIRE ET DROIT PÉNAL

Le groupe se résout-il dans l'ensemble des *ikhs*-s? Des traits de discordance dans l'évolution moderne de ces deux notions mènent à poser ce difficile problème. Et l'évolution, qui s'est surtout exprimée dans une inégale réaction à l'écrit arabe, n'a sans doute fait qu'accentuer des discordances plus anciennes, sur lesquelles on en est réduit à l'hypothèse. Très certainement toutefois, la *laqbill* chleuhe est adulte avant que ne s'exercent ces influences. Quels y sont les rapports du groupe et de ses subdivisions agnatiques ? En matière de droit répressif notamment quelle est la part de la compensation pécuniaire privée et de la

(1) R. Montagne, L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas, *Hesp.*, 1927, pp. 15 sq., et surtout *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc*, 1930, pp. 217 sq. Il faut faire remonter au même chercheur les premières recherches d'archives publiques dans cette partie du Maroc, Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain, *Hesp.*, 1924, pp. 313 sq., et surtout R. Montagne et M. Ben Daoud, Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain, *Hesp.*, 1927, pp. 401 sq., à l'égard desquels notre dette est grande.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

sanction d'ordre public ? Tout ce que nous pouvons dire, si nous voulons éviter de faire appel à un schème d'évolution suspect : talion, puis compensation, puis amende, — c'est qu'à l'époque où font remonter les premières sources écrites, il y a à la fois peine édictée et composition tarifée.

Mais une autre constatation peut nous mettre sur la voie. L'état ancien ne découvre pas d'éléments du problème autres que ceux d'aujourd'hui. Le débat porte déjà sur l'interaction de la commune d'une part, des personnes de l'autre. Un individualisme acquisitif, la rupture constante de la société « patriarcale » en coopérateurs irascibles, voire en foyers essaimés ou en rivaux économiques, tempère sans doute, dès cette époque, le primat gentilice. Du plan contentieux, ils le refoulent dans la pénombre des vieilles solidarités, vivaces sans doute mais qui n'affleurent plus au débat. D'autre part, les phases de pouvoir personnel dont le XXe siècle a offert un cycle parfaitement observable, ont dû certes se composer, et non sans heurts ni malaises, avec l'ancienne structure. S'il est remarquable que la distribution de l'habitat par villages *lmud'â*, ne corresponde à rien dans l'institution communale; et que l'unité soit toujours la *taqbill*, sans préjudice de la distribution parfois fort mêlée des *ikhs*-s en villages, on peut noter en sens inverse que nulle autorité d'ancêtre ne vient restreindre la citoyenneté du chef de foyer. C'est bien le « foyer » *takat* qui constitue la base des répartitions comme de toutes les manifestations tumultuaires ou comptables essentielles à cette vie.

Le rôle de l'*ikhs* ressort à tout le moins de ses fonctions actuelles : répartiteur primaire de l'eau, et, si j'ose dire, de la *baraka* ; membre d'une hiérarchie de qualifications réservant à telle ou telle lignée le droit d'entreprendre les grandes actions à valeur commune, qui engagent la collectivité, son sol, son passé et son avenir. Sa fonction subsiste principalement en tout ce que la démarche du groupe respecte de nécessités, plus ou moins clairement ressenties, d'accord avec la nature, de connivence avec le *kosmos* et ses lois non écrites. De là vient que la guerre, la politique, l'ordre agraire, et, dans une certaine mesure, la sainteté, la justice ou la poésie soient affaire gentilice. Ces attributs sont bien mêlés. Nous ignorons lesquels parmi eux remontent au passé ou résultent de restaurations ou d'aménagements. On serait bien entendu tenté de considérer les fonctions magico-religieuses comme appartenant au fond le plus ancien (1).

(1) P. Huvelin, Magie et droit individuel, *Ann. Soc.*, X, p. 12, montre que la répression des délits, dans une société dominée par les représentations fami-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Mais sur ce plan même, il y a eu deux reculs, à moins que ce ne soient là des lacunes originelles. D'abord, répétons-le, cette société à ancêtres n'a jamais reflété dans son hagiologie ce qui s'en reflète dans d'autres systèmes pareillement organisés. Autre remarque négative : dans ce droit pénal, si bien attesté pendant les quatre siècles que l'on peut étudier, la sanction est toujours d'ordre public sans que jamais y affleure la notion de vengeance privée ou de responsabilité de l'*ikhs*. La chose est d'importance. L'une des meilleures études de droit berbère, celle de Hanoteau et Letourneux, a fait grande place à des aspects tout contraires. Une vive différence avec le Haut-Atlas occidental ressort de ce que ces auteurs disent procéder d'un droit de la famille, par opposition à celui du village : tous ces moteurs juridico-sentimentaux que sont la *reqba*, la *ʿanâya*, tout ce code de l'honneur viril qui tient une si grande place chez les Kabyles (1). La *diâ* n'est pas kabyle. Or le milieu que nous étudions est dominé par la compensation pécuniaire, que le comparatisme a longtemps considérée comme d'un stade et d'un caractère tranchant sur ceux d'un droit purement familial. Mais qu'y a-t-il d'historique dans ces distinctions, et devons-nous leur prêter une valeur autre que didactique ?

Certes, la question est obscure des rapports concrets qui ont pu, dans telle ou telle société, se manifester entre le talion, la compensation, la composition fixée d'avance, la vengeance, la peine et le jugement. Peut-être y a-t-il eu, dans des milieux analogues, des attitudes et options fondamentalement opposées. Pour faire un rapprochement avec un droit ancien, rapprochement qui a inspiré parfois des théories aventureuses, rappelons, mais seulement à titre de repère, que le vieux droit germanique a

liales, reste d'accent religieux et revêt communément la forme de l'ordalie. Certes, la folle exubérance du droit juré dans les vieilles sociétés maghrébines évoque la subsistance d'ensembles qui, en l'espèce, sont des ensembles agnatiques. On s'explique que cet aspect ait, aux yeux de Marcy, constitué critère d'archaïsme, c'est-à-dire, selon lui, d'authenticité berbère. Le droit public consisterait, selon cette optique, à organiser des rapports entre groupes familiaux, à l'intérieur de la société politique. Le fait est que le serment a souvent cet aspect. Et cela est tellement vrai que, le groupe s'élargissant à la *taqbilt* par exemple, ce soient d'autres tarifs qui fonctionnent alors dans la *cojuratio*. Mais on est aussi frappé par les traits de décadence ou de recul d'un droit familial ainsi profilé, ou, ce qui revient au même, par son inégale résistance aux influences musulmanes légalistes, dont, en somme, le droit public au sens strict s'est beaucoup mieux tiré. Des deux, c'est ce dernier qui a eu l'influence majeure, au point, sans doute, de réagir sur l'autre.

(1) M. Daumas et M. Fabar, *La grande Kabylie*, 1847, opposent déjà la vendetta à la *diâ*, comme signes de deux systèmes radicalement différents, p. 35. Ces observations et celles de C. Devaux, *Les Kebailes du Djerdjera*, 1859, ont certainement inspiré Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

connu simultanément la composition, phase atténuée de la vengeance familiale, compatible d'ailleurs avec une organisation arbitrale ou judiciaire, et la proscription, qui elle, est de caractère rituel.

En vieux droit Seksawa, on connaît simultanément l'amende, ce qui est un trait de droit public fort « avancé » et la composition tarifée. Mais, du plus loin que l'on puisse remonter par les sources écrites, on ne connaît rien que cela : jamais le talion. L'opinion contraire a été pourtant soutenue, mais semble-t-il sans sources sérieuses. Nous n'avons pas le droit d'inférer de rapprochements arabes préislamiques ou bibliques l'existence d'un stade où la vindicte personnelle pût ici légalement s'exercer. On peut certes se demander si la proscription après le crime, n'est pas aussi bien une fuite rituelle, favorisée par l'institution de lieux d'asile, comme Z'init', et au cours de laquelle des intercessions soit familiales, soit religieuses (entremise des « marabouts ») sont sollicitées. Le terme d'*azwag* signifie aussi bien le « banni » que le « suppliant », double face, passive et active, de la notion.

Il y a une vingtaine d'années, un de nos officiers écrit : « Aujourd'hui, lorsqu'un meurtre a été commis, la tribu charge quelques-uns des siens d'aller brûler les gouttières et autres pièces de bois qui saillent de la demeure du meurtrier. Cet acte signifie au coupable d'avoir à quitter sans délai le territoire de la tribu. On publie ensuite : « Il n'y a de Dieu qu'Allah, et Moh'ammed est son Prophète. Entendez-vous, ô gens de la tribu, un tel doit partir en *azwag*, et s'il est vu chez nous, il ne devra pas être pardonné. » « En Seksawa, la réparation pécuniaire est accomplie pendant le temps de l'exil, tandis qu'ailleurs, elle est versée le jour du retour. Ce jour-là, le meurtrier, accompagné de la *jemâa*, se présente aux parents de la victime, doit les saluer respectueusement le premier, et s'écarter de leur chemin en baissant la tête. »

Cette notation fait sans doute la part belle aux interprétations d'un informateur. Mais à ce titre même, combien n'est-il pas instructif que l'aspect « supplication » et des procédures magiques d'exclusion viennent compliquer une opération de droit public ! Nous ne résoudrons pas cette disparate : ce n'est pas la seule que le milieu manifeste.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la *diâ* versée alors aux parents était de 100 réaux et d'un bovin. De plus, la *jemâa* percevait la fourniture d'un repas : un mouton, de la semoule, du beurre salé, du sucre. Reconnaissons d'ailleurs que les vieux actes ne prévoient presque jamais le cas de meurtre : par peur du mauvais augure sans doute. Ils se contentent d'édicter la peine encourue par le geste, c'est-

à-dire par l'intention : deux degrés, on le verra, selon que l'arme est brandie ou utilisée. Cela est d'une technique relativement affinée. Ce qui a laissé des traces, en dehors des codifications, véritable genre littéraire, et tellement abondant qu'on s'étonne qu'ait pu subsister dans l'exégèse moderne une théorie du talion, ce sont de véritables papiers d'affaires. Et ils traduisent un tout autre climat que la vengeance privée. En voici quelques exemples :

Ammern, 1232 hég. : 1817. Un spécialiste en examen de blessures (nous dirions qu'il évalue les « incapacités ») fixe l'indemnité *lreçaç* correspondant à la perte d'un œil. C'est une somme d'argent, ce n'est pas l'œil du coupable !

Ammern, 1167 hég. : 1754. Un père, affligé d'un enfant prodigue et querelleur, règle 80 o. pour son compte et désormais se dégage *min jamiʿ umur as-sufahâ' wa jamiʿ il-achrâr* que causerait désormais le jeune homme : folies de jeunesse, plaies et bosses infligées à autrui, et dont le vieillard indemnise en quelque sorte forfaitairement pour le passé une série de victimes.

Ammern, 1166 hég. : 1753. Une femme divorcée a été condamnée à une forte amende, 30 o. Un tiers la paie pour elle, non sans contracter, semble-t-il, certains droits sur la coupable. En tout cas, il la dégage dès lors de toute responsabilité, « autant que le chacal est dégagé de celle du sang de Joseph », pittoresque rappel biblique.

Tasa, 1242 hég. : 1827. Un connaisseur évalue la blessure, résultat du « coup du destin » infligé à Lh'sen Ubaha (euphémisme pour désigner le coupable), « quant à la tête du vieillard Sâid Wakrim ». Expertise.

Fatwa du fils de sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 hég. : 1735). Le taux applicable à une blessure faciale est évalué à 1/12 de la *dia*, soit 72 *mithqâl*-s ; de monnaie *ʿabbâsiya*. Cela par référence à Khalil !

Accord de 1274 hég. : 1858 entre les *jemâa*-s des villages de Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tiawalin, Tamezgurt (la tétrapole Imt'ddan). La pièce est écrite de la main du marabout d'Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. Il est convenu que la *dia* pour l'homicide volontaire ou involontaire est de 100 *mithqâl*-s.

« Note » *taqyid* de l'amende infligée par le *moqaddem* des Idma à un individu qui a volé des amandes, et dont les frères ont maudit le volé, *yalʿanû bi-kathrat il-qabîh'* : 10 m. au voleur, et à chaque insulteur. Sans date.

A s'en tenir donc à ce que l'on peut restituer par les sources documentaires existantes, et même compte tenu des transpositions inhérentes à l'écrit, on est frappé par le caractère publiciste et réglementaire de ce droit pénal. A quel point ce caractère a prévalu sur l'autonomie familiale, on s'en rendra compte par les textes suivants.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

En 1267 hég. : 1851, les Idaw Geryun édictent que le voleur insolvable devra être exécuté par ses agnats. Ceux-ci devront le mettre à mort. S'ils ne s'y résolvent pas, ils devront le dégager de son amende à leurs propres frais. La *jemâa* libère les agents de cette exécution de tout paiement de *diâ* !

En 1276 hég. : 1860, les a. Tasa condamnent à mort un d'entre eux pour vol. Il est donc exécuté. « Mais non point par la main d'un seul, mais par celle de tous, et sans qu'incombe à personne *diâ*, amende ni exil ».

Il existe encore en Haut Seksawâ des vieillards qui se rappellent des mises à mort de ce genre. L'exécuteur est tantôt le groupe agnatique, tantôt la *taqbilt*, ou plutôt une subdivision de celle-ci, le « tiers », *thelth*.

Dans ces cas d'espèce, le primat du groupe et de la justice qu'il rend se concilie curieusement avec un archaïque souci d'immunité. Pénalité d'ordre public, certes, mais qui prend ses précautions du côté de la vindicte privée et des influences pernicieuses du sang versé. L'*ikhs*, ou les « proches » deviennent ici ministres d'une répression qui est bien celle de l'état. Et non seulement ils doivent ainsi tuer l'un des leurs, que leur « devoir » eût été de protéger ou de venger, mais c'est l'état qui les absout, pour comble, de la responsabilité de ce meurtre.

LE DROIT PUBLIC DE LA « TAQBILT »

Les vieux actes de tarification pénale commencent le plus souvent par la formule : *illafaqû jamâ'a...*, « s'est mise d'accord la *jemâa* ». Ce dernier terme est devenu le *leit motiv* de notre sociologie politique nord-africaine. Rappelons son équivoque initiale, due à l'étymologie. La *jemâa* peut n'être qu'une « réunion », comme l'*'orf* peut n'être qu'une « présomption ». Une veine de *fiqh* se mélange ici aux vieilles notions communales. Dans beaucoup d'actes et dans la conception d'un rédacteur puriste, le mot n'évoque qu'une publicité. Cette publicité, fort importante par exemple en matière de mariage, se confond il est vrai avec l'*auctoritas* du groupe. Le camouflage, au moins linguistique, de l'institution montagnarde, a fait d'une réalité aussi essentielle quelque chose d'un peu fuyant, et qui peut donner lieu à de rassurantes et évasives assimilations. Réalité formidable lorsqu'elle se déploie à plein, dans une convention insurrectionnelle par exemple, comme l'histoire du Maroc en est pleine (1). Réalité doucereuse lorsque la prudence, ou la fausse honte, ou la pudeur

(1) En Algérie aussi. Cf. l'organisation des *cherf'iya* dans L. Rinn, *Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

grammaticale l'induisent à ne s'exprimer que par des mots à double entente. La formule initiale des *inçâf*-s peut être interprétée dans les deux sens : de délibération communale ou d'accord accidentel.

Après ce préambule vient le nom du chef, le « préposé », *moqaddem*. Encore un mot arabe, à allure de pouvoir central : c'est celui qui dans le système makhzénien actuel désigne le chef de village. Mais c'est bien autre chose ici. Ce personnage est parfois entouré d'un petit sénat, dont les membres portent le nom inexpliqué d'*ait Arbâin*, « les Quarante », et parfois plus simplement celui d' « auxiliaires », *aᶜwân*. Sur un très vieux document, le *moqaddem* porte le nom, tombé ici en désuétude, d'*anflus*. Il y a incontestablement désignation par le groupe. Élection par tous ou cooptation par les chefs d'*ikhs* ? Il est probable que des circonstances de fait et de personnes tranchaient entre ces deux formules. Certains groupes pratiquaient des modalités spéciales. Ainsi les Idma se réunissaient chaque année sur l'esplanade d'Inraren Z'dinin, au-dessus d'Anchkrir. Un roulement était observé entre *ikhs*-s quant au choix de l'élu. En fait les phases de pouvoir personnel semblent, pour les Idma du moins, avoir constamment interféré avec l'organisation démocratique, au point qu'on peut se demander si celle-ci n'était pas plutôt idéal que réalité.

Il reste, de ces Idma, un très vieux témoignage : 915 hég. : 1510. C'est l'époque des incursions portugaises dans le Dir et une fois au moins le long de la route du Sous. Les Idma se réduisent alors à trois villages : Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. L'occupation de la moyenne vallée n'est pas encore faite. Celle-ci est encore tenue par les a. Gasa. L'acte, sans doute le procès-verbal de l'une de ces assemblées d'Inraren Z'dinin, après un préambule solennel, dans la forme coranique, commence selon la formule rituelle : *illafaqû jamâᶜa*. Le chef élû ne porte aucun titre, sinon la périphrase qu' « il parlera en leur nom » ... « Dieu nous conforme à ses volontés ! Puisse-t-il faire reposer la paix *(al-ᶜâfiya)* en 6 délégués de chaque village. » L'expression d'un rôle rituel est ici à peine accoutrée de monothéisme. C'est le plus ancien document que l'on ait de ce type. Il est à peu près contemporain des « édits » de Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (l'allié des Portugais), qui sont du même genre. L'aire d'expansion de la formule paraît donc avoir été considérable. Le *moqaddem* représente la *jemâa* dans toutes ses multiples interventions. Il mêle naturellement à ce rôle les prérogatives naissantes de l'exécutif. Sur le plan intérieur, il se charge d'inviter par bans les citoyens à toutes les prestations d'ordre

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

agraire qu'entraîne une vie villageoise à la fois intense et desservie par un milieu ingrat. Corvées d'entr'aide, rétribution de *fiqh*, lutte contre les sauterelles, réparations des séguias, nettoyages périodiques des bassins, hospitalité offerte au voyageur. Un acte des a. H'adduyws de 1166 hég. : 1755 donne là-dessus quelques détails savoureux. On y trouve un membre de phrase caractéristique de cet ordre public dont on signalait plus haut la prévalence sur la légitimité privée : « Quiconque émet une revendication plausible (sur un terrain), mais s'oppose (aux labours de l'adversaire) sans consultation du *moqaddem* » : tant d'amende, *man iddaʿa bi-chibha wa laʿarradʿa illâ bi-muchâwarat il-muqaddam*. Ce petit magistrat est donc ici le gardien de l'ordre du groupe sous son aspect agraire, économique, municipal, mais aussi judiciaire. Son rôle est important. Aussi, de nombreux documents spécifient en sa faveur des sanctions d'amende infligées automatiquement à quiconque ne lui obéit pas. On voit où une telle évolution peut aller. Dans le stade tardif qu'ont pu observer nos premiers officiers, une telle tendance s'affirme à plein.

Voici par exemple un document des Idaw Geryun de 1292 hég. : 1875. En propres termes, le *moqaddem* est défini comme « devant administrer les déclarants selon l'équité, émettre son avis dans toutes leurs affaires ». Cette évolution avouée vers le pouvoir personnel s'accompagne de nouvelles dispositions pénales pour la répression du faux ou de l'impiété. Un début de moralisation du pouvoir s'entrevoit ici. C'est d'une réaction contre le vieil ordre que le chef escompte tirer une force qui ne soit pas seulement celle des armes. L'essai est instructif. A vrai dire, de telles tendances suscitent l'opposition : contrôle permanent des ait Arbâin, règle de l'unanimité, qui seule peut soutenir le *moqaddem*, tant qu'il ne s'érige pas par la violence, et qui le contraint donc à une incessante démagogie. Cette consultation de la *jemâa* lui est même parfois expressément imposée. C'est ainsi que les Idaw Geryun, en 1218 hég. : 1803, spécifient que « le *moqaddem* ou ses aides ne pourront rien faire sans la consultation de la *jemâa illa bi-muchâwarat il-jamâʿa* ».

On ne peut pas dire que l'évolution vers le pouvoir personnel, dont nous avons enregistré et consolidé la phase contemporaine, ait tari cette aptitude à codifier. Peut-être dès lors joue-t-elle à vide, ou par une sorte de revanche contre l'événement — tant le rôle de la fiction est considérable dans ces sociétés. Le fait est que ce genre d'écrits se manifeste jusqu'à notre arrivée. Qui sait si la multiplicité des clauses n'y est pas recherchée comme une garantie contre un arbitraire envahissant ? Certes, la garantie est

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

plus ou moins efficace. Non seulement le pouvoir tyrannique peut désormais enfreindre ces délibérations, mais il y a plus grave encore. Le nouveau magistère s'appuie sur une nouvelle morale politique. L'automatisme que la commune recherchait dans l'application de la peine fait place à l'appréciation discrétionnaire, dont il serait faux de dire qu'elle soit constamment inique. Elle ne se maintiendrait pas, dans un tel milieu, sans un support de légitimité. Mais *d'une autre* légitimité. La codification se heurte désormais aux nuances et à la contingence d'une juridiction prétorienne, qui ne manque pas sans doute d'invoquer contre sa rivale la religion, la raison, le bon sens. Le passage s'accompagne, chez beaucoup de justiciables, d'un sentiment de libération à l'égard des vieilles contraintes du groupe, d'effet immédiat et impitoyable. Une nouvelle faculté d'instance, de remise en cause, de démarche et de recours individuels s'ouvre, là où ne voulait régner autrefois que la sévère mécanique communale. Tels instincts authentiques du milieu s'en satisfont sans doute. En un sens, l'*amghar* porte avec lui une faculté d'affranchissement : c'est celle même de l'anarchique destruction mais aussi, en un sens, celle des lumières et de l'individualisme. On est mal armé pour décrire avec précision le jeu des facteurs dont les victoires alternées ont sans doute occupé plusieurs siècles, et non le XIXe seulement. Il suffira ici d'en avoir dégagé le caractère.

En 1132 hég. : 1720, un *fqih* originaire des Arghen, la tribu d'Ibn Toumert, s'élève à d'intéressantes distinctions, qui montrent à quel travail d'esprit, et d'esprit critique, l'institution pouvait donner lieu. « Chez les ruraux », dit-il, « la *jemâ'a* et le *moqaddem* jouent le rôle de sultan en matière réglementaire *(ah'kâm)*. L'*imâm*, c'est le *moqaddem*. S'ils s'accordent pour composer *(sâmah'a)* ou frapper d'amende *(inçâf)*, ils partagent l'amende, et la part de l'un et l'autre est évidente. S'ils composent, il n'y a plus de recours là-contre. S'ils ne tombent pas d'accord, leur *imâm* aura pouvoir pour augmenter ou diminuer (le taux de la composition) ». L'acte accolé à cette consultation, et qui est contemporain, mentionne le partage d'un *inçâf* entre les *anflus (sic)* de Tinwalin et Tamt'ddit et leurs *jemâa-s*.

En effet, ce droit pénal se double d'une organisation fiscale, qui le nourrit. Selon un principe qui n'est pas encore totalement abandonné dans les finances modernes, le magistrat, et, plus fréquemment le « verbalisateur », comme nous dirions, bénéficie de l'amende infligée, ou saisit l'objet du délit. Telle est aussi, on l'a vu, la rétribution des gardiens de ban agricole ou *imchchurd'a*, dont le nom, formé sur la racine arabe traduisant la convention à

clauses, marque bien le caractère. Mais il y a un gros écart entre cette gestion et celle du *moqaddem*. La collectivité frappe d'interdit tel pâquis ou tel verger. La transgression autorise, de la part de l'agent communal, une prise immédiate : application automatique d'un « prédroit », cela se mêlant à des éléments d'abandon noxal. Tel est l'*amchchard'o*, ancêtre du garde-chasse et du garde-champêtre. Bien plus complexe est le rôle du *moqaddem*. Si lui aussi paraît, dans certains cas, se rémunérer sur le flagrant délit ou la « bonne prise », le plus souvent, il perçoit et comptabilise des rentrées réglementaires dont une part seulement lui revient. Périodiquement, il doit rendre compte. Voici à ce sujet un document typique. C'est, dirions-nous, le rapport de fin d'exercice d'un gérant de fonds communaux. Bien que rédigé sous une forme inadéquate, il ne laisse pas de pouvoir se résumer en colonnes de chiffres (1).

Crédit	Nature de l'opération	Débit	Nature de l'opération
	A) *En espèces*		
12 m 4 o	Remis par la *laqbilt*.	60 o, ½ mu	Don aux Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Montant du présent de condoléances fait par la *jemâa* des Idaw Mçat't'og et des Idaw Kais.	3 uj	Don aux Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
9 o	Montant d'un présent de condoléances.	57 o	« Bled Lebda » Idaw Mçat't'og et Idaw Kais.
9 o	Prix d'un mouton égorgé pour la *jemâa* et remboursé au *moqaddem*.	45 o	Prix de moutons remis à Lah'sen b. Ah'med et Moh'ammed b. Messâud de Tamarwut, soit 30 o + 15 o.
9 o 1 mu	Montant des condoléances des Mentaga.	4 uj	Remboursement partiel à Lah'sen u Ah'med. Cette somme représente une partie des dettes dont la *laqbilt* est redevable.
		3 o, ½ mu	Secours à la petite fille des a. Buzid de Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, ½ mu	Secours à la fille de Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed d'Agersif lors de sa rentrée à la mosquée de Asif Leh'lu.
TOTAL : 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		TOTAL : 16 m, 8 o, 1,5 mu, 7 uj.	

(1) Abréviations : m, *mithqâl* ; o, *uqiyya* ; mu, *mûzûna* ; uj, *uajh* ; f, *fûls*. Ce sont des monnaies de compte.

B) *Opérations fiduciaires*

4 o	Prix d'un mouton.	20 o	Prix de moutons de *dhbih'a* et somme remise aux femmes.
3 o	—		
7 o	—		
5 uj	Prêt à un vieillard.	60 o, 1 mu	Don fait à Sidi H'asan, l'un des fils des a. Ben Nâçer.
5 uj	Prêt à un vieillard.		
11 mu 2 fl	Prix de peaux de moutons.	6 o, ½ mu	Don fait aux Ulad Sidi Muh'.
10 o	Prêt à Âbdallah u Març	3 o	Somme dépensée par le *moqaddem* (?).
		9 o	Somme remise à Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, soit le prix de 3 moutons.
		6 o	Somme remise à Lah'sen Kâbûs à titre de remboursement.
		30 o	Don au marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ʿAyâd du Sous.
		4 o, ½ mu	Somme remise par Âbdellah b. Ah'med u Març à Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
TOTAL : 24 o, 10 uj, 11 mu, 2 fl		TOTAL : 138 o, 2 mu	

Récapitulation du crédit : 18 m, 9 o, etc.
Récapitulation du débit : 30 m, 6 o, etc.
Balance : — 11 m, 7 o, etc.

Nous sommes en Idaw Geryun, vers 1836. Le *moqaddem* s'exprime comme un administrateur délégué. Et il conclut à un bilan négatif : les sommes avancées par lui-même !

De tels documents révèlent un singulier avancement des gestions dans certains de ces groupes de montagne. Une comptabilité impliquant l'usage de l'écrit est exigée du magistrat communal, sans que le moindre abus lui soit passé. Sans doute, on l'a dit, parallèlement à cette veine, court une autre veine : celle des poussées du pouvoir personnel. Le remarquable est que la première ne se soit jamais abolie et ait continué à représenter, dans les pires aventures, une aspiration jamais découragée.

Les attributions de la cité ne sont pas seulement internes, mais aussi de droit international. Là encore, le *moqaddem* et les ait Arbâin représenteront les intérêts de leur groupe. Parmi les actes pacifiques les plus fréquents auxquels ils pouvaient participer, et qui nous ont laissé des traces écrites, citons :

En 1136 hég. : 1724 un accord entre les Idaw Geryun et les gens d'Uzaga (haut ait H'adduyws) au sujet d'une limite d'usage forestier *maçdlih' al-ghâba*. Des garants sont respectivement fournis — vieillards pour la

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

plupart, *ifqiren* — en tant que caution des empiètements ou des vols se produisant sur les confins ; ainsi que du respect des mises en défens de la glandaie. L'entente comporte une clause pénale, considérable, de 1.000 onces à qui la rompra.

Accords en ce qui concerne le pâquis et les droits d'eau sur le Tabgurt (actes de 1114 hég. : 1702 et 1115 hég. : 1703) des jemâas Idma et a. H'adduyws. J'ai ailleurs publié et analysé ces actes. Là encore nous retrouverions les principaux caractères jusqu'ici relevés : présence des délégués d'*ikhs*, des *moqaddem*-s, climat de minutieuse discussion mêlé à une archaïque chaleur communautaire.

LA RÉDACTION DE LA RÈGLE

Fait d'âpres compétitions internes, d'inexpiables vendettas, le groupe n'en oppose pas moins à l'extérieur une cohésion qui est celle du fagot d'épines, inextricable et intouchable. Et n'est-il pas significatif que cette image du fagot ait été inspirée, au Moyen Age, par nos premières communes ?

Cette épineuse cohésion, un acte juridique la scelle. Ce sont ces codifications pénales, dites en Kabylie *qânûn*, chez nos chleuhs *inçaf*, véritable lieu commun de l'institution berbère. Révélées par Hanoteau et Letourneux, retrouvées, avec quel luxe ! dans le Sud marocain, produisant en Algérie, autour de 1930, un scandale de surprise d'une bien sympathique naïveté, leur histoire est déjà longue (1). On peut en suivre la chaîne depuis l'édit, déjà mentionné, de Yah'yâ u Tâfûft (1510), jusqu'à la délibération soumise au préfet, dans le cadre de notre loi municipale, par un village kabyle en 1945.

Il est vraisemblable qu'elles représentèrent dans le Sous l'un des premiers usages de l'écriture arabe. La synonymie de chl. *ikchchuden*, ar. *alwâh'*, « tablettes », « tables de la Loi » (2), est

(1) L. Milliot, Les institutions kabyles, *R. E. I.*, 1932, pp. 138 sq., et Les qânouns kabyles dans l'ouvrage de Hanoteau et Letourneux, pp. 1 sq., 26 sq., *ibid.*, 1933; remarquable critique historique des documents fournis par ces deux auteurs.

(2) Les juristes du Sous parlent souvent de ces « tables » *alwâh'*, ce qui correspond à chl. *ikchchuden*, « bouts de bois », où sont consignées les codifications coutumières. Celles-ci en arrivent à être désignées sous le nom de « tables », sans plus d'allusion à la matière de l'instrument. Cependant, il faut mettre en rapports cette institution avec la pratique des *tabulae defixionis*, dans les rites d'envoûtement où la planchette, souvent couverte de caractères et entourée d'un linceul, est glissée dans une vieille tombe.

La société que nous décrivons ici ne connaît que le papier en ce qui concerne les actes juridiques.

L'aire géographique des actes sur bois (probablement bois de pistachier, *igg*), paraît avoir pour centre la tribu des Ilalen. Dans les Ilalen de l'Est la moitié environ des actes est rédigée sur bois, l'autre moitié étant rédigée sur papier. Dans la tribu des Ilalen de l'Ouest la proportion des actes sur bois

attestée chez tous les vieux juristes du Sud, qui y consacrent maintes dissertations (1). Ce fut sous cet aspect sans doute que s'est posé à eux le problème du droit indigène, extérieur au *fiqh*. On peut donc supposer, au début du XVIe siècle, à l'époque probable de la généralisation du notariat dans nos montagnes, une généralisation parallèle de ces codifications. Le nom même de ces élaborations — même si elles se substituaient à quelque chose de plus ancien et dont nous n'aurons jamais idée, sauf le hasard d'une trouvaille — est rigoureusement arabe. C'est le mot propre, désignant cette « équité » que nos juristes opposent parfois aux normes proprement dites parmi les sources du jugement. *Inçaf* est un mot religieux, à sonorité morale. Qu'une extension sémantique le fasse signifier « amende », puis « tarification pénale », la fiction d'un arbitrage des *viri prudentes* autorise le passage de l'une à l'autre notion. Une continuité sans rupture s'établit ainsi de la pensée orthodoxe et de ses tenants paradoxaux à l'illicéité de législations purement laïques et dont certaines, horreur ! traitent de statut personnel.

C'est ce qu'ont bien senti, c'est à quoi ont toujours tenu les rédacteurs. Même si l'on fait la part du scrupule professionnel des scribes, pieuses gens à affectation dévote, à parole benoîte, on retrouve le caractère jusque dans le contenu de ces chartes. Effort de rattachement à l'orthodoxie ! Un texte de 1142 hég. : 1730 assimile le tarif compensatoire du vol, pratiqué en Seksawa, à la peine canonique d'amputation de la main : en effet, dit notre docteur, 33 onces étaient, à l'époque des Compagnons, la valeur d'une main ! Chaque fois que faire se peut, des citations érudites viennent légitimer l'étrange droit communal. Un même acte de 1147 hég. : 1735, émanant du « cadi » sidi Moh'ammed, fils du saint d'Assttif, accole curieusement une citation de Khalil à des considérations sur le tarif des blessures faciales, évaluées à 1/20 de la *diâ*, soit 72 *milhqâls*-s abbasiens. Une consultation d'un *fqih* d'Arghen déjà mentionné (acte de Tinwalin de 1198 hég. : 1784) s'étaie conjointement sur la *Tuh'fa* et sur « ce qui règne en fait de *'orf* et de *'âda* au pays de Sous, depuis Fès jusqu'au Sous, en fait

paraît un peu moindre. Dans les tribus limitrophes on trouve une proportion variable d'actes sur bois, mais encore très forte dans la région de Timgilcht (Tafrawt) et Idaw Kensus (Igherm). Dans les Ammeln, par exemple, peu d'actes sur bois. On n'en trouve plus, à ma connaissance, à Anzi, Ilran, Bu Izakarn, ni dans le Haut-Atlas, où le papier s'est généralisé depuis le XVIe siècle. La proportion des actes sur bois ne paraît guère avoir varié depuis une époque ancienne et être restée à peu près constante jusqu'à l'instauration des Tribunaux coutumiers.

(1) Par exemple AS-SUKTÂNÎ, *Ajwiba*, ms. Ud 'Abd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b et 140 b (Deren).

d'amendes et d'*inçâf* : et cela est licite pour ces campagnards ».

Cette contamination pédantesque entre la loi et le droit indigène n'est pas seule à révéler la vraie nature de ces codifications. De ce que l'on va voir maintenant ressortiront sans doute, bien qu'il ne s'agisse que d'indices ou de traces, des traits probablement plus authentiques. On a déjà noté le préambule de tous ces textes. C'est un accord, consignant l'unanimité d'un groupe sur ses *maçâlih'*, sur son « bien ». On sait bien quel empirisme malékite peut se réclamer de cette dernière notion. Mais la part a été faite assez belle aux imprégnations religieuses du système pour que l'on cherche aussi à y déceler une autre inspiration, celle d'un pragmatisme collectif, s'assurant de sa légitimité par la poursuite de ses intérêts moraux et matériels. Cette légitimité se manifeste en contrat social. Ce n'est pas un hasard. L'aspect contractuel est en effet fort frappant dans ces témoignages. C'est un engagement mutuel entre eux d'une part, avec le *moqaddem* promu d'autre part, que souscrivent les chefs d'*ikhs*. Il les oblige, comme il oblige le *moqaddem* : et si celui-ci, chose curieuse, ne figure pas à l'acte, c'est que le consensus des *patres* est censé entraîner son adhésion conditionnée, sur les bases stipulées par le document. Un contrat devient ainsi la loi du groupe.

Les clauses constituent le plus souvent une véritable charte tarifée. Il est rare de lire, comme dans ce document de 961 hég. : 1583 (Idaw Geryun), que le *moqaddem* et ses aides « prendront » ce qui leur plaira. Un tel accent est isolé. Dans la totalité des cas, il s'agit d'une tarification minutieuse. Un grand nombre de ces documents a été recueilli par nous dans la haute vallée.

LA COMMUNAUTÉ, COMME ORGANE DE CRÉATION JURIDIQUE

« Droit public », disions-nous. Dans quelle mesure une telle appellation était-elle légitime ? En effet, malgré le développement du contrat dans cette société, l'aspect statutaire de beaucoup de relations individuelles d'une part, leur implication avec des facteurs collectifs d'autre part, l'omniprésence enfin d'une vie communautaire dont la force adjuvante, et le sentiment de bien-être et de normalité qu'elle inspire, ont pour rançon une gamme très étendue de sanctions, entraînent continuellement l'interférence du privé et du public, du civil et du pénal.

Une telle interférence irait de soi dans un droit « archaïque », et le fait qu'on se pose ici une question qui ailleurs serait de pur scrupule, et par surcroît anachronique, indiquera à quel point la présente recherche a cru devoir s'écarter, à propos du système

Seksawa, et chleuh en général, de telles idées communément reçues, celles du regretté Marcy par exemple. La distinction du droit public et du droit privé tient d'ailleurs surtout peut-être en Seksawa à des aspects d'expression et d'élaboration plutôt qu'à la nature des choses. Mais aspects combien tranchés ! Jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine, la *jemâa* reste le juge pénal. Au contraire nous voyons, depuis l'époque la plus ancienne, qu'il est fait appel à un magistère extérieur pour connaître des biens et des personnes. Mais de plus, et sur cette matière même, le législateur n'est autre que le groupe.

Cet exposé a suffisamment marqué tous les traits d'indivision, de confusion, ou de jonction entre ce droit communal, tel qu'il s'exprime ou se conçoit lui-même, et le *fiqh*. Comme en plusieurs départements du droit privé, c'est dans une sorte d'excès contractuel que semble avoir été cherché un dépassement du modèle, donc un utile alibi. Ce droit a surenchéri sur un droit de citadins et de marchands par l'outrance méticuleuse du gagne-petit. Lui si proche des bases magico-religieuses, de la véhémence communautaire du groupe, ce n'est pas par un serment qu'à l'instar de nos bonnes villes du XIIIe siècle, il crée la convention communale. C'est par un contrat.

Une chose cependant restait inassimilable, encore qu'il tentât de l'absorber dans le commode opportunisme malékite de la *maçlah'a*. C'est la faculté de légiférer (1). Faculté laïque dans son fondement, démocratique dans son exercice, illimitée dans ses applications. On en a déjà cité deux exemples : une délibération procédurale sur la possession, et une autre sur le statut de l'épouse et son droit d'auto-répudiation. Deux autres délibérations, toutes récentes, ont réglé le partage des offrandes de Lalla Aziza et de Sidi Mh'and d'Ammern. Dans les deux cas, la *jemâa* des Seksawa avait à connaître des finances de ses saints. Et bien que ces délibérations aient été provoquées de nos jours par une initiative étrangère, un peu à titre expérimental, elles n'en comportaient pas moins un enseignement. Il ne fut que d'observer le naturel, le sérieux avec lequel l'assemblée se saisissait de matières aussi exorbitantes de la vie de tous les jours — du moins à nos yeux — pour comprendre qu'aux siens sa compétence s'étendait non seule-

(1) DE LIGNIVILLE, La coutume privée des ait «At't'a du Sahara, in *CHEAM*, 1937, donne d'intéressants détails sur des modifications législatives importantes décidées par voie d'*ekklésia* : droit d'hériter concédé à la femme, suppression du caractère, exécutoire quant au mariage, que l'on prêtait à l'application de henné aux conjoints, désignation par le mari de 10 hommes interdits à la femme répudiée, adoucissement du lévirat, introduction du *waly*, etc.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ment à la gestion temporelle, non seulement au statut des personnes et des biens, à toute la matière du droit privé et public, mais encore à la gestion du sacré.

Rappelons-nous la constante intervention du groupe qui se décèle, à tous les niveaux, dans les institutions religieuses, économiques, juridiques de ces sociétés. Qu'on juge de ce que put être son initiative dans les périodes d'épanouissement.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P-385]

RÉACTION DE GROUPE
ÉTHIQUE INDIVIDUELLE

ESSAI DE RECONSTITUTION

Ainsi, dans cette vie, deux éléments s'affrontent. L'un patrimonial, l'autre mobilier et acquisitif. L'un fonde un équilibre sur la structure du groupe, elle-même liée à un ordre agraire ; l'autre provoque une incessante compétition, nourrie par un ample jeu monétaire et l'expansion des contrats.

D'un côté, droit du sol et des origines, de l'autre, droit de l'argent et de la convention, c'est-à-dire aussi droit du travail et de l'aventure individuels. Entre l'un et l'autre une tension, qui ressort encore de tels aspects de la joute judiciaire, mais a dû s'exprimer jadis plus pleinement. Depuis quatre siècles au moins, règne un genre contentieux, où le droit se traduit par l'action, et dispose de l'écrit. Mais le groupe, prenons-y garde, maintient cette justice hors de ses murs. Elle peut concourir, bien malgré elle, à l'ordre montagnard. Elle en est trop éloignée dans son esprit comme dans ses méthodes. A terme, elle le détruira.

Il fut sans doute un temps où comptaient davantage des états, ou, mieux, des attitudes juridiques, liées à la structure de la cité et garanties par des sauvegardes immédiates dont il reste encore quelques traces. Ce n'est pas que leurs rapports fussent exclusifs de mouvement ou d'imprévu, ou figeassent la personne dans un immobile équilibre communautaire. On peut supposer au contraire que les modes économiques ne ressortissaient pas souvent à ce que nous appelons l'équité. Succès provisoires de la violence, mainmise sur gages très largement entendus, feinte, surprise, violence rompaient provisoirement une légitimité que des moyens adéquats, mis en jeu par l'autre partie, venaient à terme rétablir. L'émigration, qu'on peut considérer comme remontant à une pratique fort ancienne, avait une fonction importante : celle de créer des vides. Absences individuelles, fuites rituelles, dépossessions guerrières déséquilibraient le groupe local. Nous voyons aujourd'hui le retour de l'enfant exilé, qui n'est pas « pro-

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

digue », mais avare, s'opérer dans la fête et le scandale, parce que l'exilé rapporte un pécule et qu'il va aussitôt s'attaquer au capital sédentaire. Jadis, le rôle de ces mouvements d'individus ou de groupes semble avoir été prépondérant. En même temps qu'il reconstituait la substance des groupes, il faisait le lien entre les deux éléments contraires dont nous observons à présent même la tension. Droit du sol et des origines contre droit de l'argent et de la convention, d'une part ; droit de l'absent contre droit du présent, d'autre part : l'antiquité du système résidait probablement dans le jeu de ces quatre termes.

Le stade contemporain traduit l'organisation qui s'est faite entre ces données de base et l'apport oriental. Mais quand, comment intervient cet apport, et à partir de quels foyers de diffusion ? Question pour le moment insoluble. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que l'amalgame s'est opéré à des niveaux de profondeur inégale selon les secteurs de l'institution. Chose importante, car les normes orientales semblent avoir été tantôt reçues, ou subies de telle sorte que la pratique se soit ingéniée à les pallier, tantôt volontairement élues, voire systématiquement outrées, ou détournées à d'autres fins. L'hypothèse n'est pas exclue de phases d'adoption délibérée ou d'imposition autoritaire, l'almohadisme par exemple. Sous des proportions moins gigantesques, moins légendaires, il y eut peut-être d'autres cas où la composition fut tentée par le génie législatif indigène entre les idées ancestrales et l'alphabet universel qu'apportait l'Islam. De là l'importance de tant de héros fondateurs, aujourd'hui submergés sous une hagiologie fade ou barbare, mais dont on pressent l'appartenance à un vieux fond méditerranéen. Ainsi peut-être ici de cet Âmer u H'addô, roi magicien selon la chronique arabe, éponyme de la plus haute vallée. Les *agellid*-s du XIVe siècle ont peut-être été les premiers grands adaptateurs. Mais ils s'enfoncent dans un passé indiscernable.

L'ÂGE DU SYSTÈME

Mieux vaut donc s'en tenir à un fait patent : que le système Seksawa réalise un équilibre transactionnel avec l'Islam, et sans doute en grande partie conscient.

De grands pans de *fiqh* y subsistent intacts, et s'y laissent aisément reconnaître : emploi de l'écrit arabe et des formes notariales orthodoxes. Nette conviction de l'usager qu'il s'inspire de l'une et l'autre norme, l'indigène et l'orientale, la première l'emportant par les conditionnements locaux, la seconde dans le choix

éthique. Autant de traits qui pourraient faire croire à une profonde adultération du système. Et bien que composite ne soit pas synonyme de tardif, l'impression serait qu'on a affaire, dans le droit chleuh, à un phénomène bâtard et dérivé. Mais voici la contrepartie.

Invasion du *fiqh*, certes. Mais délimitée, élaborée en un ensemble personnel. Adoption de l'écrit, certes, mais sous bénéfice de prestiges locaux. Assimilation, certes, mais équilibrée, circonscrite, voulue, et parfois même, dirait-on, simulée. Ce droit serait-il alors un très vieux système ayant su sauvegarder, sous de savantes adaptations, son legs originel ? De même, que conclure de son morcellement ? Il se présente aujourd'hui divisé en minuscules personnalités de cantons et de ravines, selon un compartimentage dont il est remarquable qu'il ne coïncide pas toujours avec celui des parlers. Mais cela veut-il dire jeunesse ou bien décadence ? A tout le moins, l'existence d'une *koïnè* juridique chleuhe, tout entière cohérente et réfléchie, quoique rompue en mille variétés, postule une maturité propice à la formation de grands ensembles et de larges styles, plutôt que la spontanéité de la jeunesse.

Parmi ses traits, il en est d'archaïques. Et non pas seulement sur le plan où on les a ordinairement cherchés — et trouvés — celui de la magie ou du folklore, mais sur le plan du droit lui-même, chose bien plus irrécusable. Tout d'abord la notion d'un ordre agraire à sanctions rituelles, à défenses magico-religieuses, survit dans quelques techniques de règlement immédiat, quelques attitudes génératrices de pouvoirs, de mouvements ou d'états juridiques. Il en est ainsi probablement de ce qui touche au fond économique le plus ancien : rapports pour l'irrigation ou le pacage, équilibre terrien des *ikhs*-s, échanges avec le sacré communal. Plus en surface, une réalité agonistique s'exprime dans la joute judiciaire (1) et dans les détails mêmes du jeu procédural. Mais son expression seule est individuelle. Elle procède en fait du même archaïsme où se fondent les pactes de patronage mystique, les frairies saisonnières et les disputes rituelles dont elles fournissent l'occasion : ainsi l'enchère pour les viandes sacrificielles, encore très reconnaissable sous un vêtement de droit notarial.

Mais c'est cette élaboration qui prime. Une vigoureuse synthèse s'opère à l'échelon communal. Elle refoule tout le reste dans l'incohérence et le discontinu. La tension collective est devenue

(1) J. Berque, Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1948, pp. 399 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

dialectique de plaideurs. Les rapports avec le sacré empruntent la voie contractuelle. L'ordre agraire ne se maintient qu'en recourant au débat contentieux. Les schèmes islamiques dominent la matière successorale, si bien que le droit indigène ne s'écarte plus du *fiqh*, apparemment du moins, que par la quantité des échappatoires ar. *h'iyal*. Tout ce droit, qui garantit, dans la durée, la permanence du milieu, est passé en bloc aux principes d'importation, au point qu'il soit nécessaire d'y regarder très attentivement et très loin, pour s'aviser de ce qu'il dissimule. Plus intact, le mariage combine, à l'exclusion de tout aspect liturgique, de vieilles pratiques marquant l'intensité communautaire, et un caractère contractuel suraigu. Dans ce genre, l'institution, qui en vient à une sorte de ratiocination coopérative, surenchérit sur l'Islam. Sous cette forte notion d'acquêts individuels, sous les notions voisines auxquelles ressortissent l'épargne de l'émigré servant à la résiliation des ventes, ou l'épargne paysanne servant à leur consolidation, ou l'âpre dispute entre l'hoirie familiale et l'avarice de chacun, s'entrevoient un jeu d'investissements et presque d'agio, une inflation permanente, entraînée par l'abondance des importations de numéraire et la rareté de la terre : autant de traits qu'on ne peut considérer comme récents.

Tout à l'inverse, en voici de cachet tout moderne. La mobilité des droits civils atteint ici un rythme presque citadin. La valeur personnelle de l'obligation, l'élément d'*intuitus personae* inhérent au contrat, disparaissent devant une grande latitude de négociation et d'interchangeabilité. Ainsi dans la *lwuliya*, « transport des droits du preneur », dans l'*istidkhâl*, « transport de droits successoraux », dans la capacité inconditionnelle de constituer « mandataire », *lukil*. Les formulaires s'appliquent à rendre par des redondances la substitution ainsi réalisée. On lit par exemple dans une *lwuliya* des a. Umgan, 906 hég. : 1654, l'expression suivante : *lawliya çah'ih'a wa'starkaba-hu fi sarijati-hi wa nazzala-hu fi mah'alli-hi*, « transport valable : il l'a fait monter sur sa selle (cf. chl. *tarikt*, nom donné à la substitution), et l'a mis (litt. « descendu », cf. chl. verbe *zuggez*, dans le même sens) en son propre lieu ». Transmissibilité des obligations contractuelles, jeu infini du crédit, liberté dans la représentation : tout cela constitue une sorte de réplique aux lois non écrites de l'équilibre entre *ikhs-s* et de la permanence patrimoniale. Cette agilité des mobilisations et des substitutions s'étend même aux objets les plus inattendus, et qu'on croirait le plus liés à l'identité, voire mystique, de la personne : parts de bénéfice d'un saint *lisura* (trad. de l'arabe *futûh'ât*), du droit à l'entr'aide, *lwizi*, de la « protection », etc. On

est là aux antipodes mêmes de ce qu'on se figure d'un droit « ancien ».

Que dire de cette division du travail qui non seulement qualifie, dans la procédure immobilière, des juges extérieurs au groupe, mais dénie jalousement au chef temporel la compétence ? Ces délimitations soigneuses, pour être sans doute du plus authentique fond de la société chleuhe, paraissent irréductibles à de l'archaïsme. Pourtant, le dédoublement de l'instance judiciaire obéit à des exigences de recours à l'externe, de pause en cours de joute, et somme toute de rejet de responsabilité par le groupe, qui traduisent d'obscurs sentiments traditionnels. Cela n'en donne pas moins lieu à une procédure de type savant, écrit et visant à la citadinité. Traits indéniablement « avancés » : la condamnation par défaut que prévoient les codifications, l'astreinte pour non-exécution du jugement, ou pour carence à comparaître, ce dernier motif revenant constamment.

Le droit pénal a été, jusqu'à une époque toute récente, géré par la *jemâa*. Celle-ci ne s'en est jamais réellement dessaisie. C'est même à ce propos qu'elle déploie le plus d'initiatives et exerce le plus volontiers sa fonction législative. Mais observons que ce droit pénal, basé sur la composition pécuniaire, une composition dûment tarifée, témoigne d'une singulière maturité institutionnelle. Alors que la structure gentilice inspire l'ordre agraire, elle s'efface, au pénal, devant quelque chose qui est bien du droit public, et senti comme tel.

Le serment plural a gardé son rôle. Il conclut tous les litiges que ne tranche pas l'écrit. Mais cette restriction est déjà fort importante. Et d'autre part, même là où il garde toute sa valeur, le serment a été acculé à une position réduite : non plus de droit juré — mais d'élément second d'une procédure commencée sur un plan intellectuel et profane. La richesse des éléments d'ordre magico-religieux que l'on retrouve çà et là dans cette partie du système ne saurait effacer les aspects contraires, qui sont aussi frappants. Certes, il est possible de supposer que le rôle du *jusjurandum* fut autrefois plus étendu dans le système avant que l'introduction de l'art notarial arabe ne vînt en perturber l'économie. Mais, on n'a aucune raison d'éliminer comme « récent » le caractère de laïcité qu'offre la démarche et qui est attesté depuis plusieurs siècles. Le décrochement, en quelque sorte, de la fonction du serment, qui, de technique immédiate de règlement, est devenu, au sein d'une procédure, le concurrent de l'écrit, dénote, dans le stade actuel, la trace d'une profonde et ancienne régression du sacré.

1; Berque MW11 Shluh

DIVERGENCES ENTRE L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA RELIGION ET CELLE DU DROIT

Mais n'observions-nous pas une régression de ce genre dans l'hagiologie ? Entre l'héroïne historique qui domine les Seksawa et l'anonymat des sanctuaires locaux, point de palier intermédiaire. A quoi attribuer le fait ? A un caractère original ou à une évolution acquise ? Et, dans cette seconde hypothèse, au progrès d'une communauté éprise de classifications, à la décadence des facultés créatrices, ou à l'expansion logique du monothéisme ? Nous n'en savons rien. Quoi qu'il en soit, il semble bien qu'il se soit produit, à une certaine époque, une simplification de cette société, un élagage des spontanéités autochtones, et que cela soit à mettre en rapport avec tel trait, encore à découvrir, de la réception de l'Islam dans le Haut-Atlas.

C'est sans doute le groupe agnatique, en tant que personne rituelle, comme en tant que personne juridique, qui a fait les frais de la transformation, ou de la décadence. De là le caractère discordant et anomalique que revêtent aujourd'hui ses survivances ou ses réapparitions. Mais le vide ainsi créé a été diversement rempli par le droit et par la religion.

A la base subsiste un foisonnement d'observances le plus souvent exclusives de support personnel, et nous y avons même reconnu un sacré d'assise étroitement communale. Le religieux et le social vont ici jusqu'à s'identifier. A un étage supérieur, deux ou trois figures de saints, communs à tout ou partie des Seksawa, assument un rôle « national », et bénéficient d'un culte organisé, à grands rassemblements et ordonnance financière. Plus haut encore règnent les liens souscrits par tel village, ou, moins fréquemment, telle *taqbilt* ou telle famille, à l'égard de saints du dehors. Les dépassements individuels entrent alors en jeu. Mais l'affiliation confrérique n'est guère représentée en Seksawa, ou plutôt s'y confond, sous certains de ces aspects, avec les dévotions particulières à tel ou tel « marabout » : on trouve çà et là dans la montagne des fidèles de sidi Ah'med u Musa, qui fréquentent son *musem* de fin d'été. Affaire purement individuelle, affaire de « conscience » et aussi de mode : d'où la croissance et la décadence d'une confrérie comme la Nâçiriyya par exemple, assez déchue de ce qu'elle était il y a un siècle. Affaire d'engouement aussi, voire de vertige, comme on l'a vu lors de la poussée de Mâ' l-ʿAynîn en 1912. Et l'on touche là la richesse, l'imprévisibilité d'un spirituel dont les mouvements excèdent largement, bien entendu, le cadre des Seksawa ou même de l'Atlas.

La liaison au terroir et la création hagiologique se composent diversement selon ces paliers, à chacun desquels leur pouvoir s'affirme, dirait-on, en raison inverse l'une de l'autre. A la base, une allégeance collective, soutenue par un ordre agraire. Au stade intermédiaire, des rudiments de culte cantonal, voire fédéral. Puis des contrats entre groupes et saints patrons. Enfin, la dévotion purement personnelle. Autant de modes sociaux, d'ordres d'idées et de sentiments qui s'échelonnent à ces divers niveaux, mais non pas il est vrai sans interférences des uns avec les autres. Et sur tous, constamment bien qu'inégalement, réagit l'Islam.

Dans le droit, au contraire, il n'y a pas eu seulement transformation, mais reconstruction. Les normes d'emprunt ont opéré sur une couche moins profonde que les vieilles institutions qu'elles tendaient à supplanter. Cette discordance a entraîné l'ajustement. De la sorte, une forte dénivellation sépare aujourd'hui l'esprit de ce droit de sa procédure, et même des mœurs par lesquelles il cherche à sauvegarder, en dépit de cette procédure, ce qui est pour lui l'essentiel. Ainsi le système était voué à la complication, à la subtilité, à la feinte. L'apport du dehors devenait le principe avoué, tandis que le fond indigène se réfugiait dans le secret et la chicane. Pourtant l'ensemble tenait. Il tenait par la conspiration de l'économie, d'une psychologie collective et de l'événement. Il tenait surtout parce qu'aux menaces externes ou à la dislocation interne, cette société oppose l'institution communale. La commune reconstruit tout ce qui s'effondre. Seule cette reconstruction permanente a rendu possible le maintien de l'ensemble en dépit de tant de disparates.

Seule la commune faisait la synthèse. Et c'est précisément dans sa forme la plus consciente, la plus moderne à nos yeux, la plus saisissante par son caractère démocratique et laïque, dans ces délibérations du groupe sur son droit et ses saints, que s'exprimaient le mieux tant d'éléments hétérogènes : la vieille particularité honteuse, la référence à l'Islam, et par-dessus tout, la volonté de s'adapter, d'innover pour conserver, d'innover pour survivre.

UNE CULTURE REFOULÉE

Cette démarche est celle même de l'histoire. De fait, nous avons trouvé l'histoire, chez les Seksawa, non pas seulement dans l'obscur témoignage des chroniques médiévales, mais dans la structure des groupes, l'aventure des individus, et la hiérarchie

même du sacré. Peut-être doit-on aussi la reconnaître dans le style de leur culture et de leur vie.

L'évolution et l'action séculaire des capitales, Marrakech, Taroudant, qui sont à quelques égards deux cités de Dieu, sont venues moins modifier le génie local, ou précipiter son rythme, qu'accroître sa complexité. Si haut que l'on remonte, on le retrouve imbu de cette aptitude à l'hétérogène, qui, si elle n'est pas originelle, remonte certainement à un stade encore antérieur à nos plus vieilles archives. Bien que ce stade reste à préciser, on y devine une singulière propension à accueillir la chose d'autrui. Introduction de normes étrangères, réception de maîtres mots, en l'espèce le langage d'une basoche un peu sorcière, culture des stratagèmes défensifs, usage des notions-masque et des notions-refuge : tout cela crée un genre composite, artificiel, à la fois accueillant et résistant, servile et inexpugnable. Pour le Chleuh, sa nature même.

Plus l'apport extérieur jure avec l'authenticité locale, et plus volontiers, dirait-on, elle l'accepte. Le système augmente de jour en jour son amplitude, exagère sa virtuosité à accueillir. L'exclusion musulmane de l'usure va se composer en lui avec une pratique immémoriale du crédit à intérêt. Les préférences du *fiqh* pour le contrat, qu'il substitue chaque fois qu'il le peut au rite ou au statut, sont adoptées d'enthousiasme par cette société communautaire, qui surenchérit. Le *fiqh* en cela sera non seulement reçu, mais dépassé, caricaturé. Le milieu a fait jouer sa prodigieuse agilité de moyens, sa dangereuse munificence de dons. Conciliation acrobatique avec ses options profondes. Et, en un sens, parodique.

On n'est pas sûr en effet qu'un certain jeu, quelque incertitude, voire même ce vague qu'autorise si opportunément le bilinguisme, ne soient ménagés comme échappatoire. Aspect jeu, aspect attrape, aspect surprise, aspect absurdité : autant, si j'ose dire, de déclics de secours laissés à l'ennui de l'honnête homme chleuh, que mortifient et son propre idéal, et l'aventure des temps.

Le système des Seksawa, ou de telle autre de ces populations, ne s'offre naturellement pas comme un corps de doctrine, encore que les analyses qui précèdent y aient, peut-être à l'excès, indiqué la part du réfléchi. Il est surtout un ensemble technique correspondant à un ensemble d'émotions, à une certaine conscience du juste et de l'injuste. Ce sentiment, c'est l'histoire qui l'a fait. Or c'est une histoire de reculs et de défaites. Le *decrescendo* de l'espoir a sans doute commencé, chez les Seksawa, à la construction de la citadelle d'al-Qâhira, qui les rejetait vers la montagne. Ailleurs, à d'autres événements, se détachant d'un échec général :

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

celui que sanctionna, dans le troisième tiers du XIIIe siècle, l'installation des Mérinides à Marrakech, parmi les derniers sursauts de l'almohadisme. Ces sursauts, pour nos Seksawa, ont duré tout le XIVe siècle.

Or, c'est aux XVe et XVIe siècles que se généralise, dans le S.-O. du Maroc, la pratique notariale arabe, avec toutes ses conséquences dans le génie local : imitation, gageures, travestissements, surenchère.

On peut supposer que c'est aussi à cette époque que se multiplient des « Tables de la Loi », *ikchchuden* ou *alwâh'*, forme matérielle revêtue par les codifications indigènes. Ces archétypes communaux paraissent avoir fait le pendant de la généralisation de l'écrit individuel, décelable à ce moment même. Un effort délibéré et collectif d'expression juridique peut fort bien avoir été déclenché par cette invasion de l'externe : à la fois résistance et compromis, sentiment mêlé dont devaient procéder, quatre siècles après, telles tarifications kabyles. Une technique de la preuve, ou mieux, une technique de la mémoire judiciaire, armée d'un instrument commode, le papier, et d'un langage prestigieux, parce que secret, l'arabe notarial, investit le pays. Elle y réveille une spontanéité juridique dont les créations antérieures nous échappent. Le droit chleuh de la plaine et même de la montagne est alors sans doute acculé à une nécessité d'adaptation et de renouvellement dont résultent ses caractères actuels (1).

Choc intellectuel, technique et linguistique. Simultanément, un phénomène mieux connu agite tout le Maroc. C'est la réaction des masses devant les entreprises chrétiennes du littoral. Nouveau jaillissement d'hagiologie. Les « tireurs » poursuivent dans les cantons les plus reculés leur entraînement confrérique. Les saints foisonnent. Leur figure haute en couleurs fait la synthèse entre les universaux islamiques et les forces rituelles du canton. Ainsi le grand « pôle » du Sud, sidi Ah'med u Musa. Bien que la montagne Seksawa soit demeurée, depuis les Mérinides, dans un isolement farouche, on ne peut admettre qu'elle soit restée complètement à l'écart. Là, comme ailleurs sans doute dans le Sous, l'homme de Dieu et le guerrier composent dès lors avec le notaire rural un

(1) C'est peut-être aussi à cette époque que sont rédigées les chartes de greniers-citadelles. Mme Jacques Meunié met en rapports cette rédaction avec la primauté des Igezzulen à l'époque, et le « royaume » de Tazerwâlt, *Greniers-citadelles...*, 1951, p. 232. L'hypothèse est fort intéressante, mais trop restreinte, semble-t-il. L'invasion de toute l'Afrique du Nord par les « marabouts » du S.-O. marocain se produit également à la même époque. Il y a là un ensemble de faits dont on pressent la connexité, sans toutefois jusqu'ici pouvoir l'expliquer.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

triptyque par lequel cette société pense résoudre ses contrastes.

En même temps parviennent au fond des vallées perdues, sous forme de plantes nouvelles, ou d'argent nouveau, quelques-uns des grands mouvements qui ébranlent alors le monde : révolution végétale du maïs, attraction de la grande exploitation coloniale avec la canne à sucre, appel des factoreries du littoral, derniers triomphes de l'importation d'or soudanais. Tout cela crée une conjoncture d'une singulière puissance, qui, dans la chronique, correspond à la montée de ces petits marabouts du coude du Drâ, les Saâdiens. Nœud d'économie, d'institution, de spiritualité, d'événement. Peut-on remonter plus haut ? C'est ce que, trop hypothétiquement sans doute, on a tenté de faire.

IDÉAUX ET COMPORTEMENTS

Sautons maintenant quatre ou cinq siècles, pour nous reporter au début du XXe. Délaissons la reconstitution historique et l'analyse de l'institution positive pour sentir une morale. Est-il déjà trop tard ? Voici ce que nous pouvons observer dans l'une quelconque des *taqbilt*-s Seksawa.

Toute existence personnelle s'y encadre dans l'ensemble enchevêtré de rapports affectifs. Guêpier de comportements ayant tous leur qualification morale, comme leur fondement économique. Le résultat est cette tension judiciaire où la personne a sa place, qui la définit. Ce stade n'est plus celui des vieilles solidarités de groupes. Il en procède toutefois. A certains égards, il le traduit, en le rajeunissant. Le procès a ici, plus encore qu'un rôle d'éteigneur du trouble, un rôle de mainteneur du trouble. Sa fonction essentielle est de révéler et de garder en éveil les vies individuelles et collective. C'est la fonction même du rite en d'autres sociétés. Celle-ci, âpre, raisonnable, polémique, a la tête plus juridique que religieuse. Elle trouve dans la tension judiciaire plutôt que dans la religion ses moments privilégiés. C'est une société — génie propre ou facteurs historiques — arrivée au stade de la dialectique et de l'indignation morale.

Cette coloration morale est fort importante. Elle nourrit des antagonismes dans un milieu communal très construit. Elle nourrit aussi les chaleureux apartés du ressentiment individuel.

Partisanerie, vengeance, qu'en-dira-t-on, deviennent les moteurs d'une existence qui oscille perpétuellement entre les deux faces de l'oppression : subir ou faire subir. Il n'y a guère de plan intermédiaire. Cela non certes par manque du sens d'une justice imminente, mais par un vif appétit de réparation. Une

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

insondable hérédité impose en toute sa rigueur l'alternance persécuteur-persécuté, révélatrice des hasards d'un milieu pourtant profondément égalitaire.

L'énormité du legs d'oppression commande à ce point aux réactions passionnelles que tout succès obtenu dans la revendication paraisse hors de proportion avec l'immense faillite du passé. Les tumultes stériles, le refoulement dans une économie où se gaspillent inlassablement les forces de l'homme, imposent un pesant héritage de vengeance.

De là vient qu'à l'opposite d'un droit moderne, où la chose jugée garantit la stabilité sociale, ce soit à la sauvegarde d'une possibilité indéfinie d'instance, d'une remise en cause perpétuelle qu'aspirent les Seksawa. Cela tient non seulement à la structure d'un tel milieu, mais encore à un calcul inconscient des probabilités. La vie civile se définissant pour chacun par l'insertion dans le réseau inextricable des disputes et des compétitions du groupe, le nombre d'affaires où un bon droit objectif pourrait faire escompter le gain devant une juridiction pareillement objective — mais en est-il ? — est dérisoire par rapport à celui des folles instances qu'imposent la haine, l'appétit, la fidélité. Un réalisme instinctif commande donc plutôt la reconduction indéfinie des litiges qu'une décision qui clôrait les débats, et tarirait la vie.

Pourtant, de cet enchevêtrement de passions et d'intérêts, de subtilités et de colères, naît à la fin une sorte d'équilibre. Il se fait de la constance qui oppose indéfiniment, c'est-à-dire maintient dans leur assiette respective les facteurs rivaux. La tension devient sauvegarde. La vengeance, la détention passagère du pouvoir, le succès d'un stratagème judiciaire compensent, pour quelques instants, quelques années, quelques générations, les phases de persécution, de pauvreté ou d'exil. La justice de cette société commande donc le libre exercice de chacun des deux termes de l'alternative.

L'appel à l'intervention extérieure, qui consolidera l'un ou l'autre, est proprement la trahison inexpiable. D'où les pénalités rigoureuses que lui vouent les codifications de canton : de lourdes amendes, le bannissement, la mort. Mais n'exagérons pas. Nouer des intelligences avec le voisin, contre l'adversaire communal, c'est une sollicitation constante entre ces cantons homogènes, liés par d'obscures solidarités. Ni la paix n'offrait ici la sécurité que ce mot éveille dans un esprit moderne, ni la guerre la violence inconditionnelle et le saut dans l'inconnu qu'elle est pour nous. La guerre n'est ici qu'une infraction à la règle du jeu. Mais elle est aussi le recours à un jeu plus vaste. Rapine et vengeance

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

s'exercent dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas. Plus que les individus, ce sont les familles qui en sont les protagonistes. Tout comme la gens *Fabia*, certaines mènent à elles seules alliances et rivalités. La guerre est le prolongement des tensions municipales. A moins qu'inversement celles-ci ne procèdent de débats plus amples. A quoi donc correspond cette notion de *taqbilt*, de part et d'autre de laquelle s'ordonnent l'une et l'autre tension, ainsi semblables et solidaires, et dans quelle mesure elle constitue un *seuil* : voilà l'un des premiers objectifs de la sociologie maghrébine.

Ce seuil est en tout cas sensible au cœur. Il faut des circonstances graves, un décalage d'émotions ou de passions, pour qu'on le transgresse. C'est alors le saut à un autre plan. En deçà règne l'ordre communal, avec sa chaleur et son intimité, ses fraîches cérémonies, ses chœurs, ses danses. Il repose sur un formidable instinct de la durée, et de ce qu'elle apporte de compensations à la longue.

Le besoin de revanche, l'espoir de rétablissements lointains, de retours tapageurs, la confiance dans des antagonismes propices à la manœuvre, offrant à chacun sa chance, et qui exaltent l'homme, dans la victoire comme dans la défaite, à sa pleine mesure de véhémence et de beauté — voilà ce qui mène le groupe. Précarité dans le moment, mais sauvegarde dans le temps, querelle indéfinie, mais retournements qui garantissent un mouvement perpétuel : telles sont aussi et jusque dans le détail, les correspondances morales du droit dans cette partie de l'Atlas.

Or ce système n'est pas isolé. Il adhère à un grand monothéisme. Il est curieux des merveilles des villes et de la plaine, avide de s'approprier, en les neutralisant, nouveautés et progrès, ou simplement bizarreries. Tout cela l'a pénétré d'enthousiasmes, de défiances, d'équivoques, et, par-dessus tout, d'inquiétude. Il se sent assiégé. Sa culture est devenue transactionnelle. Son sens de la justice, pour être violent et original, n'a pas échappé aux atteintes d'un tel phénomène. L'ordre Seksawa, cet ordre à compression et explosion, est aussi un ordre qui se travestit, car il se juge, et se juge en mal.

Seule la psychologie contemporaine pourrait tenter d'expliquer comment cette société a traduit ses résistances et ses défaites par toutes sortes de traits d'ambiguïté sensibles dans son dialecte, ses idées, ses mœurs, son droit. Elle rendrait compte, par une culpabilité ressentie, de ce comportement qui tantôt retient sur soi, tantôt transfère sur autrui le terrible jugement de l'histoire. L'une et l'autre de ces attitudes se composeront diversement selon l'objet ou l'époque. C'est là l'origine, non seulement

de tant de contrastes littérairement exploités à propos du « berbère », mais plus précisément de cette incertitude qui est au fond de lui, faite de transactions intimes, d'abandons et de résistances circonscrites. Donner et retenir : telle est sa loi. Culture à contractions et circonvolutions, oserai-je dire.

Comment, dans l'appréhension d'une justice dont cet homme a soif violente, un tel état de choses se peut-il concilier avec une vitalité à tension et alternances, si armée pour patienter et durer ? Le juste, pour les Seksawa, risque bien d'être à la fois la chose d'importation, ou du moins attendue de l'extérieur, et la chose qu'on cache en soi sans jamais la découvrir. Évasion d'un côté : par l'émigration, l'apprentissage des lettres arabes ou françaises, parfois telle trahison ostentatoire, presque romantique, telle profanation : alors l'individu s'élance, rejetant tout derrière lui.

Mais aussi flamme inaccessible au fond des cœurs, au fond de l'histoire, au fond des grimoires, et que seuls peut-être, de temps à autre, un rythme de danse communale, une inspiration venue des saints du Tichka ou de Z'init' viennent réveiller.

[p. 398 is blank]

[P. 399]

QUATRIÈME PARTIE

ESSAI D'INTERPRÉTATION

[P. 400 is blank]

[P.401]

I

LIMITES ET PORTÉE DU TYPE SEKSAWA

SITUATION DES SEKSAWA DANS L'ENSEMBLE DES SÉDENTAIRES NORD-AFRICAINS

La méthode des parallèles est désuète. Même à s'arrêter à des critères aussi provisoires que la sédentarité ou la berbérophonie, la connaissance actuelle de l'Afrique du Nord n'autorise pas une comparaison assez précise entre secteurs. Ceux-ci, toutefois, s'ordonnent par masses géographiques. Une fois éliminés le Rif, parce qu'insuffisamment étudié, le Moyen Atlas, parce que dominé par des mouvements économiques et sociaux trop différents de ceux qui nous occupent, les Touareg enfin, parce qu'excentriques au Maghreb, — l'attention pourra se concentrer sur quelques domaines, qui offrent avec le nôtre des analogies, et à tout le moins l'avantage pratique d'être assez bien connus (1).

Analogie ? Dans le cas du Sous, disons identité. Les Seksawa font partie du Sous, pour peu qu'on intègre à cette appellation commode plus d'espace géographique que ne lui en concède l'usage actuel. C'est infiniment moins encore qu'elle n'en comportait dans les auteurs arabes. Savoir : non seulement la plaine mais ses revers montagneux, le tout formant l'essentiel du domaine linguistique et culturel de la *tachelh'it*. De ce pays chleuh, le contrefort Sud, l'Anti-Atlas, homologue à notre milieu par rapport à la bissectrice que décrit la rivière du Sous, offre avec lui d'attachantes correspondances. Ressemblances économiques, symétries de peuplement, action des mêmes saints, règne du même genre théologique et juridique. Nul besoin d'insister ici sur

(1) Comme il ne s'agit bien entendu pas ici de monographies sur la Kabylie, l'Aurès ou le Mzâb, on s'abstiendra de bibliographie générale, encore qu'on ait trouvé dans J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, 1949, une excellente description comparative des divers milieux sédentaires de l'Afrique du Nord. La documentation des pages suivantes provient surtout de l'investigation sur place; et aussi de recoupements poursuivis auprès des connaisseurs. Notamment MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude pour la Kabylie; Faublée, Cazebonne, pour l'Aurès; J. Schacht et le regretté P. Giacobetti pour le Mzâb; le lieutenant Berthé pour les Touareg. A tous mes remerciements.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

les multiples traits de ce qui paraît à l'habitant même traduire une véritable communauté. Les Seksawa en sont le pôle d'archaïsme sauvage et réfractaire, comme les Idaw Semlal celui de l'expansion morale, de l'éclatement, du rajeunissement perpétuels. Sous les nuances dues aux différences de cadre et de genre de vie, mais surtout à la capacité de variations locales du système, on pourra sans doute entendre de tout le monde chleuh ce qui, dans l'analyse qui précède, ne tient pas de trop près à la personnalité si accentuée des Seksawa.

Infiniment plus délicat sera le rapprochement avec la Kabylie. Dans quelle mesure même peut-il être instructif, et ne répond-il pas à une simple clause de style ? On peut en effet se poser cette question. Chaque fois que l'exposé a recouru à des faits kabyles, dans le droit notamment, ç'a été pour les opposer aux faits chleuhs. Certes, l'une et l'autre de ces sociétés appellent la confrontation par la langue, les mœurs politiques, l'habitat villageois. Mais les différences sont plus frappantes encore que les analogies.

Ici, cultures de vallée, par irrigations et gradins, disposition du verger par masses ; là, au contraire, labours en sec, dispersion de l'arbre sur des pentes infiniment morcelées. Ici la maison à terrasse ; là le toit de tuiles rouges à double pente : ces deux styles traduisent une opposition qu'E.-F. Gautier a justement perçue, quoique fantaisistement étiquetée en « architectures Botr et Branès » (1). L'agriculture kabyle, bien qu'avantagée par la pluviométrie, reste précaire. Cela est dû non seulement à l'insuffisance de bases terriennes que dévore le morcellement, mais à l'indolence des techniques. L'amour de l'arbre a sans doute agi sur le paysage. La pente est mouchetée d'oliviers. Plus discipliné, le figuier s'ordonne en jardins. Les deux essences complètent l'apport naturel du caroubier, du frêne, du chêne à glands. Mais ce pays de déclivités puissantes ignore, à quelques exceptions près, l'art de retenir les sols et la pluie. Ni gradins ni cuvettes. La plantation n'arrête pas le dévalement ; elle ne retient que trop peu de l'eau qui ruisselle. Aussi le Kabyle doit-il, plus encore que le Chleuh, recourir à un véritable nomadisme ouvrier pour équilibrer ses ressources.

Cette société (2), tendue par une énergie sommaire, une sen-

(1) E.-F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1942, p. 243.

(2) Cette atmosphère est déjà bien rendue par M. Daumas et M. Fabar, *La grande Kabylie*, 1847, pp. 19 sq. La fameuse explication de la *lakharrubi* par l'analogie du fruit du caroubier (p. 48) remonte peut-être à ces auteurs. Notons qu'il ne s'agit que d'une analogie : le terme ne signifie peut-être que « tour de participation ». C'est en ce sens qu'on le retrouve par exemple dans la coutume hydraulique de Figuig, c'est-à-dire bien loin du caroubier kabyle !

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

sualité vive et brutale, règle ses conflits selon un code d'honneur aux exigences souvent meurtrières. Dans les comportements, l'âpreté acquisitive, une avarice montée à l'épique, se rachètent par la véhémence des fidélités et la générosité des passions. La femme, bien que victime d'un système de rigoureuse masculinité, est bien la digne fille, sœur et épouse de ces montagnards : victime, certes, mais participante, et parfois comblée. L'avenir en fera peut-être une revendicante. Déjà, dit-on, une association de jeunes filles, d'Alger il est vrai, a renversé la pierre de Djemâa Çahâridj, symbole d'une délibération historique : celle qui en 1748 exhéréda la femme. La pierre, depuis, aurait été relevée...

Autour du thème central de la solidarité de *thakharrubt* (1), « groupe agnatique », se déchaînent un égalitarisme avare et une folle complexité d'initiatives de tout type et tout degré : de la personne, de la famille, du village, du parti. Les interférences se composent en équilibres instables, nourris de la crise même. Pardessous se devine une obscure pondération par affrontement de deux ligues générales, celle « d'en haut » et celle « d'en bas ». Mais à tout moment la ligue se rompt en *çoff*-s plus étroitement locaux, plus mouvants. Et le système de se rajuster tant bien que mal. Le tout dans l'exubérance des joutes, des feintes, des machinations, les prouesses de l'égoïsme ou du sacrifice.

Ce débat éveille invinciblement chez nous l'idée communale. A quoi prêtaient bien d'autres aspects : l'habitat de village, *thaddert*, et ses évidentes conjonctions ; un organisme municipal rudimentaire, mais permanent ; enfin cette exception à la Loi islamique qu'il faut bien voir dans la pratique de codifications d'assemblées. Mais prenons garde que ces traits peuvent être aussi bien ceux de l'état que de la commune au sens strict. Ils le sont d'avantage si l'on songe que, poétiquement comparée par nos informateurs à ces graines qu'unit une même gousse de caroubier, la *takharrubt* équilibre et contrebalance ses pareilles plutôt qu'elle ne s'intègre avec elles dans un ensemble uni. Elle ne trouve dans la communauté de *thaddert* rien qui la réforme, la dépasse ou l'inspire : plutôt composition mécanique de forces rivales, que création d'une nouvelle entité de base. A preuve un droit pénal dominé par la vendetta, et resté même en deçà de la composition tarifée. « La *dîâ* », nous dit-on, « est rejetée par les Kabyles » (2).

(1) Bien avant Hanoteau et Letourneux, et plus finement qu'eux, C. Devaux a dressé un tableau des institutions kabyles, *Les Kebailes du Djerdjera*, pp. 3 sq.

(2) La formule est de Hanoteau et Letourneux, *op. laud.*, t. III, p. 61. L'analyse du droit pénal est une des bonnes parties de ce livre. Déjà M. Daumas

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

L'honneur gentilice en fait fi. Dans le système familial, rien ne vient tempérer en faveur de l'épouse ou de l'enfant la violence ou l'avarice du mâle. Dans la vie politique, l'unanimité est pratiquement nécessaire : faute de quoi, sécession ouverte ou clandestine. Aussi n'a-t-elle de chance de se réaliser qu'à l'ultime échelon d'habitat, le hameau. Voilà pourquoi un cadre aussi chétif l'a finalement emporté sur l'institution française du « douar-commune ». Tous ces traits ont leur traduction visuelle. Dans la plupart des villages kabyles, il y a bien la « maison commune », la *thadjemâit* — et nous pensons aussitôt à un hôtel de ville ! Mais les plans d'opérations du Sénatus-Consulte jettent là-dessus un doute fécond : on y trouve non pas une seule, mais souvent plusieurs de ces maisons. C'est que chaque *takharrubt* a la sienne : quel meilleur signe d'existence politique séparée ?

En fait la *thaddert*, et à plus forte raison le *tufiq* qui, parfois, groupe plusieurs hameaux, se rapprochent plus d'une fédération que d'une unité de droit interne. Et la fragilité des instances supérieures, *ʿarch* ou même *laqbilt*, évanescentes, circonstancielles et parfois si théoriques que l'observateur échoue d'autant plus à les définir que leur seule constance, leur seule substance sont celles de noms, ne peut que fortifier la même idée. Ces grandes conjonctions n'ont plus l'assiette tangible du village : leur rôle dès lors se réduira à la résistance ou à la compétition. Il ne survivra guère à l'événement qui les émeut (1). Plus que des entités, ce sont des virtualités. Sans doute y aurait-il quelque paradoxe à contester, en revanche, tout ce que la vie de village inspire au Kabyle de rites, de pratiques, de sentiments : une communauté en résulte, bien entendu. Elle n'abolit pas, sur le plan même du droit public et de la démarche politique, l'autonomie des groupes qu'elle divise autant qu'elle les coalise. Il faudrait une étude plus approfondie de cette société pour démêler, sous l'apport d'un siècle de

et M. Fabar, *op. laud.*, p. 35, opposaient la vendetta à la pratique de la *dîd*; cf. J. Berque, remarques sur la Kabylie, dans Quelques documents sur le droit répressif ancien du Haut Atlas, *R. al.*, 1953, pp. 1 sq.

(1) Daumas et Fabar, *op. laud.*, pp. 45 sq. ; C. Devaux, *op. laud.*, définit les *coff-s* comme « un état hostile d'observation que gardent entre eux les divers partis » (p. 41), et il décrit maintes fluctuations, pp. 241 et 242; Hanoteau et Letourneux, *op. laud.*, t. II, p. 67, montrent l'évanescence des « tribus ». J'en trouve plusieurs exemples dans les Archives du Sénatus Consulte de 1863 (G. G. de l'Algérie). A la suite d'une guerre entre les Beni bu Yusef et les Aqbil, deux villages passent des premiers aux seconds, auxquels ils s'intègrent désormais. Les Beni Ithuragh du Tirurda constituent la fédération de 18 villages opérée après la soumission du reste du pays à Randon. On pourrait trouver d'autres exemples pour l'époque turque dans S.-A. Boulifa, *Le Djurjura à travers l'histoire*, 1925, notamment pp. 300, 311, 319 et *passim*.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

démarche à la française, le fond antérieur : et nous le trouverions lui-même bien « second », bien élaboré.

Le contraste n'en éclate pas moins, par rapport au monde chleuh, de cette économie, de ces mœurs, et surtout de cette organisation. Rapport de l'unité politique ici communale : la *taqbilt*, là fédérale : la *thaddert*, avec leurs subdivisions d'une part, leurs multiples d'autre part. Traitement du milieu naturel, rattachement à des institutions ou à des valeurs transcendantes enfin : tout semble différemment agencé de part et d'autre. Et bien que les matériaux soient peut-être identiques, c'est cette diversité d'agencement qui détermine le jugement d'ensemble.

Voici au contraire l'Aurès (1). L'analogie du milieu physique, de l'économie, des genres de vie suggère d'emblée le rapprochement avec le Haut-Atlas. Les tribus, abstraction faite de nombreuses variétés personnelles, et d'une teinte générale de rusticité, frappent l'observateur par leur adaptation aux chances d'un pays difficile. Sédentaires, sans doute, mais en mouvement perpétuel. C'est une sédentarité à relais successifs. Ces gens jouent à plein du clavier que leur offrent quatre formules climatiques : horticulture de vallée, céréaliculture dans les hauts, transhumance des bêtes, et recours aux ressources bordières du Sahara. De là un système de déplacements dépassant de loin en complexité ce que le Maroc peut offrir d'analogue. Une « remue » incessante traduit en mobilité des entreprises, en variété des techniques une remarquable exploitation de la géographie. Tout comme la disposition par vallées où s'échelonnent les villages, cette utilisation des différences de niveau, ce privilège montagnard épandant troupeaux ou labours en plaine, rappellent, dans un luxe de combinaisons sans aucun doute supérieur, des traits observables au Maroc. Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'allure générale du pays, avec ses rues de verdure, ses pentes labourées, ses sommets forestiers, la nudité des hautes arêtes, qui, à travers les différences de la morphologie, ne présente les mêmes éléments d'une économie à la fois paysanne et pastorale : mais celle de l'Aurès doit à une position plus concentrée entre les influences méditerranéennes et désertiques de nouvelles vocations, une nervosité plus aiguë.

La ressemblance s'accentue encore dans l'habitat. Mêmes villages jointifs, mêmes maisons à terrasses, seulement plus enfoncées dans la pente, et comme plus proches du troglodytisme. Certes, l'étage est beaucoup moins répandu, de même que

(1) G. Marcy, Cadre géographique et genres de vie en pays chaouia, *L'éducation algérienne*, 1942, pp. 28 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

la loggia. Mais à des nuances près, la contexture de la bâtisse, l'aménagement du carré d'air libre au milieu du couvert, les rues en tunnel : tout se retrouve, dans la *dechra* aurasienne, du village chleuh. Mêmes techniques de rétention des sols et de distribution des eaux. La *lammurt* irriguée de Menâa rappelle à s'y méprendre, encore que dans une variété botanique plus poussée, telle *lamazirt* sud-marocaine. Voici la « rigole », *larga*. Elle sort du « bassin », *lmajen*, ou du « barrage », *ssedd*, se ramifie jusqu'aux dernières « plates-bandes », *isura*, et jusqu'aux « cuvettes », *lh'ud'*, habilement ménagées au pied des abricotiers. Des « murettes », *lirulin*, dessinent des gradins de culture. Sur les pentes voisines, en sec, de légers épaulements rompent la déclivité et dessinent de longs champs effilochés, *ir'aqay*. L'intense manipulation de terre, d'eau, de fumier animal donne une récolte destinée à l'ensilage et à la conserverie. Termes d'autant plus obligatoires que cette vie aux déplacements continuels, et soumise à de terribles aléas, postule des réserves à point fixe. Nouvelle analogie avec le Maroc des *igudar*. Le « grenier-citadelle » (1) de certaines tribus aurasiennes, *aqli'l*, abonde par exemple chez les Beni bu Sliman qui y entreposent leurs grains entre deux migrations vers Biskra, la Dikhla ou les hautes terres de Tafrent.

Que dire de ressemblances institutionnelles qui vont parfois jusqu'à l'identité ? Sans parler de ces codifications, de greniers ou autres, où se perçoit un fond très général, voici une société qui organise, on l'a vu, les entrelacs fonciers de « fractions », où l'ubiquité du habous de famille, la généralité des ventes sous condition résolutoire, protègent le patrimoine terrien et tendent à maintenir l'assiette du groupe. Descendons dans la faille rougeâtre où s'érige en cône le village de Buzina. Cheminons en aval des sources parmi les eaux murmurantes, le grondement des moulins hydrauliques et l'affairement des jardiniers. Conversons avec ces vieillards Chaouia fertiles en légendes d'origine et si fidèles à la tradition juridique que, même en matière pénale, leur droit s'applique concurremment avec la loi française. Nous éprouverons alors, en vérité, de poignantes sensations d'identité maghrébine, montagnarde et berbère.

Mais voici en quoi les deux sociétés divergent.

La précise organisation des greniers-citadelles n'est point ici le fait du groupement villageois, mais de ces subdivisions agna-

(1) G. Marcy, Un règlement coutumier de *guelaa* chez les Chaouia de l'Aurès, *L'éducation algérienne*, 1942, pp. 33 sq. ; un substantiel article de Mme Faublée, qui m'a été communiqué en manuscrit avant de paraître dans le *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1953.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

tiques de la tribu, dite *nah X*, *nah Y*, etc., que nos normes territoriales n'ont pas plus effacées que n'avait fait l'entité arabe du *ʿarch*. En Beni bu Slimân, par exemple, elles sont une vingtaine, pour une quinzaine de greniers, dont chaque agglomération compte jusqu'à cinq : ainsi à Channâura. Chaque subdivision possède en principe le sien, ou, si elle a crû en nombre et richesse, les siens. Mais le grenier d'origine correspond parfois à un périmètre agricole gentilice individualisé, sorte de base d'essor, qui peut vous être indiqué. Ainsi à Bu Yighd, sous l'impressionnante falaise du col de Ferqus, pour ces Nah ʿAbderrezzâq qui concentrent là un vaste « habous » de plaine et de plateau, merveilleusement entaillé de ressauts, talus et méplats pour la conservation des eaux et des terres. Le rassemblement des familles aurasiennes dans la « tribu » n'a pas été, au moins en cela, jusqu'à la synthèse qu'exprime l'*agadir* du Sud marocain.

Corrélativement, le statut de la femme (1) évoque un « âge de fer » que nulle éthique d'inspiration générale ou locale, nulle police ne viennent adoucir. Presque toujours exhérédée, frustrée du *çadâq*, auquel elle ne peut prétendre qu'après le décès du conjoint, privée du bénéfice des dispositions mêmes que stipule à son profit le habous familial, elle était, dans certaines tribus, vouée à la prostitution. La liberté sexuelle de la *ʿazriya*, « femme seule », s'insère d'ailleurs dans un système que l'on devine antique, et où elle joue son rôle officiel de revenu compensatoire et de fonction traditionnelle.

Les marchés hebdomadaires font défaut. Le monétarisme a si peu pénétré jusqu'ici que jadis, à Tkut par exemple, c'était une fois l'an, à la frairie de sidi ʿAbdesslâm, qu'étaient tarifées les denrées, et fixé le montant des amendes. Grave discordance avec le monde chleuh, tellement formé aux lois, aux jeux de l'argent, nourri par l'exportation spéculative, la thésaurisation, dévasté par l'inflation et où tous les échanges sont également empreints de valeurs communautaires et de capitalisme individuel.

Par-dessus tout, une forte inégalité institutionnelle oppose la société chaouia, comme d'ailleurs la société kabyle, à celle du Sous. Le privilège de cette dernière, par rapport aux deux autres, réside dans une plus grande maturité de l'organisation étatique, de plus amples références du système social à l'externe et au transcendant. Peut-être cette transcendance vient-elle d'univer-

(1) L'ouvrage essentiel est celui de Mathéa GAUDRY, *La femme chaouia de l'Aurès*, 1929. En ce qui concerne l'application du *fiqh*, G.-H. BOUSQUET, *R. al.*, 1952, pp. 109 sq.; *R. afr.*, 1952, pp. 449 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

saux islamiques, avec lesquels serait sciemment cherché un équilibre. Peut-être au contraire de symboles collectifs liés à certaines époques du passé. Ce sont là deux explications plausibles d'un fait essentiel. La vie chleuhe, en revanche, n'a pas la carnation violente des deux autres. Elle ne connaît pas au même degré les hyperboles de l'honneur gentilice, non plus qu'elle n'éveille aussi spontanément l'analogie — fût-elle superficielle — avec telles images méditerranéennes de naguère : le bandit d'honneur corse, le coupeur de routes albanais. Ce qui la caractérise, outre le niveau singulièrement mûri de l'organisation, c'est une allure pieuse et policée, des vertus plus patientes, des sentiments plus complexes, plus en demi-teintes.

Par là, et malgré tout ce qui peut opposer une paysannerie à la citadinité, la verdeur guerrière au mercantilisme, l'orthodoxie sourcilleuse à l'hétérodoxie non moins dévote, une existence aérée et musclée à la pénombre de la mosquée et de l'entrepôt — c'est au Mzâb que ces derniers traits font songer. Là éclatent la richesse de fondements historiques, légendaires et doctrinaux, une double vocation spirituelle et marchande, la précision du jeu de ses sous-groupes, *qbâil*, à l'intérieur des communautés, une organisation juridique équilibrée entre corps, consignée par l'écrit, fertile en jurisprudences (1). Le Mzâb offre ainsi plusieurs des aspects qui nous ont paru à la fois constitutifs de la société chleuhe, et distinctifs de celle-ci par rapport à d'autres sociétés berbères. Mais cette fois, la supériorité institutionnelle n'est pas du côté chleuh. Ce qu'on peut soupçonner, à travers de trop rares documents, du fonctionnement des *illiffâqât* mozabites, annonce une étonnante réussite. Les cités sont dirigées par un consistoire qui est à la fois sénat, par la réunion des délégués de *qbîla*, et magistère moral, par la présence des clercs. Une jurisprudence aussi attentive à régler l'équilibre des familles, qu'à censurer les mœurs ou à résoudre les problèmes de l'heure, nous a laissé son précieux témoignage. Ses sanctions sont étrangement archaïques : l'ostracisme, par exemple, dont elle fait grand usage (2). Car elle sait maintenir, dans un constant effort d'adaptation à la vie moderne et de rigorisme islamique, des inspirations plus profondes et plus anciennes que toute formulation juridique ou religieuse : l'idée de forces attachées au territoire par exemple. Là réside son succès, dont le principe n'a même pas souffert de la laïcité française, car il se posait

(1) L. Milliot, Recueil de délibérations des *djemâ'a-s* du Mzab, *R. E. I.*, 1930, p. 193.
(2) Id., *ibid.* Le texte cité p. 205 distingue cinq sortes d'exil.

sur un autre plan. Et c'est un gage solide d'authenticité, un signe de perfection juridique à la berbère, que cette *h'awil'a* de Ghardaya, avec son ellipse de dalles empruntées à des tombes, et où la délibération des juristes, l'astuce des politiciens s'ennoblissent de la mystérieuse complicité des morts (1).

Le Sud marocain n'offre rien d'aussi avancé que la constitution mozabite. Mais il déborde ce type de toute sa puissance rurale. On n'est plus ici relégué dans le schisme, la minorité, l'exception plus ou moins clandestine. Le système chleuh s'étend à d'immenses portions du pays, et même aujourd'hui envahit les grandes villes. Cette expansion peut un jour opérer entre l'agriculture et l'industrie, de fortes virtualités rurales et le génie concentré des cités, cette synthèse qui a encore fait défaut dans l'histoire du Maroc.

ÉLÉMENTS OFFERTS PAR LE TYPE A LA MORPHOLOGIE SOCIALE DU MAGHREB

Ainsi peuvent se situer le type Seksawa, et plus largement le type chleuh dans l'ensemble des sociétés berbérophones du Maghreb. Que l'aire ici considérée porte valeur d'enseignement pour le reste, ce serait moins un postulat qu'une hypothèse de recherche. Elle s'autoriserait de deux considérations. Ces hautes vallées sont un refuge historique attesté pour mille ans d'histoire marocaine. Elles jouent depuis les Almohades le rôle de relai de l'indépendance et de la continuité des Maçmûda. Cette remarque, exacte en gros, doit toutefois être convenablement nuancée, voire circonscrite. On renvoie là-dessus aux pages consacrées à un autre aspect aussi essentiel de ce milieu : l'équilibre transactionnel qu'il réalise entre cultures rivales. Arrière-pays épargné, mais engagé dans l'aventure almohade, principauté obstinément rebelle au pouvoir central, les Seksawa semblent avoir perdu, dès la fin du XIVe siècle, et parce qu'amputés de leur plaine, toute possibilité de destin constructif. Ils gardent depuis ces temps lointains une indépendance misérable. Cabinet des antiques, témoin archéologique : ils le sont certes, et le seraient restés jusqu'à nos jours, si à l'intérieur de l'enceinte si bien sauvegardée, ne s'étaient produits tant d'effondrements, de morcellements.

En cela au moins, ils touchent toujours au général. De là un

(1) Jurisprudences caractéristiques dans l'article de G.-H. Bousquet, sur un recueil de délibérations à la mosquée de Beni Isguen, *Ann. I. E. O.*, 1951, pp. 18 sq.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

second intérêt. Cernée par ce désastre permanent, l'éternelle vitalité maghrébine ranime perpétuellement les corps épuisés, irrigue cette consomption, repeuple les vides. Partout le vieux tissu tribal effiloché, haillonneux, se recompose. L'immigration du Sud vient réparer les accrocs, refaire la vie, perpétuer une tradition. Ainsi, la réfection s'oppose à la destruction, la réforme à la décadence.

Les Seksawa offrent mieux encore qu'un cas privilégié d'identité collective. Sous une garantie historique rarement égalée dans d'autres milieux ruraux d'Afrique du Nord, ils illustrent, avec richesse et précision, toute une charte d'échanges entre le groupe et le pays. Dans l'éclaircissement de ces échanges paraissent résider à la fois le principal apport de cette enquête et sa contribution la plus sûre à la généralité. Les rapports ici constatés entre différents ordres de réalité, tels que la structure de la communauté, ses techniques de travail, la scansion de sa durée, la division de son espace, valent au delà du secteur.

Il sera donc légitime d'interpréter. Des idées ainsi dégagées, l'application pourra être risquée ailleurs. On se gardera, à la fois faute de matière et par scrupule de principe, de demander aux Seksawa, en les rapprochant d'autres « exemples », la moindre leçon de comparatisme. Mais on s'efforcera d'appliquer les résultats concrets, les indices de méthode, et les interrogations découlant de la présente recherche au principal problème de la sociologie maghrébine : celui de la structure des groupes.

[P. 411]

II

FORMATIONS ÉTROITES

Or ce problème n'est pas moins obscurci par sa difficulté propre que par près d'un siècle de débat doctrinal. L'observation des vivaces petits pays du Haut-Atlas permettra néanmoins de le saisir de prises concrètes, à condition de poursuivre, jusqu'aux ultimes ramifications, l'examen des échanges entre le groupe et son milieu.

NIVEAUX DE L'ORGANISATION AGRAIRE

La vieille agronomie romaine avait deux façons de considérer un champ. Y voir la « terre à blé », la « terre à vigne », selon des caractéristiques fondues en individualités, *ingenia*, dit Virgile. Ou bien l'apprécier en fonction de données générales dont il participe plus ou moins, et dont l'influence l'emporte sur sa vocation particulière : « terres chaudes, lourdes, froides », etc. On peut en effet, comme la science moderne, définir un champ par le jeu combiné de facteurs physiques et chimiques. Mais on peut, non moins valablement, voir en lui un tout défiant l'analyse, une figure presque personnelle.

Revenons aux Seksawa. Le champ est bien un sujet : il est lié à un nom, protégé contre l'emprise des voisins, c'est-à-dire des autres noms. Il persiste des siècles durant dans les mêmes coordonnées onomastiques. Il s'identifie, sur le plan affectif et juridique, avec ses ayants droit. Enfin, il est la somme pratique et individualisée d'habitudes de production. Si l'on embrasse un cadre plus vaste que celui de la parcelle, on s'avise que la plupart de ces caractères se lient en petits ensembles : les quartiers. La parcelle en effet est trop infime pour constituer unité naturelle. C'est en cela qu'elle n'est pas un *fonds*, mais le sous-multiple abstrait d'un patrimoine. A l'échelon du quartier, au contraire, une unité se fait jour. Elle s'affirme comme le point de convergence de plusieurs éléments. Il en est parmi eux d'intelligibles à l'usager : la toponymie, l'aspect visuel, voire même qui procèdent de techniques délibérées : l'irrigation et, parfois, l'assolement.

D'autres jouent, évidemment, qu'ignore la conscience locale, et que seul commence à entrevoir le spécialiste. Ainsi de toutes sortes de composantes agrologiques. Ces facteurs échappent au paysan chleuh et sont donc, dans l'immédiat, sans portée sociale directe. Mais ils offrent avec les premiers le caractère commun de commencer à jouer leur rôle déterminant au delà des divisions trop minuscules. Un certain coefficient de masse leur est nécessaire pour s'affirmer.

Ils s'affirmeront de plus en plus à mesure que les superficies seront vastes. Leur rôle prévaudra d'autant plus sur celui des forces qui l'emportaient à l'humble échelon de la parcelle. Là, sur une centaine de mètres carrés, et parfois sur moins encore, l'homme règne par ses limitations abstraites, ses interdits juridiques, sa volonté. A partir du quartier, au contraire, et plus encore à l'échelon du terroir, la conjugaison des bases naturelles et de la technique aboutit à de concrètes synthèses. C'est d'elles que se fait le paysage rural. Elles frappent d'autant plus le regard que le cadre s'élargit.

En irrigué, la réalité physique du quartier, portant par exemple sur une moitié d'hectare, se découvre déjà à l'œil averti, qui peut suivre le tronçonnement de la séguia principale par des saignées successives. En sec, la notion de quartier s'élargit jusqu'à celle de terroir. En effet, l'usage de l'eau n'intervient plus pour imposer une différenciation aussi poussée du paysage et du travail. Corrélativement, la toponymie, qui, en irrigué, se resserrait, raffinait divisions et subdivisions, ne décrit plus en sec que des mailles très larges. Ce changement de rythme, lié à la technique agricole, constitue un signe important. La comparaison des structures ramassées des hauts cantons avec l'immense déploiement des Mez'ud'a ou des Mtugga, en apportait un autre.

Mais abandonnons la féconde avenue qui s'ouvre ici à la recherche, afin d'évoquer — ne fût-ce qu'un instant, et seulement pour le bel antagonisme des types — le *fundus* latin, avec son individualité, son nom, sa masse : véritable synthèse des notions de patrimoine, de parcelle, de quartier et de terroir. L'économie des hautes vallées en laisse observer séparément le jeu. Elle en permet donc l'analyse. Le patrimoine individuel se résout en un échantillonnage de parcelles casées dans les différents quartiers constitutifs du terroir. La parcelle n'est pas une unité. Elle est une fraction. Sans doute plusieurs causes sont-elles responsables de son évanescence : le manque de consistance économique, le défaut de masse, l'excessive et exclusive liaison à des données humaines. La parcelle, si l'on veut, c'est l'atome de ce monde rural, mais si

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

chétif et si peu chargé de matière qu'il se réduit presque à une définition purement sociale.

Il n'en est pas de même du quartier. Il est, lui, un véritable sujet collectif, puisqu'il consiste en l'assemblage de lots représentatifs des éléments gentilices du groupe. Négliger un tel caractère ce serait abstraire et mutiler un génie communautaire qui seul explique et soutient l'institution. Mais le quartier n'est pas seulement un sujet. Il est surtout le lieu de rencontre de l'aspect *sujet* et de l'aspect *facteurs*. En lui se conjuguent les forces sociales et les conditions naturelles. Il est à la jonction du groupe et des sols. En lui un faisceau de noms de famille se compose pour s'encadrer dans un toponyme fondé sur un morceau de paysage et un concours d'éléments agrologiques. Ainsi, la Twuttyan des a. Mh'and embrasse les parcelles revenant à six *ikhs*-s, en même temps qu'elle constitue une unité culturale et un précis motif visuel.

A un échelon supérieur, les noms de quartiers s'assemblent en toponymes plus généraux, ceux des terroirs : ainsi de Tamgonsi, d'Agersili, du Tassila, etc. Mais il arrive que le toponyme manque : seul alors le nom du groupe fera le lien des noms de quartiers : ainsi de la cuvette irriguée des a. Mh'nd. Ce n'est que la *tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd*, sans autre appellation. Dans ce cas, il est vrai, tendent à se confondre trois notions : l'une agricole, de terroir ; l'autre politique, de finage ; la troisième géographique, de pays. Pareille rencontre est assez rare. Aussi bien la réalité ne prête-t-elle jamais à des définitions tranchantes. Les formes réagissent les unes sur les autres, se suppléent. Et il n'est pas jusqu'à l'agglomération d'habitat — quelle que soit habituellement ici la médiocrité de sa signification sociale — qui ne joue son rôle dans les grands classements du paysage. Ainsi on entendra désigner un tronçon de vallée comme « la terre de Tannsmekht », par exemple, *tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht*. Et pourtant ce n'est là qu'un hameau sans identité véritable. Il s'absorbe, avec d'autres, dans la personnalité des Idma. D'ailleurs, l'expansion de ceux-ci a rassemblé un grand nombre de pays n'ayant entre eux nulle unité physique ni onomastique : « domaine Idma », *tamazirt i-ydma*.

A un échelon encore supérieur, le cadre géographique peut excéder les applications même étendues du nom du groupe. Alors jouent des réalités structurales plus amples. Elles font du canton et surtout du système ramifié d'une grande vallée une unité débordant l'ordre politique. Pourtant l'histoire s'attache à l'organiser en fonction de cet ordre, et en fin de compte à l'y résoudre. Ainsi, le nom de Seksawa correspond surtout aujourd'hui au cadre d'un bassin fluvial, système évidemment plus vaste que

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

celui d'aucune des *taqbilt*-s qui s'y pressent. Encore sait-on qu'à la grande époque, ce cadre put traduire un ensemble politique vigoureux. Mais il n'en est pas de même partout. Le nom des Gedmiwa tout proches est loin de recouvrir tout le bassin de l'asif el-Mâl. Dans le cas de la vallée voisine, n'est même plus possible ce repérage par un grand nom médiéval. On ne connaît plus, et pour la seule commodité semble-t-il, que des « gens du Nfis » *ait n-Nffis*. A moins qu'on ne les englobe, significativement, dans les récents « Gund'afa »...

NIVEAUX DE L'ORGANISATION SOCIALE

La *taqbilt* chleuhe n'est pas une fédération de familles. Elle existe en soi, ne se résout nullement — ainsi qu'elle peut le faire dans d'autres domaines maghrébins — en un équilibre de *gentes*. L'étude de son droit pénal ne laisse à cet égard aucun doute. En même temps qu'une maturité frappante, elle révèle le primat de l'ordre public sur la défense familiale : honneur, vendetta, composition ou talion. Le genre touffu des codifications dénonce un stade qui est celui de la pénalité appliquée, de l'indemnisation édictée. Non seulement le système circonscrit et refoule l'initiative gentilice, comme ce peut être le cas en Kabylie, mais il s'y substitue. De même, bien que la démarche politique de la *taqbilt* n'étouffe pas entièrement le rôle des *ikhs*-s, elle est celle d'une démocratie alternant avec le phénomène tyrannique, et non pas celle d'une assemblée de « pères conscrits ». Bien que le poids de l'âge, de la richesse, des alliances, tout comme celui de la parenté ou des prestiges d'ordre familial, compensent sa propension tumultuaire, ce n'est pas un « sénat », ici, qui délibère, mais une foule. Aussi bien le lieu de réunion n'est-il jamais un édifice, comme en Kabylie, mais une esplanade. De tels signes comptent.

Certes, influences externes et évolutions internes ont pu agir sur le système différemment, selon la matière et les cas d'espèce. Ainsi s'expliquent beaucoup de disparates. Nous n'accédons vraisemblablement aujourd'hui qu'à un stade d'usure inégale selon les parties, mais encore et surtout de remaniements. Telle qu'elle est, chez les Seksawa comme dans le reste du monde chleuh, la *taqbilt* a pris d'autant plus de relief que la fonction de l'*ikhs* était réduite — ou rétablie — à ses tâches actuelles. Et cela paraît tellement ancien que c'est ce second stade qui a prévalu dans le culte. La mosquée villageoise épouse la distribution de l'habitat : il n'y a pas de mosquées d'*ikhs*, mais des mosquées d'agglomération ; bien plus, des vestiges se discernent d'une situation où il existait aussi des sanctuaires inter-villageois. C'est le cas de ces

édifices isolés, et le plus souvent désaffectés, que l'on retrouve dans les hautes vallées : sans doute des mosquées de *laqbill*. D'autre part, la dévotion aux saints, si elle est d'accent contractuel, et par là dominée par une entière et individuelle liberté d'initiative, a pour cadre le canton beaucoup plus fréquemment que la famille. L'existence de saints de *laqbill*, voire d'une sainte nationale caractérise enfin les Seksawa. Autant de traits où s'affirme, pour le présent à coup sûr, mais aussi pour une grande tranche de passé, les conquêtes du petit état montagnard en tant que personne politique et même, à certains égards, cultuelle. Il a ainsi assumé une bonne part des attributions peut-être autrefois dévolues à une organisation patriarcale. Il a éliminé les autres, ou les a refoulées dans le contexte magico-religieux des procédures les plus sommaires. Ces procédures, sa propre évolution vers un système conscient, à transactions et démarcations, à techniques judiciaires, à caractère profane accusé, les a de plus en plus réduites. Et si l'on songe que la *laqbill*, adhérente à une entité territoriale, y assume des fonctions agraires précises, on s'avisera de son exceptionnelle plénitude de définition.

Entre le petit état montagnard, le canton dont la vie se ramasse dans le fond d'une ravine, et le système majeur, qui embrasse tous les affluents d'une vallée, un seuil a été franchi. Seuil de dimensions, d'intelligibilité. En deçà fonctionne une morphologie sociale qu'éclairent de nettes liaisons avec l'espace. Essayons de les préciser. A la synthèse de réalité visuelle technique et foncière que constitue le quartier, fait pendant une synthèse de réalité parentale, classificatoire, religieuse et juridique : l'*ikhs*.

Il paraît le grand acteur de l'ordre agraire. Sur lui s'ordonnent la distribution des terres et des eaux, donc l'équilibre matériel et moral où le groupe trouve exercice et permanence. Une bonne part de la morale de ces populations se ramène aux règles et aux sentiments qui assurent la persistance de cet équilibre contre l'injure du temps et le hasard des individus. Dans un passé qui n'est pas seulement hypothétique — car plusieurs traits modernes le postulent — l'*ikhs* peut avoir participé d'une hiérarchie de qualifications qui conféraient à telle ou telle lignée la charge des actions communes engageant la collectivité, son sol, son avenir (1).

(1) Par exemple au stade décrit par al-ᵉAbdarî, qui est témoin à Ans, c'est-à-dire sur le revers Sud du Tizi Umachcho, de véritables joutes de quartiers, où il n'est pas aventuré de reconnaître une manifestation rituelle de la tension entre *ikhs*-s. Cf. tr. de ce passage dans CHERBONNEAU, *Journal asiatique*, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Seulement al-ᵉAbdarî écrit au XIIIᵉ siècle. C'est là un *terminus a quo* un peu éloigné !

Rôle majeur ! Car l'existence du groupe doit ménager des connivences avec la nature, avec les lois non écrites du *kosmos*. Il s'ensuivrait que la guerre, la politique, l'agriculture, la justice, la beauté, et même la sainteté fussent à certains égards et à différent degré, affaire gentilice. Or il n'en est rien aujourd'hui (1). Ce passé, s'il faut le situer, ne peut l'être qu'en deçà des quatre siècles que couvre notre documentation d'archives. Ce qui compte aujourd'hui, ce n'est pas la fonction de l'*ikhs*, mais la crise qui l'ébranle. Ni le folklore juridique, ni surtout l'hagiologie, qui aurait pu en être le riche conservatoire, ni la poésie populaire n'ont reflété, par un développement quelconque, l'équilibre des *ikhs*-s tellement essentiel à la vie du canton, et dont l'entente est si nécessaire à qui veut la comprendre. On a aussi été frappé de la pauvreté relative de l'hagiologie en saints personnels et ancêtres. Une zone de nivellement ou d'annulation refoule dans l'antiquité tout ce qu'on peut supposer des constructions d'un génie agnatique. Et peut-être n'y a-t-il jamais eu de ces constructions. Société à *gentes*, pourrait-on dire, mais dont la phase héroïque manque (2). Soit qu'elle n'ait jamais été, soit qu'elle ait cessé de vivre dans le cœur des descendants, et ne parle plus à l'imagination. L'individualisme règne même au sein de la maison. Il restreint l'autorité paternelle, fait prédominer dans le mariage les aspects acquisitifs, délimite précisément l'autonomie féminine, résout l'union du couple en pointilleux coopératisme. Victime de ses conquêtes, et plus encore de sa menace permanente, l'*ikhs* a subi, du fait de la commune, des défaites encore plus graves. Si l'analyse décèle, face au conservatisme familial et aux symétries de l'ordre agraire, une individuation des droits qui ne trouve d'obstacles ni dans la théorie ni dans la pratique, n'est-ce pas que la tension entre ces deux ordres de forces sert la vitalité du groupe ?

UN TROISIÈME ÉLÉMENT DE L'ANALYSE : LE NOM (3)

Système de noms de lieux et système de noms de groupe s'enchevêtrent selon une gradation et des correspondances encore

(1) N'oublions pas la *limergida*, dont le rôle communal a été décrit plus haut en détail. Pour emprunter des termes de l'Antiquité grecque c'est, à certains égards, un prytanée ; ce n'est jamais une *leschè* !

(2) Nous nous écartons ici, pour le domaine chleuh tout au moins, des idées pourtant si suggestives de Vidal de La Blache, ce magistral exégète de la Méditerranée, pour qui les sociétés berbères représentent un stade où il n'y a pas eu encore de synoecisme, et qui diffèrent par là surtout des sociétés classiques, *Principes de géographie humaine*, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

(3) Les toponymes : ces « fossiles de la géographie humaine », comme disait J. Brunhes, *Géographie humaine de la France*, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

lisibles entre le quartier, le terroir et le canton d'une part, l'*ikhs* et la *laqbilt* de l'autre. A des niveaux superposés, divisions et subdivisions se correspondent de l'un à l'autre ordre. L'état civil humain et l'état civil de l'espace entrecroisent pour ainsi dire leurs effets, chacun prévalant selon le niveau.

A la base, la « parcelle » n'a presque pas de substance locale, mais une réalité presque purement anthroponymique. C'est un système fluvial qui prévaut au faîte, au point que de grandes désignations collectives comme nos *Seksawa* ne sont peut-être que des expressions géographiques. En tout cas, aux degrés intermédiaires, le « groupe » correspond au « terroir ». Le « quartier » traduit un équilibre qui compose les influences et reflète, entre la collectivité et la terre, une appropriation complexe lui conférant pleine consistance. Dans ce cas privilégié, définition locale et définition sociale se conjuguent, s'arc-boutent pour ainsi dire l'une sur l'autre.

Or toute cette toponymie, et non seulement celle des lieux-dits, mais, plus profondément, celle que d'intimes échanges avec l'homme poussent jusqu'au plus extrême détail, est d'origine. Les noms de quartier singulièrement, dont on a remarqué la presque constante intelligibilité, à l'intérieur de mailles plus larges et moins claires, témoignent d'une directe authenticité linguistique. Indice combien précieux (1) ! On se souvient des imaginatives inductions qu'inspirèrent à Renan, dans son *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, le génie des langues sémitiques et leur prétendue inaptitude à la mythologie. Si de telles idées sont aujourd'hui contredites ou dépassées, la valeur d'interprétation ou de comparaison de la philologie n'a fait que s'accroître. Je n'en veux comme preuve que les tout récents apports de sa dernière discipline, la phonologie, à l'étude des sociétés (2). En ce sens, la toponymie agraire des Seksawa, par sa densité, ses implications avec l'organisation communale et son intégrité berbère, peut apporter sa contribution à de nouvelles recherches. Observons par exemple que, dans ces deux séries de noms correspondant aux échelons structuraux du groupe d'une part, du paysage d'autre part, la valeur du signifiant (3) n'est pas partout égale.

L'anthroponymie luit en effet des contenus précis, qu'il

(1) Cf. L. Febvre, Histoire et dialectologie, *R. de synthèse historique*, t. XII, p. 249.

(2) Par exemple dans les *Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, de Cl. Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, et toute l'œuvre de L. Gernet.

(3) On s'excuse de ce terme technique, récemment accrédité par la tr. du livre de N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Principes de Phonologie*, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

s'agisse de la personne, du foyer, de l'*ikhs*, de la *taqbilt*. Mais au delà, la connotation est bien plus vague. Elle en arrive à n'avoir plus qu'une valeur variable, l'un des termes de cette variation pouvant tendre à ce que les linguistes appellent « le degré zéro ». Tel est le cas de formes dont l'énoncé revient souvent dans la science nord-africaine : « tribu », « confédération », *çoff*, *leff* (1).

Au contraire, les dénominations spatiales, fondées à la base sur la prodigieuse richesse des mots désignant les organes du champ, comportent, jusqu'aux échelons suprêmes, un sens précis. Le nom de Tamgonsi, de Tassila, d'Ibuban éveille les plus nettes images. Et aussi celui de Seksawa, envisagé comme celui d'un bassin hydrographique. Flou au contraire, et irréductible à l'analyse, si on lui fait suggérer un ensemble humain qui se définirait par autre chose que justement le nom et l'habitat. Rien d'autre en effet, à ce niveau, qui éclaire, pour les Seksawa, la nature exacte de cette formation.

LA TAQBILT DU HAUT ATLAS : UN PÔLE D'EXPLICATION

Dans la *taqbilt*, au contraire, une structure de groupe s'organise avec une structure de pays. De cette organisation, les noms sont à la fois le signe et l'agent. Sera-ce outrer l'expression que de dire à quel point l'originalité d'une telle forme réside dans la combinaison qui s'y opère entre la linguistique et la géographie ? Si la synthèse est ici minutieuse et parfaite d'ordres de choses dont les sociétés nord-africaines n'offrent jamais de rencontre du même genre, au même degré du moins, l'étude de ces sociétés disposera d'un critère commode rien qu'à mesurer en elles la présence ou l'absence, l'incohérence ou la connexité de ces divers éléments.

Un exemple : les notions de finage, de terroir, de quartier se retrouvent plus ou moins dans toutes les campagnes du Maghreb. Je passe la notion de lieu-dit, dans laquelle on les confond souvent à tort. Mais nulle part jusqu'ici, ailleurs que dans le Haut-Atlas, n'a pu s'observer l'étonnant ajustage auquel elles peuvent atteindre. Ainsi, dans les plaines et sur les collines du Gharb, un lacis toponymique couvre toute la campagne. La signification en est d'autant plus obscure qu'il ne correspond pas habituellement à une division visuelle. Le paysage est homogène et diffus. D'où l'inintelligibilité de faits dont le pays chleuh offre l'explication immédiate. Reste que, fût-ce dans les terroirs à profonde désagré-

(1) Cf. J. Berque, Qu'est-ce qu'une « tribu » nord-africaine ?, *Mélanges L. Febvre*, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

gation immobilière, comme le Gharb, l'étude serait fructueuse des lois qui dominent les situations et les ambitions terriennes entre unités rivales, et de la figure qu'elles prennent sur le sol ainsi disputé. Cette étude n'a jamais été tentée. Elle ferait sans doute plonger fort avant dans la connaissance de groupes « arabes », manifestement importés dans le pays — les Sofyân et les Beni Mâlek —, mais dont le comportement n'en répond pas moins, croyons-nous, à telles caractéristiques que nous avons tendance à attribuer un peu trop exclusivement aux « berbères ». Certes les populations du Gharb ne sont ni très anciennement, ni très bien fixées. Leur débat d'identité n'est pas celui qu'on observe dans le Haut-Atlas : un dialogue entre des noms de groupe et des noms de lieux. Il est celui d'une interprétation généalogique. Et tel notre sociologie l'a saisi il y a déjà plus d'un demi-siècle. Révoquant en doute ce que l'explication indigène attribue obstinément — du moins le croyait-on — à la communauté d'origine, elle a montré la part majeure des ajouts successifs qui finissent par composer, en dépit mais autour d'une fiction d'ancêtre, la matière même du groupe. Ce système porte, depuis E.-F. Gautier, qui lui fit grand sort, le nom de système « biologique ». Il s'oppose ainsi commodément au système européen, avant tout topographique, et avec lequel il peut nourrir d'éloquentes antithèses. Il ne s'oppose pas moins au système du Haut-Atlas.

En effet, de l'*ikhs* à la *laqbill*, l'interprétation par la commune ascendance ne touche ici que la minorité des cas. Ce qui compte, c'est la connexion entre éléments venus de tous les horizons. Elle est sensible au membre du groupe, et se traduit, dans la pratique, par un ordre agraire. C'est là un phénomène très différent d'une distribution successorale. La *jemâa* commence ici, pourrait-on dire, là où il n'y a plus parenté naturelle, ni conventionnelle. Ou plutôt — puisque la formule précédente éveillerait l'idée d'une composition à partir de la famille — l'attribut spécifique du groupe, c'est qu'il se divise en sous-groupes hétérogènes, que cette hétérogénéité résulte de la diversité d'origines ou d'autres variations. On pourrait en dire autant de la *thadderi* kabyle, ou de la cité mozabite.

Posons en regard la tribu arabe, que nous irons observer en Orient, de façon à éliminer du type les influences et les évolutions propres au Maghreb (1). La véritable unité y est ce que le

(1) P.-A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 1908, pp. 107 sq., et le magistral compte rendu de Hertz, *Ann. Soc.*, t. XI, pp. 323 sq. Cf., plus récemment, H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London, 1951, pp. 108 sq.; G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London, 1935, pp. 35 sq.

1: Berqe MW11 Shluh

P. Jaussen nomme improprement le « clan », uni par la consanguinité ou l'adoption. C'est la *h'amûleh* ou *ʿachireh*. Tout le monde est censé y descendre d'un ancêtre éponyme. Plusieurs clans forment la « tribu », *qabîleh*, voire la « confédération », *bedîdeh*, groupements lâches et instables. « Le clan sert de modèle à toute communauté quelle qu'elle soit. La tribu prétend elle aussi à l'identité de nom et de sang, à la dérivation d'un ancêtre unique. » Le culte de cet ancêtre paraît même caractéristique des Bédouins, dominés par la formule agnatique, tandis que celui des saints, à base territoriale, règne à peu près exclusivement parmi les sédentaires. Une telle forme ne s'observe naturellement plus à l'état pur en Afrique du Nord. Pour autant qu'elle y ait régné à certaines époques ou dans certaines zones — et l'on pense aux organisations bédouines que purent propager les Hilaliens — nul doute qu'elle ne s'opposât trait pour trait au type du Haut-Atlas.

Mais prenons garde que l'antithèse reste assez théorique. La géométrie n'est ni de la vie des peuples, ni des démarches de l'histoire. Une telle opposition ne recouvre d'ailleurs ni celle des sédentaires et des nomades, ni celle des Arabes et des Berbères. Il n'y a sans doute jamais eu au Maghreb de groupe tellement indépendant de ses assises que ses structures pussent échapper à tout concept territorial, ne fût-ce que sous la forme de terrains de parcours, de secteurs d'influence ou d'itinéraires pastoraux. L'exemple des Touareg eux-mêmes ne laisse à cet égard aucun doute. Réciproquement, chez les sédentaires chleuhs, la fiction de l'ancêtre a aussi plus ou moins joué (1). C'est en effet une explication commode. Les premiers siècles d'islamisation, et plus encore peut-être le contact des Hilaliens, ont dû lui donner une grande vogue. Cette époque semble avoir nourri une vaste entreprise d'héraldique assimilatrice. L'origine des Berbères était ramenée aux Philistins ou à H'imyâr (2). Dans les deux cas s'affirmait le même processus que dans la légende troyenne pour Rome : un essai de rattachement latéral à l'histoire classique. On sait à quelle minutie dans le détail ces mythes d'anoblissement aboutissent chez Ibn Khaldûn, et par lui chez les modernes exégètes qui en sont encore imbus. De même que la notion de « bédouin » englobe à ses yeux les paysans de l'Atlas, il interprète leur cohésion comme un trait de solidarité agnatique, *ʿaçâbiyya*. Mais cette hypothèse, pour être vénérable, n'en est pas moins une hypothèse.

(1) Et pourtant, une nuance, que seuls pourraient approfondir les linguistes, sté entre l'ar. *Awlâd*, « Les fils de... » et le chl. *Ait*, « les gens à... ».

(2) Exposé le plus complet de la question par M. Simon, Le judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne, *R. d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, 1946.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'il y a eu collaboration, mutuelle réaction, échanges entre les deux types. La réalité n'en offre le plus souvent que des formes intermédiaires ou usagées. Dans le Haut-Atlas, ce sont des structures économiques qui, avec la complicité de l'événement, ont permis non seulement la survie de l'une des deux formules, mais son expression systématique. Inversement, les rapports entre une certaine organisation et certains traits de paysage sont sans doute responsables des manifestations, plus ou moins pures, de l'autre formule. La tribu à ancêtre, négligemment posée, de par son genre de vie, sur un pays propice aux amples variations, d'une part (1) ; la communauté montagnarde, ferme dans ses techniques, cramponnée à ses vallons, d'autre part : ces deux types valent l'un et l'autre comme pôle d'explication. Entre les deux s'ordonnent les morphologies rurales du Maghreb.

ÉCLATEMENT LOCAL DU TYPE

Les *taqbill*-s des hautes vallées offrent le second de ces types à un degré de synthèse et sous des cautions historiques inespérées. D'où, entre autres choses, l'intérêt des Seksawa. Mais ce n'en est pas moins là un cas-limite, subordonné à certaines protections, et à certaines conditions.

A peine aux abords de la plaine, la bâtisse se dégrade, s'effondre par larges pans. Tel est le cas des Mtugga dont pourtant le conservatisme hautain a souvent, mieux que les chétives républiques de montagne, su se faire respecter. Mais même dans les cantons les plus abrupts, en Seksawa, le système ne survit pas aux problèmes d'un plus vaste finage, de circuits politiques plus complexes. Dès qu'il y a passage à un nouvel ordre de grandeur, il y a passage à un autre rythme. La clarté des rapports entre les *ikhs*-s et la *taqbilt* s'efface. Corrélativement se font jour des phénomènes instructifs.

Voici par exemple les a. H'adduyws, vaste ensemble composé d'au moins trois *taqbill*-s. L'argument d'un ancêtre éponyme — c'est même le seul cas de ce genre que nous trouvions en Seksawa — couvre une hétérogénéité avouée de provenances comme de vocations. Voici les Mez'ud'a avec leurs dix « centuries », *myawal*, traduisant une partition récente et délibérée, et leur magnifique ordre rituel et hydraulique. Ils donnent idée de la

(1) Le meilleur type au Maghreb en est peut-être la « tribu » tripolitaine. La remarquable notice in. de Cauneille montre la fluidité de ce groupement.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

dimension maxima qui peut affecter ce genre de sociétés, sans lui faire perdre certaines caractéristiques. Et pourtant que de changements s'y laissent discerner ! En Mez'ud'a comme en a. H'adduyws, la distribution des terres n'est plus gentilice quant à l'ensemble. Elle ne reste telle qu'à l'intérieur des sous-groupes, eux-mêmes répartis en *ikhs*-s. La connexion des *ikhs*-s à l'intérieur du sous-groupe, des sous-groupes de différent étage à l'intérieur de la tribu s'obscurcit. L'habitat influe sur la dénomination des subdivisions inférieures. Les anciennes solidarités, traduites par un ordre agraire, s'effacent. Il y a, dirait-on, recours à des thèmes compensatoires d'identification ou de qualification. Cela ressort du nom des groupes en Mtugga. Il y est fait appel simultanément ou tour à tour au lieu, au sobriquet, à la consanguinité. Un véritable désarroi, un désordre qui n'est pas du génie chleuh, se distinguent par exemple dans les hétéroclites dénominations des unités inférieures dans un *khoms* comme les Idaw Nifi. On voit, en effet, intervenir aussi des divisions numérales simples : « tiers » a. H'adduyws, « centuries » Mez'ud'a, « quints » Mtugga. Dans le second de ces cas, l'emprunt d'une forme makhzénienne — analogie flatteuse avec les tribus *guich* — est visible. Mais dans les autres aussi, tout caractère artificiel n'est pas exclu de la partition.

Le titre de *laqbill* est alors indistinctement porté par l'ensemble ou ses fractions. C'est ce qui, à certains égards, fait pencher notre propre nomenclature administrative vers le terme de « confédération » pour le groupe majeur. A la base, même incertitude. A l'intérieur du « tiers » ou du « quint », tout un étagement de formes s'interpose entre l'*ikhs*, tel que nous l'avons restrictivement défini, et des sous-groupes dont la solidarité devient de plus en plus indiscernable, de moins en moins plausible, de moins en moins invoquée.

A cela s'ajoute que l'ampleur topographique ainsi accrue entraîne, du fait d'exigences de mesure sociale qui nous sont encore obscures, mais que nous voyons à l'œuvre, le cantonnement séparé des sous-groupes. De nouvelles personnes pointent alors. Un relâchement de la force d'un chef, de la solidarité d'une *jemâa*, le succès d'une intrigue, et une « fraction » s'affirmera indépendante. C'est ainsi que le *khoms* des Idaw Merzug a été parfois distinct des Mtugga, et qu'il a eu ses propres caïds, ou que les trois *myawal* orientales des Mez'ud'a, les Intelzifit, ont un moment constitué une « tribu » (1).

(1) Les énumérations du Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 1928, pp. 62 sq., sont intéressantes non seulement par les

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Ce va-et-vient entre expansions et particularisations s'observe de nos jours même. A chaque changement de dimension correspond un changement de registre. Plus profondément que le débat entre la *jemâa* et le caïd, la démocratie et le pouvoir personnel, débat qui souvent l'accompagne, cette variation de rythmes sociaux attachés aux dimensions géographiques du groupe, est révélatrice de la vie de ces sociétés. Le jeu politique n'est ici que superficiel. Ou plutôt la politique des grands chefs de l'Atlas ne réussissait que par une adaptation constante à ces différences de niveau. C'est ainsi que dans son *khoms* d'origine, les Idaw Talilt, le grand Âbdelmalek Mtuggi n'est qu'un *amghar*, le premier de ses pairs. A l'échelon des Mtugga, c'est un centralisateur patriarcal. A l'échelon de l'ensemble des tribus dépendantes, un exploiteur autoritaire et madré. Ses appétits doivent toutefois compter avec les nécessités locales transactionnelles des petits *amghar*-s, ses vassaux. A l'échelon du Sud marocain, et presque du pays tout entier, courtisan ou rebelle, il se hausse même à l'intrigue internationale. Mais le poids politique qu'il y jette se ramène en définitive à la fidélité de sa propre *jemâa*.

Une vie comme celle d'Âbdelmalek a parcouru de bas en haut le clavier des morphologies maghrébines. Elle excède infiniment notre cadre. Seul l'examen attentif des cas d'espèce pourra, pour telle ou telle unité politique, jeter l'accent sur l'un ou l'autre de ces mouvements, comme ayant le plus influé sur sa contexture. Car il y a eu mouvement, et, tout au long de l'histoire, contraction ou dilatation des cadres locaux. L'essentiel réside peut-être dès lors dans des correspondances excédant les limites étroites. Et si le présent chapitre a tenté d'ériger, dans toute sa valeur de critère explicatif, la *taqbilt* cantonale, la précarité et, somme toute, le caractère exceptionnel de ce type, aussi riche par la portée méthodologique que vulnérable aux circonstances, mènent l'analyse à envisager, par un nouveau progrès, l'étude de rapports plus amples.

survivances de noms de groupes jusqu'à l'heure actuelle qu'elles permettent de repérer, mais aussi, et peut-être surtout, par les changements qui se sont opérés dans la hiérarchie et la compréhension de ces noms. On a justement remarqué que le nom des deux *leff*-s célèbres, Imsifern et Inghertit, figure, comme nom de « fractions », dans la liste des sous-groupes Gedmiwa de l'époque almohade. Observons aussi qu'on relève des Farûga parmi les Çawda ou Mez'ud'a actuels, bien différents des Frûga. Et d'ailleurs, ce n'est pas la seule anomalie de ces noms, dont une étude philologique — peut-être impossible il est vrai — n'a pas encore été faite.

[P.424]

III

FORMATIONS LARGES

LA SOLIDARITÉ DE « LEFF » : FORMES PARENTES ET CONCURRENTES

La théorie des *leff*-s, dont l'expression d'ensemble date d'une vingtaine d'années (1), résout en dualismes équilibrés, se répondant par larges zones, la structure berbère du Maghreb. Sera-ce faire de nécessité système que de souligner à quel point la valeur de ces dualismes réside dans l'affrontement des noms, plutôt que dans leur contenu ? Ce dernier vaut surtout, si j'ose dire, par son indécision même. R. Montagne étend la thèse à tout

(1) R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, 1930. Antérieurement, observations partielles ou ébauches de la théorie dans C. Devaux, *Les Kebailes du Djerjera*, 1859, qui donne, p. 40, une carte des *çoff*-s où se reconnaît le fameux « échiquier ». Hanoteau et Letourneux, *op. laud.*, t. II, pp. 11 sq. Dans le S. constantinois, l'opposition du *çoff* Bucokkâz aux Bengana est figurée dans l'Aurès par un chassé-croisé noté par le Commissaire du Sénatus Consulte (Rapport Schaeffer, arch. d'Aris, 20-4-1890 : carte significative). Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie*, 1882, p. 167, connaît ces partages, mais en donne une explication simpliste. Au Maroc, de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, 1888, pp. 318 sq., décrit, à propos de Sektana et Gezzula, ce qui est très exactement l'équilibre de ces deux *leff*-s, moins toutefois le nom. Ce dernier est prononcé par Ed. Doutté dans son article si riche sur L'organisation sociale et domestique chez les H'âh'a, *Afr. fr., Rens. col.*, 1905, p. 15. L'auteur a vu que cette institution est un élément de la politique makhzénienne. De Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, 1910, mentionne le jeu des *leff*-s en Chyâd'ma, p. 421, eAbda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, citant Doutté, montre ce jeu s'exerçant dans le Maroc oriental, *Les Confins algéro-marocains*, 1911, pp. 104 sq. Mais il appartenait à R. Montagne de renouveler la question en plongeant l'étude de ces dualismes dans le contexte économique, juridique et politique du S. marocain et de l'ensemble de la Berbérie. Sa thèse s'affirme peu à peu dans une série de monographies à partir de 1924. Après *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, le seul apport essentiel est celui du col. Justinard à propos de la Tagizzult et de la Tah'oggwat de l'Anti-Atlas et du Sous : Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au xvie siècle, *Arch. mar.*, 1933, pp. 59 sq., 76 sq. ; surtout, il traduit un texte capital du xviiie siècle, *La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft*, 1940 ; il reprend sa thèse, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. de R. Montagne, Les *leff*-s berbères au début du xviiie siècle chez les Masmouda, *Hesp.*, 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., où la théorie s'élargit beaucoup. Depuis, les principales contributions ont été la cartographie de J. Dresch, 1941 ; la monographie de Tuder, Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan, in *CHEAM*, 1946 ; un exposé de Marcy, relevant une intéressante légende aurasienne, La tribu berbère : structure, leffs, in *CHEAM*, 1941 ; l'application de la théorie par Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles du Maroc*, 1951, pp. 218 sq. ; et surtout, dans une région jusqu'ici peu connue, une monographie de Cauneille, Les ligues du S. tripolitain, in *CHEAM*.

le monde berbère sédentaire. Il montre que les applications en sont susceptibles de rigueur variable, de modalités inégalement pleines ou décadentes selon les secteurs. Le critère serait la densité du contenu, particulièrement sensible encore dans l'Anti-Atlas, où l'opposition Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at recouvrirait celle de deux couches de peuplement (1). En fait ces dualismes procèdent d'un thème général. R. Montagne en a signalé des exemples en Arabie, au Kurdistan, ailleurs encore. Sous une forme plus ou moins équilibrée et complète, plus ou moins vive ou dégradée, s'inscrivant dans la géographie à moins qu'elle ne se transpose sur un plan tout moral, la « loi » s'observe dans la plupart des sociétés (2). Elle rend compte, assurément, de multiples faits maghrébins, mais, prenons-y garde, moins dans leur spécificité qu'en ce qu'ils obéissent à une dialectique à peu près universelle. Or, ce qui nous intéressera ici, c'est en quoi et comment ces formations sont maghrébines.

On pourrait contester que le mot arabe de *leff* appartienne au vocabulaire local (3), s'il ne se retrouvait dans un document incontestable, une lettre de l'*amghar* Umulid, dans le sens de « parti », de « coalition », celui même du mot chleuh *amqqun*, de la racine *qq.n*, « lier ». Seulement, *amqqun* est entendu ici comme l'alliance guerrière, soit coalition durable, soit combinaison épisodique en vue d'une expédition. Les relations plus générales de groupe à groupe sont plutôt rendues par la qualification d'*ailma*, « frères ». Ce sont des « fraternités », créant ou constatant une obligation imprécise, mais bilatérale. Leur force, décroissant à mesure que s'étend son champ d'application, est mise localement en rapport avec celle des solidarités collectives qui s'exercent à l'occasion des serments pluraux. Ces dernières, il est vrai, engagent en premier lieu les agnats. Elles ne vont guère plus loin aujourd'hui. Mais jadis leur exercice était plus vaste (4), et

(1) R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, p. 214. Cette interprétation vers laquelle R. Montagne comme le colonel Justinard semblent de plus en plus pencher, n'a pas été jusqu'ici rapprochée, je crois, de celle que le judaïsme marocain donne de sa propre division en « indigènes » et « immigrés ». Le rapprochement est pourtant à faire.

(2) Cl. Lévi-Strauss, La politique étrangère d'une société primitive, *Politique étrangère*, 1949, p. 151 ; Histoire et ethnologie, *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

(3) *Les Textes arabes du Sous*, de Destaing, mentionnent le mot à l'index, mais il ne figure dans aucun texte. Cf. pourtant *Sources in.*, Port., Ire série, t. III, p. 199 (à propos d'une confédération de tribus).

(4) La source écrite essentielle est le texte de la *Rih'la* traduite par le col. Justinard. Encore faudrait-il une étude sémantique patiente pour discerner d'après le contexte de quelle nuance il s'agit : « ligue » permanente, ou « coalition » incidente. J'avoue que les reports au texte du ms. de la *Rih'la* que je

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

nous savons par un texte du Haut Seksawa (1) que la convention entre groupes pouvait l'élargir encore.

Solidarité parentale, procédurale ou internationale : ces trois notions, inégalement usées, inégalement claires dans la conscience indigène, y offrent quelque confusion de contour. Il serait donc inexact de les étiqueter sous des signes trop précis : consanguinité — pactes souscrits — existence d'affinités ; ou bien : communauté d'aïeul — convention — statut. Ce serait là tenter de les définir à l'européenne. Ce que suggère l'observation, au contraire, c'est leur indistinction. A tout le moins la continuité qui règne de l'une à l'autre. Cette continuité va très loin. Elle peut modifier jusqu'à l'assiette des groupes, former ou rompre ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui, un peu à l'aveug'ette, confédérations ou tribus. La tradition locale a enregistré plusieurs de ces variations morphologiques (2). Encore semble-t-elle moins riche sur ce point que dans d'autres régions. Les procédures mises en jeu à ces occasions : *berru* ou *lberril*, « dénonciation » du groupe primitif, *lighersi*, « sacrifice d'accession » au nouveau groupe — n'ont laissé ici qu'un souvenir très fruste. Les formes sont usées. Mais l'institution n'a rien perdu de ses suggestions affectives ou pratiques.

Et la synthèse qui s'y découvre entre notions telles que rites judiciaires, serments pluraux, alliance, ségrégation ou extension de collectivités, restitue sans doute la vraie atmosphère du *leff*.

possède ne m'ont pas entièrement convaincu. Le traducteur ajoute parfois le mot quand il n'est pas donné dans l'original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Cas douteux, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). Dans d'autres cas, on peut douter de l'interprétation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). On retrouve aussi le terme de *leff*, s'il faut en croire le traducteur, dans les *Nafu'ât ach-Chabâb*, tr. JUSTINARD, Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères. *Hesp.*, 1949, p. 331, avant-dernier §. Enfin, nous avons traduit et reproduit la lettre de l'*amghar* Umulid où est employé ce mot, Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa, *R. afr.*, 1953, p. 145.

(1) Cf. p. 332.

(2) C'est ainsi qu'en a. Âbdella, l'*ikhs* des a. Si Mh'and s'est rattaché à celui des a. Lkhil par un engagement d'assistance sacramentelle, et de la sorte a pu s'installer au village. Les a. u Gord', des a. Wageryan (Dwiran), n'étant pas soutenus par leurs « frères » dans une instance criminelle, émigrèrent et vinrent habiter en bordure de la plaine, se rattachant à un autre groupe. Ils n'ont pas perdu pour autant leur capacité rituelle dans l'ancien habitat. Lors de la frairie annuelle des saints d'Aduz, c'est eux qui inaugurent la tournée de visites qu'y fait toute la tribu. En Mez'ud'a, les a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gd'id'), pour une raison analogue, font sécession de leur groupe d'origine, les a. H'sayn et s'installent au village de Tamazirt. Les a. Uchellad' quittent les a. Werdas et s'agrègent à Tar'arin. Ils ne laissent dans leur habitat primitif qu'une colonie de cultures. Mais voici un mouvement plus ample. Une *taqbilt* entière, celle des a. Khtab, est accusée de meurtre. Ses frères I. Buzia refusant de jurer pour elle, elle s'agrège aux Mtugga.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

LE LEFF EN SEKSAWA

Il est vrai que les Seksawa n'offrent pas une contribution très riche à cette étude (1). Chez eux aujourd'hui l'idée en est bien oblitérée, dépouillée en tout cas des suggestions sentimentales qu'elle peut garder ailleurs, dans les tout proches Gedmiwa par exemple. Son rôle théorique lui-même, celui de dualisme équilibré opposant pièce à pièce, comme sur un échiquier, les *laqbill*-s d'un même ensemble, reste inaperçu.

Tout le monde en Seksawa peut être considéré comme *Eghörli*, plur. *Ighertan*, à l'exception des a. Lh'sen, assez vigoureusement *Imsifern*, et gardant à ce titre des liens avec les fractions homonymes des Mez'ud'a, leur saint sidi Ah'med u Âli et leurs frères d'outre Tichka, les Tigguga. Mais la qualification n'est pas toujours nette. Si les Idma sont sans hésitation du premier groupe, il n'en est pas de même des a. Musa et des a. H'adduyws. Les premiers, de l'aveu général, ont flotté entre les deux enseignes. Talonnés par tant d'agressions, ils passent pour avoir si souvent changé de couleur qu'ils ont égaré leur appartenance. Il est vrai que c'est là une *laqbill* malheureuse et que ce trait de décadence se combinerait chez elle avec l'effet d'autres disgrâces. Les Idma prêtent aux a. H'adduyws un statut indéfini, et ils l'imputent à une complexité d'origine, tellement différente de leur propre unité. Mais jamais la diversité d'origine n'a empêché l'affirmation politique dans l'Atlas. Quant aux intéressés, si l'on interroge les a. Tasa, du groupe dominant, ils avouent être Ighertan, mais non sans réticences feintes ou sincères. La question réveille semble-t-il chez eux une vieille et obscure controverse, à laquelle on ne touche que précautionneusement : c'est dire que l'étranger n'en aura jamais le fin mot.

L'historique de la période récente sera-t-il plus concluant ? Ces solidarités pouvaient être de différent ordre : rituel (ainsi de la liaison entre les a. Lh'sen, les Tigguga et les Mez'ud'a, autour de sidi Ah'med u Âli) (2), juridique (comme peut-être en Gedmiwa, où certains taux procéduraux changeaient selon la qualification, ou en Mez'ud'a, chez qui le régime matrimonial par exemple divergeait entre a. Gd'id' et a. Td'd'it) ; enfin et surtout politique et guerrier. Mais sur ce dernier plan, qui est le plus clair, et qui a le

(1) R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, p. 186, observe cette asymétrie. Il remarque aussi que les Mtugga échappent aux *leff*-s, p. 193.

(2) En ce sens, remarquables notations inédites de G. Delaye à propos des Urika et des Gheghaya.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

plus frappé nos observateurs, de sérieuses réserves sont à formuler quant à la valeur de la règle. Le pouvoir politique majeur de la région, celui des Mtugga, s'est développé, comme d'ailleurs celui des Glawa, en dehors de ces appartenances. Il est vrai qu'il constituait « parti » à lui seul. D'autre part, dans les hautes vallées, même, une traditionnelle hostilité opposait les Idma à leurs « frères » a. H'adduyws — alliés contre eux aux Imsifern a. Lh'sen. De l'autre côté de l'arête atlasique, les a. H'adduyws s'appuyaient sur les Idaw i-yzimmer, du signe contraire. Et contre leurs frères Idaw Mçat't'og, il leur arrivait d'acheter la neutralité bienveillante des Tigguga. Enfin se produisaient des variations gentilices ou même individuelles, auxquelles ne s'attachait nul discrédit.

Jamais l'affinité de *leff* n'empêche l'initiative en sens opposé. On peut attribuer à la décadence une telle disponibilité. Mais force est bien de constater qu'au seul stade qui soit observable, les ambitions rivales des individus et des familles s'affrontent à l'intérieur des cantons, en dispositifs mesquins, mais souvent aussi durables, et qui peuvent réagir sur la configuration d'ensemble. Les deux qualifications existent donc, mais ne sont ni toujours claires, ni toujours impératives. Surtout il ne règne entre elles ni pondération ni régularité. Tout un contexte d'inititative personnelle et collective les modifie. On sent que bien des facteurs viennent ici troubler ce que nous supposerions procéder d'un rythme à deux temps. Et, chose plus grave, ce sont des facteurs de niveau différent : si les uns paraissent traduire de vieux antagonismes collectifs, et donc orienter l'explication vers l'hypothèse d'un équilibre organique, d'autres procèdent évidemment de la fantaisie, de l'événement, de la machination ou du hasard. Tout cela joue en des sens divers et donne l'impression d'une extrême contingence.

Sont-ce là des anomalies propres aux Seksawa ? Et que faut-il penser de la plus considérable d'entre elles : l'absence d'Imsifern déclarés dans le système, si ce n'est dans le seul canton a. Lh'sen, c'est-à-dire chez des immigrés assez récents ? Pourquoi cette asymétrie, contrastant avec le bipartisme exact de tous les groupes qui encadrent les Seksawa vers l'O., l'E. et le S. ? Faut-il supposer que c'est là un trait de rupture ? Les anciennes populations expulsées, a. Gasa d'un côté, colons Demsira de l'autre, ou ces vaincus plus anciens encore : a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, se seraient-elles, en leur temps, disposées, selon la classique figure en damier ? Mystère.

Une autre explication qui vient à l'esprit serait que l'extrême vigueur du phénomène tyrannique en Seksawa au xxe siècle avec

ses trois grands *amghar*-s conquérants, a entraîné une perturbation de fond. C'est ainsi qu'Umulid a constamment joué contre d'autres Ighertan, en faisant cause commune avec les a. Lh'sen. Le hasard même d'une de ses lettres nous montre à ce propos, on l'a vu, un emploi du mot *leff* : recoupement lexicographique précieux, mais nouvelle difficulté au fond. Car, ou bien Umulid se considère comme devenu Emsiför, comme le caïd Mokhtar, ou bien il emploie ce terme dans un sens extensif d'alliance, ou de front : dans le sens, en un mot, où s'est vulgarisé le terme algérien le *çoff*, devenu si essentiel à la vie franco-musulmane des petites villes algériennes, que le roman moderne lui fait un sort.

Si le dualisme des *leff*-s est surtout une coexistence de virtualités, entre lesquelles l'option collective, et même parfois individuelle, s'exerce, si chacun de ces deux termes mêmes n'est exclusif ni de variété ni de mutations, le problème reste aussi entier de savoir pourquoi de larges zones y sont soumises, et pourquoi, au contraire, tel secteur y échappe. Les menées défigurantes des chefs, la dégradation du vieil ordre inhérente à l'essor du pouvoir personnel au XXe siècle, ne sauraient en tout cas rendre compte de la situation particulière des Seksawa. Partout et toujours dans l'Atlas il y a eu alternance de la chefferie et de la démocratie. L'enquête historique et statistique, à notations graphiques, que souhaitait, en l'espèce, R. Montagne (1), serait certainement utile à la connaissance du passé de ces sociétés. Elle n'apporterait pas d'explication. Elle révèlerait le jeu d'initiatives, s'appliquant à des conjonctures. Peut-être le fond bicolore des *leff*-s en ressortirait-il comme doué de constance, d'une constance à rétablissements, et par là lié à une certaine légitimité : recherche passionnante, mais on ne voit pas qu'elle pût faire progresser la définition du contenu.

Il semble donc que l'analyse doive emprunter d'autres voies. Deux données d'observation vont peut-être l'y aider.

Tout d'abord, il faut substituer la métaphore indigène à la métaphore européenne. Ce n'est pas comme deux fronts opposés de nations européennes que l'homme de l'Atlas, et pour cause, voit les *leff*-s. Mais comme une option à deux termes dont l'image la plus commode est pour lui celle de l'affrontement de deux rangs de cojureurs. Suivons cette indication. Du serment plural au *leff*, un coefficient d'étalement dans l'espace rend peut-être compte d'une partie au moins des différences entre ces deux types de solidarité.

(1) Dans son c. r. de la thèse de J. Dresch, *Hesp.*, 1943, p. 232.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

En second lieu, si les essais de définition des *leff*-s par leur contenu ont jusqu'ici été infructueux, et s'il a fallu, pour en expliquer l'insuccès, recourir à l'hypothèse de la décadence, ne sera-t-il pas à la fois plus économique, et plus conforme à l'objectivité, de déplacer l'accent des problèmes de contenu pour s'attacher à la forme elle-même ?

UNE TENSION A MUTATION DE SIGNES

Non loin des Seksawa, vers le S.-O., un autre groupe de montagnes, les Idaw T'anan (1) est resté étranger à ces alternances. Sa teneur ethnologique est forte. Sa légende de saint fondateur, la vitalité des assemblées, les fonctions originales dévolues aux *imz'ran* lors de leur tournée de justice annuelle, affirmaient naguère encore une plénitude d'institution excluant toute idée de caducité. Or le *leff* y est inconnu. Son rôle est ici assumé par une organisation locale, non plus binaire, mais ternaire. Toute la vie publique des Idaw T'anan repose sur la division en trois groupes équivalents. Chacun d'eux séparément peut entrer dans des alliances extérieures. Mais une vive solidarité, faite pour partie de ces antagonismes mêmes, pour partie de rites, maintient une communauté.

Sera-ce simple tautologie que de souligner que si les Idaw T'anan échappent ainsi au dualisme des *leff*-s, c'est en raison d'une telle originalité ? La force de leur rythme interne, par trois et non par deux, a pu entretenir chez eux une tension suffisante, semble-t-il, pour exclure l'autre formule. Notons qu'à certains égards, la tripartition des a. H'adduywz, par exemple, pourrait rendre compte d'effets analogues. Mais elle traduit, en l'espèce, tout autre chose qu'une division organique. Elle éveille plutôt l'idée des fractionnements artificiels, résultant de simplifications, plus ou moins officielles et délibérées, qu'offrent d'autres ensembles. Le vrai est qu'il faut étudier longuement l'individualité de chaque cas pour en dégager le sens. L'exemple des Mtugga peut être allégué symétriquement à celui des Idaw T'anan. Chez eux non plus, pas de *leff*-s. Mais n'est-ce pas parce que la démarche de Bwabbut' dépasse, par une aventure géographiquement, techniquement et sentimentalement supérieure, la médiocrité de l'instance montagnarde ? Chez eux aussi, le système propre exclut l'emprunt externe. Le rôle classificatoire des *leff*-s est suppléé ici par un engagement plus vaste, comme il l'était, en Idaw T'anan,

(1) *Monographie* in. de R. MONTAGNE, 1927, et renseignements personnels.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

par un rythme plus court. Il n'est donc pas impossible que l'exception au bipartisme général que représentent les Seksawa tienne, dans leur cas, encore à une certaine spécialité. Spécialité d'une histoire et d'une tradition responsables d'un comportement fort personnel.

Ainsi donc, quand un groupe fait apparemment exception au bipartisme des *leff*-s, c'est peut-être parce qu'il est soutenu par une tension d'un autre type, à lui propre, et qui pourra être différente dans chacun des cas. Une telle manière de voir oriente la recherche dans l'avenue féconde des variétés de groupes, tellement caractéristique de l'ensemble chleuh. Elle s'accorde aussi avec deux traits d'observation. D'abord que le dualisme des *leff*-s soit avant tout onomastique ; ensuite, qu'il puisse être remplacé par des classements d'un autre genre.

Considérée sous cet angle, la théorie des *leff*-s va sortir de l'isolement montagnard et berbère où elle se cantonnait, en dépit des évidentes et embarrassantes applications qu'on en relevait çà et là en pays arabe, au Sahara ou sur les Hauts Plateaux. A vrai dire elle n'est intelligible que dans ce vaste contexte analogique. Replacés dans une aire allant depuis le socle saharien jusqu'au littoral du Maghreb, les faits du Sous, de la Kabylie, du Rif ressortissent au même ensemble institutionnel que les rapports de protection entre nomades et jardiniers des oasis (1), que les hiérarchies entre tribus maurétaniennes (2), et encore que le dualisme encore vivant entre « nobles » et « vassaux » touareg (3). Les relations entre *imochar* et *imghad* ont beau affecter les modalités les plus précises, d'essence à la fois chevaleresque et fiscale, elles n'en sont pas moins irréductibles à l'analyse d'origines, tout comme les dualismes maghrébins (4). Même dans ceux-ci, toute nuance qualitative n'est pas exclue. Dans l'Anti-Atlas, la Tah'ogg'at s'oppose à la Tagizzult, comme ce qui est moins « chic » à ce qui l'est plus. Si cette notation déjà ancienne est fort instructive, que sera-ce du rapprochement avec les séries, pareillement, mais plus fortement *dissimilées* du Sahara ? Il règne en ces dernières une plénitude de contenu dont le système semble peu à peu se dépouiller, à mesure

(1) Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, institutions traditionnelles des Draoua, *Hesp.*, 1947, p. 420.

(2) Notice in. de Ahmed Miske Ould Atiq, *Hormas et Ghafers*, Atar, 1935. *Contribution au coutumier indigène*, Cercle de la Baie du Lévrier, 1931.

(3) Outre l'œuvre de Foucauld, Duveyrier, H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, 1944, et renseignements oraux du lieut. Berthé.

(4) L'*amzid* est souvent plus riche, et aussi guerrier que son suzerain, note H. Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, 1864, pp. 334 sq. L'origine de la « redevance », *tiussé*, est incompréhensible.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

qu'il s'applique à des zones plus proches de la Méditerranée, et plus empreintes de son génie sec, raisonnable et individuel. Cet appauvrissement, n'est-ce pas la rançon dont il doit s'acquitter, dirait-on, pour s'agréger à la culture classique ? Les antagonismes, en lui, tendront à ne garder que l'arête formelle. A ce stade, la notion n'a guère de valeur que nominale. C'est une antithèse sans contenu. Telle nous l'observons dans le Haut Atlas, et plus encore en Kabylie, où elle affleure au débat électoral le plus moderne.

Un échange perpétuel paraît s'opérer entre configurations de consistance et d'ampleur aussi discordantes que ces « dualismes équilibrés », les simples ligues, et les mille regroupements de la politique ou de la croyance. Structures de base, tactique, tendance et fantaisie se mêlent alors inextricablement. D'où une constante réaction de chacune sur les autres. La vertu morphologique de grand style que recèle l'antithèse des *leff*-s, ou des *çoff*-s, quand elle atteint toute son ampleur géographique — c'est le cas du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas, ainsi que du Sous ; celui du Maroc oriental ; celui du Sud constantinois avec l'affrontement de deux grands partis familiaux — est souvent brisée, exploitée, travestie. Mais elle peut aussi ressusciter sous des espèces neuves. La vieille dialectique devient alors celle des propagandes électorales, et tend à n'être plus que celle d'une « droite » et d'une « gauche » à la française (1).

Dans ces mouvements, il y a plus qu'une évolution qui détruit ou restitue, modifie ou restaure. Il y a leur possibilité même. Elle traduit une fluidité de termes, une aptitude à la suppléance, une aisance et presque une allégresse dans l'échange des formes territoriales et morales, qui paraissent caractéristiques de l'Afrique du Nord.

EXEMPLES DE VARIATIONS

La théorie des *leff*-s, dans sa formulation classique, fait état d'évolutions de ce genre. Elle relève que le nom de telle grande

(1) La chose est courante dans les élections en Kabylie. Cf. l'intéressante étude de LAURETTE, Aspects de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie, *ESNA*, 1951, pp. 21 sq. ; Jean MENAUT (Aug. Berque), Circonscriptions arabes et kabyles aux Délégations financières, *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, 1935, pp. 64 sq., avec rappels historiques. En Tunisie, deux *çoff*-s se sont affirmés et définis dans la longue lutte du bey Husayn et de son neveu Ali pacha au début du XVIIIe siècle. Ce sont les Husaynia et les Bachia. L'interférence entre les antagonismes tribaux et une conjoncture de politique centrale à laquelle ils empruntent leur nom est significative. Cf. J. DESPOIS, *La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse-Steppe*, 1940, p. 208. Le *çoff*, européanisé, modernisé, est devenu en Algérie un thème littéraire, qui circule par exemple à travers toute l'œuvre de R. Randau.

ligue n'est autre que celui d'un rassemblement plus étroit, retrouvé au hasard d'une découverte dans l'archéologie almohade. L'inverse est aussi observable. Telles grandes constellations ou « races » du Moyen Age maghrébin n'ont laissé leur nom qu'à de chétives tribus : ainsi des Zenâta, des Maçmûda, des Ghomâra, etc.

Le Maroc actuel présente un exemple privilégié de ces variations : pas tellement éloigné des Seksawa, puisqu'il s'agit de leurs vieux alliés, les Sofyân (1). Ils ont été relégués, comme on sait, dans les collines à terres lourdes, s'achevant en estuaire marécageux, du Gharb. Ils partagent ce territoire avec une autre tribu arabe, les Beni Mâlek. Partage follement enchevêtré ! Dans la terminologie actuelle, point de « fraction » qui ne compte à la fois des Sofyân et des Beni Mâlek. Et le « douar » lui-même compose souvent les deux appartenances (2). Sur la carte, le report de celles-ci en deux teintes figure un damier, quelque chose d'absolument semblable à ce que ailleurs on a nommé l' « échiquier des *leff*-s ». Seulement, ici, la fiction génétique a joué à plein. On ne se réclame pas de partis ou de ligues, mais de deux tribus. Là commencent les difficultés. Seuls les Sofyân ont une histoire (3). Rien ne nous parle de Beni Mâlek avant la crise maraboutique du XVIe siècle. Ils sont alors de valeureux champions et connaissent, avec al-ʿAyyâchî, leur temps de prépondérance. Mais nul ne sait d'où ils sont, ni d'où ils viennent (4), sinon qu'ils sont « frères » des Sofyân, ce que d'ailleurs postule leur cohabitation étroite avec eux.

Tout se passe comme si, à un point donné de la décadence des Sofyân, déchus depuis les Mérinides, une scission s'était produite dans leur sein. La tribu aurait sécrété elle-même « ses » Beni Mâlek, peut-être comme, un peu plus au N., les Khlot' sécrétaient « leurs » T'liq. La chose se complique du fait que l'on retrouve, chez les actuels Beni Mâlek-Sofyân, côte à côte avec des noms d'authenticité vétuste, comme celui d'al-H'ârth, d'autres qui sont ceux de groupes arabes étrangers : des Khlot', des ʿÂçim, des Riyâh', des Solaym, des Çobayh', des Châwîya, et même des Beni Hilâl ! Certains de ces vocables peuvent être les reliques d'habitats antérieurs, comme c'est le cas des Khlot', ou refléter des apports tardifs, comme c'est le cas des Châwîya. Mais d'autres échappent à ce

(1) Noter que ce nom de Sofyân est celui d'un *çoff* dans le Gourara, cf. E.-F. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, 1910, p. 153.
(2) Enquête directe et Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Gharb*, 1913, pp. 325 sq.
(3) Bien connue de G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, 1913, cf. index.
(4) Cependant, ʿAbd ar-Rah'mân b. Zaydân, *Ith'âf*, 1929, t. I, p. 171, les situe déjà en 1270 autour de Larache. Plusieurs saints du XVIe siècle portent l'ethnique de Malkî.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

genre d'explication. Comment ne pas être troublé de la disparate qui accole, sous l'actuelle étiquette de « douar », ces appellations anciennes de tribus, de peuples, et même de la race hilalienne dans son ensemble ? Ce qu'il y a de remarquable dans ce cas, ce n'est donc pas seulement l'imbrication de deux tribus, reproduisant à s'y méprendre ce qui, ailleurs, serait interprété comme les entrelacs de deux ligues (1). C'est le jeu de classements et de déclassements entre groupes d'échelle si diverse.

Un mouvement, que tout porte à croire constant, tantôt dilate, tantôt diminue l'extension des noms de groupe. Tout un chassé-croisé d'expansions et de décadences, d'ascensions et de chutes, s'entrevoit ainsi dans le passé, rien qu'aux traces qu'il a laissées dans le langage. On y discerne une sorte d'envers sémantique de l'histoire événementielle, telle que la retracent les chroniqueurs. Mais à considérer la vertu maghrébine des noms, de leurs variations, des classements qu'ils expriment, et dont ils peuvent faire à eux seuls toute la consistance, on se demande si cet envers n'a pas été, à beaucoup d'égards, déterminant.

Encore n'a-t-on observé en l'espèce que des passages d'un échelon à l'autre, de simples changements d'ordres de grandeur. Des phénomènes plus délicats, impliquant des hiérarchies plus complexes, se font aussi jour. Les démarcations sociales au Maghreb adoptant volontiers des critères spirituels, il n'est pas rare qu'on enregistre ainsi la promotion de populations entières à un plan qui les oppose à l'humanité d'alentour. A moins que ce ne soit leur disqualification.

Un cas éclatant, particulier au Maroc, où il a connu un véritable pullulement, est celui du chérifisme idrisite depuis le XVIe siècle. C'est surtout à partir de ce moment que se fonda une histoire explicative du passé marocain, se réclamant tout entière de Mawlay Idris et, à travers lui, de son aïeul le Prophète. Peut-être ainsi bénéficièrent de la sainte ascendance des collectivités qui jusque-là avaient participé d'autres prestiges. On a émis l'hypothèse que parmi beaucoup de *chorfa* berbères se sont glissés des détenteurs indigènes de *baraka*, hommes de Dieu ou personnages de bon augure (2). Il y aurait donc eu en l'espèce transposition du sacré, ou plutôt requalification. Mais bien des distinctions seraient à faire sur ce plan. Le chérifisme individuel, transmis par vocation successorale, soumis à la critique généalogique des manuels de

(1) La remarquable étude de V. MONTEIL sur les *Tekna*, 1948, montre à quel point ces configurations sont mouvantes, et interfèrent les dénominations de groupes d'ordre divers.

(2) E. LAOUST *Mots et choses berbères*, 1920, p. 315.

nasab, n'a pas le même contenu morphologique que celui que revendiquent, par dévolution collective, des couches compactes de peuplement. Pour reprendre l'exemple du Gharb, parmi les Beni Mâlek et les Sofyân, une masse d'Ud Khalîfa s'éparpille de l'Ouergha à l'Océan. Ce phénomène est fréquent dans le Sud marocain. Les Ud Bessebâ° par exemple se veulent tous *chorfa*, et leur histoire est une longue polémique de légitimité.

A côté de la noblesse que l'on hérite, il y a celle que l'on assume. D'un côté, investiture personnelle, transmission par le sang, allure initiatique. De l'autre, ségrégation de communautés, fondée avant tout sur une attestation collective. Le pays chleuh offre l'exemple de degrés dans cette profession. On n'y trouve pas, comme dans l'Ahaggar, de promotions de statut qui se basent sur l'affirmation délibérée d'un groupe (1). Mais on y observe d'instructives nuances entre *foqra*, « desservants », *ig^w^rramen*, « marabouts » et *chchref*, « descendants du Prophète ».

En dehors de l'ascendance prophétique, la plus prestigieuse, il arrive aussi qu'une démarche similaire confère à des ethniques un sens non plus d'origine, mais moral. On n'est plus « fils de... » on est « adepte ». On est ce que le français signifierait par une terminaison en- *iste*. Ainsi des Regrâga. Ils ont peut-être été un peuple, mais le souvenir s'en est perdu. Ils se sont fabriqué une généalogie les rattachant à une *baraka* ancestrale. Mais plus encore, ce sont des catéchistes de l'Islam, témoins d'une couche d'hagiologie très ancienne, puisqu'on la fait remonter plus tôt que l'hégire. La même spécialisation paraît affecter, au XIIIe siècle, des noms comme ceux des H'âh'iyûn, des Hazmîriyûn, des Çanhâjiyûn (2) : ils désignent des compagnies mystiques sans acception tribale : et cette dernière, parallèlement, s'est maintenue. L'évolution d'ailleurs s'est consommée inégalement selon les cas. Les actuels Gnâwa de l'Afrique du Nord ne sont pas des Guinéens d'origine, mais les adeptes de rites orgiaques et de mystères. De même les Mlâyna, les Bdâwa, dispersés par petits groupes occultes. Les Dghûghiyin, bien que leur nom soit encore celui d'un groupe local, sont surtout une catégorie d'extatiques populaires. Dans un autre ordre d'idées, les Zekkâra, chers à Mouliéras, sont à la fois une tribu et une secte : il y a là identification de deux ordres de communauté. Et inversement, les ait sidi Ah'med u Musa sont des acrobates qui presque toujours n'ont rien de commun avec

(1) H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, 1944, p. 163, citant Cauvet. Ce n'est là qu'un cas extrême de ces auto-fabrications de statut que l'on retrouve dans tout le domaine berbère, de l'*asri* des Touareg à l'*ag^w^mman* de l'Anti-Atlas.

(2) Ibn al-Qunfudh, *Uns al-faqîr*, Rabat.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

l'apôtre du Tazerwâlt. On peut être Mlâyni de naissance, de conviction, ou d'affiliation. On peut être fils de sidi Ah'med u Musa d'origine, de convention, ou de métier. Cette pluralité d'acceptions, avec le glissement variable de l'une à l'autre qui s'opère selon les lieux et les temps, devrait donner lieu à un inventaire précis. Il en ressortirait de précieuses indications sur le destin des noms maghrébins. Quoi de plus curieux par exemple que le cheminement de sens qui fait survivre celui d'un grand rassemblement médiéval dans le procédé divinatoire dit *Ikhal'l' z-znâti* ? Ou celui des Maçâmida dans ces *Mçâmda*, derviches aux manifestations sauvages qui se déchaînent dans certaines fêtes de l'Aurès (1).

Rien n'existe d'un tel inventaire. S'il est jamais opéré, il dotera la sociologie des groupes en ce pays du matériel de faits, de noms et d'acceptions qui lui manque, et faute duquel elle marque le pas depuis une vingtaine d'années. De ces recherches, on ne saurait naturellement rien présumer. Mais peut-être les notations qui précèdent suffiront-elles à étayer un jugement, d'ailleurs surtout critique. C'est qu'il est légitime de supposer, entre les dénominations de groupes habituellement distinguées par l'usager comme par le chercheur, une fluidité constante. L'étonnant n'est pas qu'il se soit produit des interférences entre confréries agraires ou urbaines, corporations, cadres territoriaux et systèmes généalogiques. C'est qu'elles soient si nombreuses. C'est qu'elles coexistent avec une évolution qui les dément à bien des titres. Entre des formes telles que tribu, confédération, ligue, *çoff*, *leff*, parti, qualifications même dans les hiérarchies du profane et du sacré, l'échange a été perpétuel en Afrique du Nord, et se poursuit encore.

SEUILS MORPHOLOGIQUES

Revenons à l'interprétation indigène. Elle rapproche la fraternité de *leff* de celle du sang ou du serment. On peut attribuer ce voisinage à la décadence des types. Mais notons que beaucoup des traits qui distinguent à nos yeux ces trois notions se ramènent à une variation morphologique liée à l'ampleur du jeu. Du cadre le moins ample : ce terroir où s'organisent les patrimoines, au plus ample : tout le pan de Sud marocain que couvre l'échiquier des ligues, plusieurs seuils s'interposent. Chacun indique un changement de rythme social.

En deça du premier seuil, on l'a vu, règne la petite *taqbilt* du Haut-Atlas. Elle compose ses subdivisions agnatiques sans que rien

(1) E. Dermenghem, *Sciences et voyages*, sept. 1950.

s'interpose entre leur débat et son ordre. Ce n'est pas que ce débat n'excède, à certains égards, le droit interne. Mais l'*ikhs* a bien le sentiment d'une consanguinité, et beaucoup des conflits qu'il a avec les autres *ikhs*-s ressortissent au droit juré. Le cadre de la *taqbill*, bien qu'il porte en lui-même une force d'éclatement, doit au surplus à ses correspondances agraires une exemplaire netteté. (A l'opposite, la tribu *généalogique n'offre* jamais en Afrique du Nord, croyons-nous, d'exemple aussi pur.)

Mais ce privilège cesse aux frontières du canton. Dans l'Atlas même, tout ce qui déborde la loi étroite de la *taqbill* obéit à un mouvement qui déforme significations et contours. A ce mouvement, ce ne sont pas des siècles qu'il faut pour agir, encore qu'évidemment ses effets les plus considérables ne nous apparaissent aujourd'hui qu'avec le recul du temps. Un âge d'homme suffit à voir ces transformations s'opérer. Bien plus, on dirait que toute œuvre maghrébine doive, pour être efficace, appliquer aux groupes une technique *sui generis* des changements de définition et de contour. La « tribu » devient ligue. La parentèle initiation. Corrélativement, l'individu s'évade. Le doublement du taux procédural, qui marque dans l'Atlas le passage du droit interne au droit externe, fait place à d'autres rapports, tels que le *leff*. Mais on est entré dans le domaine de l'incertitude et du jeu. Les conjonctions les plus mouvantes reflètent l'événement, la tendance, les volontés individuelles ou collectives. Que ne révèlerait pas, étudiée sous cet angle, l'histoire montagnarde des « grands caïds » marocains dans le premier quart du XXe siècle ? Mais on s'en tiendra à un exemple plus décanté, celui de la Kabylie du maréchal Randon.

C'est un peuple nerveux, de longue date en contact avec des impérialismes aux larges perspectives : l'espagnol, le turc. L'archaïsme et comme la permanence du cadre tranchent sur la mobilité d'une économie dépendante pour beaucoup des apports extérieurs, donc du voyage et de l'aventure. Le compartimentage du pays s'aggrave d'une densité presque urbaine de l'habitant. Tout cela crée un comportement original où s'unissent l'héritage des vieilles structures et l'imprévu des initiatives modernes. Or deux éléments stables du pays kabyle, ceux dont par conséquent la définition s'impose à nos premiers observateurs, sont le groupe gentilice, *lakharrubi*, et un composé primaire, appelé ici *thadderi*, parce que son contenu s'absorbe, semble-t-il, dans le fait visuel de la contiguïté de bourg. Il s'y absorbe même avec plus de rigueur que rien d'analogue dans le Sous, où l'unité sociale ne coïncide pas avec celle d'habitat. Mais au delà, quelle indécision ! Ce qui, en pays arabe, correspond à la « tribu », le *'arch*, se fait et se défait

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

selon l'événement politique. A plus forte raison l'agrégat épisodique des tribus en *taqbilt*. Notons ce terme. Il est plus exactement employé en Kabylie que dans l'Atlas, car il y garde son sens philologique de subdivision primaire du « peuple ». C'est le sens dans lequel Ibn Khaldûn parlait de « groupements » almohades, *qabâ'il*, tels les Genfisa. Quoi qu'il en soit, la *taqbilt* kabyle n'a d'existence que circonstancielle. Les luttes électorales actuelles la voient jouer son rôle, tout comme le *'arch*, et percer l'alluvion centenaire d'une vie publique à la française, pour d'insidieuses mais puissantes apparitions. Plus largement que la *taqbilt*, mais de façon plus diffuse, plus abstraite, jouent les *çoff*-s. Dans certains cas, ils s'identifient à un *'arch*, couvrent tout un pan de montagne, comme cela paraît avoir été le cas sous les Turcs. Mais parfois aussi, ils opposent les *thadderi*-s en chassé-croisé. Le tout polarise parfois sur deux termes : l' « en haut » et l' « en bas », dont la constance jusqu'à nos jours se conjugue paradoxalement avec une disponibilité d'évolutions individuelles bien plus aiguë que nulle part ailleurs en Afrique du Nord.

Ces illustrations kabyles d'un phénomène général de variation portent en l'espèce un autre enseignement sur la terminologie des groupes. La *taqbilt* chleuhe, en tant qu'agrégat de familles, ne correspond pas à la *taqbilt* du Djurjura, forme plus large, mais incidente. Au Mzâb, autres différences encore. La *qbila* est surtout onomastique. Elle se conçoit comme une unité qui a eu son histoire, antérieure à la fondation des cinq villes. Sa concentration dans l'habitat urbain a sans doute réagi sur sa forme. Mais tout en elle n'est pas effacé de ses tensions propres. D'autres villes sahariennes aux caractéristiques divisions, et de civilisation moins raffinée, permettraient de saisir toute une gamme de rapports entre la vitalité de ces groupes et celle de la cité.

Bien loin donc que le passage de l'ordre gentilice à celui de l'état s'offre partout avec la simplicité privilégiée du Haut-Atlas, l'*ikhs* lui-même, ou ce qui y correspond dans le reste du Maghreb, n'est pas toujours une notion claire. Dans le Sous, il se réduit, en gros, à la consanguinité. Les pactes d'affrèrement que l'on observe, de façon riche et variée, dans le Moyen Atlas d'une part, l'influence d'un autre système, celui de l'hérédité utérine chez les Touareg d'autre part, introduisent ailleurs une grande diversité. Parfois, une telle désagrégation a joué, dans le Gharb par exemple, ou la basse Chaouia, que la famille se réduit au couple conjugal, et tend vers un type extrême : le célibataire aventureux, cet *'azri* que l'on retrouve aux bidonvilles. Mais à l'opposite de ceux-ci, à l'intérieur de l'*ikhs* chleuh lui-même, les rapports entre foyers ne

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

sont régis par nulle indivision patriarcale. Tout cela, dans la phase présente, est, d'un bout à l'autre de l'Afrique du Nord, brassé par une formidable évolution.

Selon les milieux, c'est tel aspect, tel principe, ailleurs manquant ou atténué, qui prédomine. A l'importance des pactes de protection dans le Moyen Atlas, fait pendant, en Maurétanie ou dans l'Ahaggar, celle des hiérarchies de groupes. En Kabylie, les organisations les plus frustes coexistent avec une agilité politique de type moderne. Un classement des populations nord-africaines pourrait être ainsi ébauché. Selon l'aire géographique, le rôle inégal joué par tel thème, le degré d'appartenance à tel cycle fourniraient sans doute les bases d'une répartition dont on peut dire, sans hésitation, qu'elle est pour le moment prématurée.

Mais ce ne sera pas là seulement constatation négative. A ce point de notre enquête, la morphologie des groupes maghrébins laisse déjà entrevoir quelques-uns de ses traits. A sa différenciation dans l'espace, et réagissant sur elle, s'en ajoute une autre : la variation des signes qu'emprunte, selon le lieu ou l'époque, toute formation d'une certaine ampleur. A mesure que le cadre s'élargit, s'avive une mobilité de noms, d'autant plus difficile à saisir qu'ils évoquent tour à tour des conjonctions d'âge, d'extension ou de dignité divers. Ainsi deviennent possibles toutes les confusions. Et non seulement au chercheur, mais à l'indigène, car elles ouvrent à ce dernier une belle disponibilité de démarche, de feinte ou d'espoir. Ces confusions, nous les voyons commencer sur le terrain, au stade où une petite cellule politique du Haut Atlas éclate sur deux ou trois vallons. Et que sera-ce de ces formes plus vastes, que toute connaissance, toute action maghrébines rencontrent nécessairement sur leur chemin !

[p.440]

CONCLUSION

DISCORDANCE DES ASPECTS MATÉRIELS ET SOCIAUX (1)

On pourrait croire que la *taqbilt* de l'Atlas, par sa netteté d'assises, son étroite liaison à un espace, sa rigueur logique, son autonomie enfin, procède directement du terroir et que sa structure ne doit rien à l'étranger. Or il n'en est pas de tellement solitaire, de tellement préservée par le pays ou l'événement, qui ne révèle, dans sa forme comme dans sa substance, une participation du plus lointain Maghreb. Reportons-nous donc à l'examen d'un groupe quelconque du Haut Seksawa. Cette petite société n'est pas déterminée par le milieu avec l'exactitude que pourrait faire supposer une immémoriale civilisation paysanne.

L'adaptation au cadre se fait par une médiocrité perpétuelle du peuplement et des entreprises. Médiocrité indispensable au chétif équilibre avec une nature qui, en cas de poussée démographique, ou d'extension du troupeau, s'effondre. La décadence des sols, la fuite de l'arbre sanctionnent les passagères victoires. Une telle vue concerne surtout, il est vrai, la plaine. Mais elle s'applique aussi aux vallées de l'Atlas, pour autant que, là-même, les techniques de réfection des terres et de collecte des eaux ne s'assortissent d'aucun approfondissement des techniques hydrauliques ou arboricoles. Chez ces grands sédentaires du Maghreb, l'optique de l'éleveur reste souveraine. Or il ne s'agit point là sans doute de traits de rusticité montagnarde, d'archaïsme économique et culturel. L'éleveur se double d'un agioteur, parfois d'un lettré aux visées citadines, et toujours du plus exigeant des citoyens. Dans le matériel comme dans le spirituel, les gens d'ici vont loin. Mais leur réussite ne porte pas sur la mise en œuvre du milieu. Elle porte sur des constructions sociales dont celui-ci n'est que le prétexte, et qui contiennent une part d'hyperbole.

(1) On ne pourra s'abstenir, dans ce développement, de jugements de valeur. Malgré les analyses économiques de notre IIe Partie, sur lesquelles on a cru pouvoir les étayer, l'entreprise est délicate. Cf. E. DURKHEIM, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, 1895, et la distinction du « normal » et de l' « anormal », pp. 74 sq., qu'il convient, à mon sens, d'assortir de l'acquis récent de l' « écologie humaine ».

Avec la médiocrité relative des techniques, contraste la supériorité de l'appareil social. Extraordinaire sûreté du système de distribution ! La répartition de l'eau, celle du sol entre les groupes, atteignent une inquiétante perfection. Perfection incompréhensible et inimitable, non seulement à l'Européen, fût-il ingénieur spécialiste, mais au Marocain de la plaine. Le social connaît ici une véritable hypertrophie. Sa profusion déborde de toutes parts les suggestions du milieu physique. Toutes proportions gardées, elle finit par être une cause de stagnation aussi décisive que l'est dans d'autres milieux la surabondance rituelle. L'analyse a fait ressortir en détail cette disproportion entre les techniques matérielles d'une part, les organisations sociales de l'autre. C'est celle-là même qu'une page brillante du *Genséric* d'E. F. Gautier relevait dans l'antiquité romaine et méditerranéenne. Elle pourrait aussi, à d'autres titres, être qualifiée d' « orientale » : assimilations superficielles ! La disproportion qui se constate ici a sans aucun doute des causes propres à cette société.

Toujours est-il qu'elle déconcerte l'observateur. Elle le contraint à juger sévèrement, en définitive, un système dont il admire le civisme et la laïcité pleine de promesse. Son jugement est celui de l'histoire. Dans le remarquable, et, si l'on veut, pathétique contraste qui éclate entre la précarité des bases et l'exubérance de la bâtisse, on ne peut voir un avantage, mais un facteur d'immobilisme et de stérilité. La force de l'homme s'épuise, dirait-on, à ces raffinements communautaires. Elle y perd son impact sur la matière du pays.

Voilà pourquoi ces sociétés de génie exact, d'énergie inlassable, n'ont pu jusqu'ici progresser qu'en se reniant. C'est qu'elles trouvent dans l'ordre de la *taqbilt* leur propre consommation, quelque chose au delà de quoi il ne reste plus rien, qu'à recommencer sur d'autres bases. Aussi se défendent-elles jusqu'à l'absurdité. Tout l'acquis de ressources, d'expérience et d'idées que l'émigration va parfois chercher si loin, elles l'emploieront à ranimer la vieille et imperfectible machine. Celle-ci, au contact du monde, ne peut évoluer. Elle persiste, ou éclate.

Qu'elle soit moins une forme d'origine qu'une forme d'accomplissement, un départ qu'une impasse, c'est ce que suggérait déjà l'observation de ses disparates internes. Il y a sans aucun doute un rapport entre son luxe morphologique et la mesquinerie du milieu. Les républiques du Haut Seksawa, et leurs pareilles du Sud marocain, sont de petits monstres d'ingéniosité sociale. Leur richesse créatrice sur ce plan, tranchant si fort sur l'infimité de leur cadre, procède moins de la spontanéité, d'une inspiration immédiate à

partir du pays, que d'une réaction contre la pénurie d'espace et les misères du passé. C'est une richesse de suppléances et de revanches. Bien que nous en connaissions mal les causes et les modalités, il y a eu un refoulement des sociétés berbères. Mais ne le saurions-nous pas, que nous serions frappés du contraste entre le milieu et ce qu'y institue cette humanité. De multiples traits portent à croire qu'elle a voulu moins s'y adapter que s'y exalter et, à certains égards, s'y exagérer dans un but, non tellement de survie, que d'affirmation, de jeu.

RECOURS A L'EXTERNE ET AU TRANSCENDANT

Le système de la *laqbîla*, loin d'être une donnée immédiate de l'analyse, paraît, de ce chef, lui-même conditionné. Si farouchement défendu qu'il soit, il ne reste jamais isolé. Il n'est intelligible que comme résultante. Non seulement il a subi des influences, mais il ne se pose et ne se conçoit que par rapport à des entités extérieures ou supérieures (1).

Il adhère à un grand monothéisme, l'Islam. Il est curieux des merveilles des villes et de la plaine, avide de s'approprier, en les neutralisant, nouveautés et progrès, ou simplement bizarreries. Cela le pénètre d'enthousiasmes, de défiances, d'équivoques, et, par-dessus tout, d'inquiétude. Il se sent assiégé. Sa culture est transactionnelle. Son sens de la justice, pour être violent et original, n'a pas échappé aux atteintes d'un tel sentiment. L'ordre Seksawa, cet ordre à compression et explosion, est aussi un ordre qui se travestit, car il se juge, et se juge en mal. La vie rituelle, de ses manifestations extérieures à ses mouvements les plus intimes, se résout en partages composant, inégalement selon les niveaux, la spontanéité locale avec l'apport extérieur.

Dans sa matérialité topographique, le domaine Seksawa est inséparable de l'ensemble chleuh. Le même coefficient de variété soigneuse, et comme systématique, qui oppose la coutume de canton à canton, oppose le droit des Seksawa à celui de cet ensemble. Tout se passe comme si les personnalités que nous observons vivaces, et comme contractées, au fond des terroirs de vallée, procédaient de la rupture d'un corps plus vaste. Ainsi peut-être s'expliquerait un curieux phénomène : que, dans cette fragmentation, il n'y ait pas eu concordance entre le droit et la langue. Leurs lignes de variation ne coïncident pas. Une analyse

(1) Cf. les vues de Marc Bloch sur les sociétés « féodales », *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1939, p. 14.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

plus approfondie découvrirait, je crois, d'autres cas de discordance des diverses séries de faits entre eux d'une part, avec le cadre cantonal d'autre part. Car si ce dernier, qui tient à la géographie, a tellement agi, par sa consistance physique, comme par ses limitations, sur tout ce qui touche aux organisations, d'autres ordres de choses, sous-jacents en quelque sorte à la vie de groupe, sont restés indépendants de ce cadre et ne s'entendent que par référence à une plus ample généralité.

S'il en est bien ainsi, on voit pourquoi et comment ce canton si bien défendu cherche du côté du dépassement géographique, doctrinal ou politique, la rançon d'un particularisme plutôt subi que construit. La plus humble cellule tient, par tout un réseau de virtualités, à des systèmes matériels ou moraux qui la débordent de bien loin. Ces virtualités, héritage de l'histoire, se réveillent sous les chocs, surgissent en cas de besoin. Des cercles de plus en plus larges de solidarité peuvent alors s'émouvoir autour de centres infimes. Et le génie local, parmi toutes ces configurations aux noms mouvants et ambigus : secte, tribu, parti, trouve mille occasions pour les jeux de l'astuce et du dévouement. Tout montagnard d'instinct aventureux dispose, rien que dans son fond de vallée, d'un clavier de correspondances dont il ne tient qu'à son audace, à son talent de savoir jouer pour faire de lui un prophète, ou un conquérant, ou, plus modestement, un politicien.

Quittons le spectacle des hauts cantons pour celui du Sous dans son ensemble. Les Chleuhs ont subi à plein le choc de la culture orientale. Patients et scrupuleux, en même temps qu'ils y adhéraient sur le plan de la foi, ils y recherchaient leurs propres valeurs. Ils trouvent un équilibre dans ces synthèses dont leur droit est la plus réussie. L'adhésion à autrui, la nécessité et le goût du compromis ont nourri chez eux, non seulement l'argutie, mais une personnalité de dépendance. Cette belle construction se fait, se juge par rapport à des idéaux externes. Elle n'ose être soi-même qu'à la dérobée. Plus encore que son autonomie, son identité en souffre. Elle se marque de ce qu'une école moderne appellerait un sentiment d' « altérité ». Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'approfondir les conséquences morales du fait. Notons seulement la vérification qu'il apporte, par la conscience et l'aveu même du sujet, sur les dépendances décelées par l'analyse dans la vie des plus lointains cantons. Or ce génie ne s'abandonne pas pour autant. Il sera donc disputé entre l'adhésion à autrui et la nostalgie de soi-même. Sa détermination par le dehors devient, selon le cas, transcendance du dehors ou rébellion du dedans.

Naturellement, c'est au niveau de l'expression que se réalisent

le plus de compromis. De là vient que ce peuple s'exprime peu et mal. De là vient que toute vie sociale ou personnelle s'y ressente d'un désaccord entre couches différentes de psychologie. Aussi, dans bien des cas, le groupe comme l'individu n'auront-ils la sensation de ressaisir leur identité que dans l'outrance, la violence. D'où ces accès impulsifs d'une race patiente et dévote : l'hérésie, dont elle peuple les « siècles obscurs » et, de tout temps, un millénarisme fertile en éclats. En attendant d'autres modes d'expression...

LE MAGHREB, TISSU CONTINU

Parallèlement au Dir, dans la région d'Imintanout, court la limite entre le chleuh et l'arabe. C'est aussi, aujourd'hui du moins, une limite entre tribus et genres de vie. Ce n'est pas une limite ethnologique. Une analyse de détail montrerait qu'il n'y a pas exacte coïncidence entre les différents ordres de faits (1). En matière juridique même — et c'est celle qui obéit le plus aux compartimentages de groupe — il existe par tout le Maghreb, entre une pratique dite « bédouine », et certaines pratiques dites « berbères », de curieuses rencontres. Enfin, divers traits nous ont amenés à penser, à propos des usages matrimoniaux notamment, que Fès, capitale du *fiqh*, l'est aussi, à certains égards, d'un droit coutumier singulièrement tenace. Ces notations décousues ne visent pas à prouver, ce qu'on est hors d'état de faire pour le moment. Elles cherchent simplement à jeter le doute sur des classifications simplistes. Notre connaissance de l'Afrique du Nord n'est pas encore assez approfondie pour atteindre les éléments de base : arabe, berbère ou autres. Cela, c'est peut-être l'ossature, et l'ossature de l'être vivant ne se palpe pas. Nous n'en sommes pas à l'étude du squelette, ni même à discerner une physiologie dont les fonctions nous échappent encore pour la plupart, ou sont refoulées par l'évolution dans un passé inaccessible. La seule chose qui s'offre à nous, c'est un tissu vivant. Or ce tissu est sans coupure.

Il y aurait certes paradoxe à nier la personnalité de vastes et fortes zones, telles que ce monde chleuh dont tout atteste la persistante originalité. Mais si, tout au fond de ce monde, dans les

(1) Les patientes enquêtes d'A. Basset révèlent à ce sujet d'étonnants chassés-croisés. Le mot *asnus* dans le sens d' « ânon » n'est employé au Maroc que dans la zone non atteinte par la Romanité. Dans la boucle du Niger apparaissent des variantes lexicographiques ramenant à des faits marocains, cf. La langue berbère au Sahara, *Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld*, 1948, p. 12.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

montagnes les plus ardues, dans un milieu dont éclate le particularisme, l'analyse rencontre une telle dépendance de l'externe, que sera-ce de milieux plus accessibles ou plus accueillants ! Sur ce point encore, du type Seksawa se dégage une leçon de continuité géographique et historique. La part une fois faite — elle doit être grande — aux lois propres du monde chleuh : une certaine sorte de morcellement et d'unité, la référence confuse à des symboles externes et internes —, cette leçon peut s'entendre de tout le Maghreb. A la fois homogène, car on y voit circuler les mêmes thèmes, se poser les mêmes problèmes, intervenir parfois les mêmes solutions de Fès à l'Atlas, et du Gharb au Djérid. Hétérogène, si l'on s'en tient à la non moindre évidence de variétés de comportement allant jusqu'à l'affirmation violente, la sécession et l'insurrection. Le plus souvent, ce sont des dénivellations institutionnelles, des déplacements d'accent procédant eux-mêmes de structures locales, qui introduisent la variété, voire la discordance.

Le jour où l'étude de ces phénomènes sera entreprise systématiquement pour l'ensemble de l'Afrique du Nord, la richesse et la précision des rapports qu'elle découvrira, leur fermeté de contours, les constances qui en ressortiront entre les évolutions les plus modernes et les bases les plus antiques, consoleront sans doute le chercheur de ne rien trouver ici qui rappelle les Dogons et les Nambikwara.

Les sociologues contemporains décrivent sous le nom d'acculturation la transformation d'une société au contact d'une autre, expansive ou supérieure. Il en résulte chez la plus réceptive, la cliente ou la vaincue, une simulation instinctive des plus intimes réalités, une recherche d'arguments tirés du modèle. Une masse de traits anciens s'enfonce dans un système de survivances, de pratiques plus ou moins clandestines ou dédaignées. De même dans la conscience individuelle. Folklore d'un côté, vestiges psychologiques de l'autre. La réaction du système maghrébin, autrefois par rapport à l'Orient, aujourd'hui par rapport à la France, relève, à beaucoup d'égards, de ce genre de phénomènes. Société mixte et adultérée, certes, et du plus loin que l'on remonte. Société où les problèmes de réinterprétation, d'opposition ou de transaction l'ont emporté sur tous les autres. Mais elle puise dans cet éternel débat une personnalité si forte que ses cantons les mieux préservés restent inintelligibles à qui ne les considère pas sous les dimensions de tout un espace, de toute une histoire.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

CARACTÈRES ORIGINAUX DU SYSTÈME CHLEUH

Comme il faut bien partir d'hypothèses de travail, certains cherchent dans le Haut-Atlas sinon du primitif, du moins de l'archaïque et du spontané. Or qu'y avons-nous trouvé ? Une société mûrie, soumise aux influences étrangères, mais se rétablissant par un effort continu. Un système à conscience opiniâtre, où les comportements s'organisent, et se travestissent plus encore qu'ils ne s'expriment. Une construction tranchant sur la médiocrité des bases économiques. Ce dépassement du physique par l'humain, et presque ce contraste entre l'un et l'autre sont caractéristiques. Quand on élimine, comme nous avons essayé de le faire, tout ce que cette culture a de commun avec ses voisines nord-africaines, il lui reste justement en propre une ampleur débordant les suggestions du milieu, et une intégration capable de donner le change sur la variété des éléments constitutifs.

Les institutions des Chleuhs s'étagent par niveaux de profondeur, ce qui impose à l'analyse de se diversifier. Jusque-là, rien que de très général (1). En Afrique du Nord toutefois, une telle structure a ceci de particulier que, plus ou moins manifeste ou cachée selon la province géographique ou le genre de phénomènes, elle compose des faits d'âge, d'origine, de caractère différents, et parfois de tendance toute contraire. Elle révèle ainsi une histoire violente dont les apports se sont irrégulièrement agencés. Les indices qu'elle offre à la science, au sentiment ou à l'action s'opposent les uns aux autres. Les prises en sont multiples et décevantes. C'est pourquoi les Chleuhs, en qui cette intelligibilité spécieuse est portée à son comble, ont pu être presque aussi justement tenus pour anciens ou modernes, adeptes de l'universalisme oriental ou champions obstinés d'une coutume, anarchiques déracinés ou fidèles d'une tradition patriarcale.

Le visage de cette société n'est donc souvent que mensonge ou alibi. Il ne se déchiffre que par référence à l'ensemble. Mais l'ensemble est profondément perturbé ou remanié. Entre ses parties, les rapports d'origine, d'enchaînement ou de fonction ne sont ni ceux qu'avoue l'usager, ni ceux qu'attendait le chercheur. Ainsi, le droit répressif garde la vigueur communautaire où Durkheim voit un trait antique (2). Mais n'est-ce pas jusqu'à nos jours ce trait qui s'exprime et se renouvelle dans les codifications mon-

(1) A. Varagnac, Cultures dissociées et cultures homogènes. *Ann. Hist. soc.*, 1945, t. II, pp. 94 sq., vues qui rejoignent, à certains égards, celles de G. Gurvitch, sur la *sociologie en profondeur*.

(2) E. Durkheim, *De la division du travail social*, 5e éd., 1926, p. 42.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

tagnardes (1) ? Il n'y a pas là archaïsme, mais volonté d'archaïsme, ce qui ouvre à l'analyse de tout autres chemins. Le droit restitutif s'est créé des ministres spéciaux, souvent extérieurs à la commune, et, pour plus de sûreté, imbus d'une loi savante. Mais ce n'est qu'une façade. La vie rurale obéit à autre chose. La distribution de l'eau et du sol traduit en plein xxe siècle, une harmonie que tout depuis longtemps contredit. Une agile mobilisation peut jouer en surface, elle respecte la règle. Un ordre gentilice demeure dans la propriété foncière, alors que depuis des siècles il s'est effacé des rites. Mais est-il véritablement *demeuré* ? Rappelle-t-il un stade antérieur, ou au contraire ne procède-t-il pas d'initiatives historiques ? Un coopératisme aux âpres calculs s'exerce dans un climat communautaire. En revanche, un contrôle social puissant et sournois régit un milieu de furieuse et perpétuelle discussion. Là encore, lequel est l'aspect de base, et lequel l'aspect dérivé ? Ces « survivances » d'un stade ancien, peu à peu noyées par l'afflux du moderne, ne seraient-elles pas plutôt des reconstructions ?

Nous avons jusqu'ici réservé la réponse, qui engage toute notre conception de ce peuple et de son histoire. Il va falloir maintenant opter entre deux explications possibles. Déjà la coexistence de tels caractères nous a paru écarter l'hypothèse d'un développement simple, d'une bâtisse uniforme. Mais il y a plus. L'anachronisme, les ruptures de ton, les contrastes sont ici non pas seulement constants, mais réguliers, et comme systématiques. Tout se passe comme si cette société cherchait, par la compensation interne, le rétablissement d'un équilibre et le maintien d'une autonomie. L'attirance vers la nouveauté, la soumission aux violences ou à la séduction d'autrui s'y composent avec la sauvegarde d'une personnalité par l'excès en sens inverse. Au modernisme fait pendant la réaction archaïsante.

Que de discordances, en tout cas ! Cet homme est un citoyen, acquis à des valeurs universelles, avancé dans la mobilisation des droits, parvenu au débat législatif, à la laïcité. Et la commune contrôle et pénalise des comportements qui, à ce degré d'individualisme, devraient être libres, et croient l'être en effet. Par exemple elle maintient l'équilibre des patrimoines entre groupes agnatiques. Or ceux-ci ont perdu le plus gros de leur pouvoir jusque dans la morale ou l'économie domestiques. Même contrôle

(1) Les *qânûn-s* kabyles, toujours vivants vers 1930, ont nourri à l'époque un débat d'actualité. L. MILLIOT, Nouveaux *qânûn-s* kabyles, *Rens. Col.*, 1927, p. 113.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

sur le jeu de l'épargne, de l'investissement, de la revendication. Ces activités obéissent à une éthique communautaire, quand partout ailleurs, et en elles-mêmes, règne l'exigeante initiative de la personne. L'archaïsme d'un droit pénal collectivement administré subsiste en dépit de tous les changements, voire y puise une nouvelle rigueur.

Peut-on considérer tout cela comme l'effet du hasard, ou même d'évolutions inégales ? Nous croyons plutôt que régressions inconscientes, démarches compensatoires ou rétrogrades, invention de formes et de modes, enfin tous ces mouvements *a posteriori* révèlent l'élaboration et l'interprétation du groupe par lui-même. C'est par là que les Chleuhs s'opposent le plus aux autres berbérophones de l'Afrique du Nord, Mozabites exceptés. Cohésion interne, triomphant des disparates ou les utilisant, évolution réfléchie, tactique à l'égard du dehors, réforme du dedans : cela place leur système à un tout autre niveau de personnalité que ceux du Moyen-Atlas ou de la Kabylie (1).

J'en viens à un caractère plus frappant encore : la prodigieuse variété des sociétés de l'Atlas et du Sous. Le parler se modifie de vallée à vallée, et non seulement le parler, mais les mots, chacun indépendamment des autres. Ce qui est vrai du langage est vrai du droit, des rites, du folklore. De canton à canton, le style de vie, l'esprit, les physionomies même changent. A mesure que l'espace s'amenuise, la nuance s'exaspère. L'exiguité des groupes, la minutie des subdivisions locales sont compensées par la densité des caractères. Cette densité agit sur le paysage même. Le terroir se partage en quartiers, tout comme le groupe en *ikhs*-s. Techniques de travail et toponymie concourent à d'extraordinaires accords avec une humanité d'échantillonnage. On est bien loin ici de la prétendue indifférenciation, de la juxtaposition soi-disant « mécanique » entre segments sociaux semblables, que d'aucuns ont trouvée en Kabylie (2). Chez les Chleuhs une telle segmentation suppose l'existence de vastes aires. Les faits linguistiques ou juridiques, variant à l'infini, démentent à beaucoup d'égards l'homogénéité du pays et des genres de vie. Parfois ils la contrarient. A tout le moins ne la reflètent-ils pas.

Beaucoup de ces caractères donnent ainsi l'impression du

(1) Et cela nous fournit un principe de classement des divers systèmes plus sûr, croyons-nous, que celui que le regretté Marcy tirait d'un critère de « primitivité » décroissante.

(2) R. Maunier, *Essais sur les groupements sociaux*, 1929, p. 24. *Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine*, 1930, pp. 64 sq. Cette partie des analyses de R. Maunier est très schématique.

construit et même du factice, du voulu et même de l'exagéré. L'ordre rural à trois termes qu'on découvre dans les hautes vallées jure avec tellement d'autres aspects de désordre ou d'évasion, de décadence des contraintes du groupe, que l'on est tenté d'y voir un aboutissement, une réussite précaire et menacée, plutôt qu'un legs originel. L'éparpillement de cette société en corps, et plus encore en faits autonomes, révèle le travail qu'elle opère sur elle-même plutôt qu'on ne sait quel statut congénital. Diversification plutôt que diversité. Variété cantonale, complexité sociale, ordre agraire ne seraient que les trois faces du même effort historique (1).

S'il en est ainsi, les structures dualistes qu'on observe dans plusieurs parties du Haut-Atlas, de l'Anti-Atlas et du Sous, ne procèderaient-elles pas de la même loi ? En elles le contenu se dérobe ; c'est le signe qui compte ; leur mode de classement est interchangeable avec d'autres : il faut considérer surtout en elles la fonction. Or cette fonction peut être assumée diversement, qu'il s'agisse de groupements politiques ou spirituels, territoriaux ou moraux, chargés de substance concrète ou de valeurs de fiction. Les uns et les autres ne sont que moyens. Tous visent à maintenir, au sein de l'ensemble, la tension qui est vie, la variété qui est solidarité. De fait, ce monde reste un. Son morcellement cantonal n'est pas dispersion. Le recours à une pluralité de types collectifs, se composant par la joute, la guerre, les qualifications rituelles a servi plutôt que ruiné la survivance d'un ensemble. Cet ensemble, si l'on peut dire, se partage pour ne point se rompre. On s'explique que le dualisme de *leff*-s y intervienne surtout là où ne joue pas, ou ne joue plus d'autre mécanisme de différenciation. Je veux dire de cohésion. C'est que, partout où cette culture reste vivace, des forces de *dissimilation* luttent contre les forces d'éclatement ou d'uniformité.

Cela ne va pas sans gaspillage. La consommation d'énergie et d'ingéniosité, dans un tel système, est formidable. Voilà le côté négatif de ces organismes aux solides vertus. Beaucoup de ces évolutions dépassent les buts. L'invention de formes est telle qu'elle aboutit à la stérilité. La disproportion entre le social et l'économique fait tourner la machine à vide. Les conquêtes ou les rétablissements de la conscience communale ont été jusqu'ici ceux de l'archaïsme. Balancé entre l'imitation et le refus d'autrui, la

(1) Le débat entre l'ethnologie et l'histoire s'est enrichi, au cours des dernières années, des études de L. Febvre, Vers une autre histoire, *R. de métaphysique et de morale*, 1949, p. 226, sur l'historicité différente des diverses civilisations; *ibid.*, G. Davy, L'explication sociologique et le retour à l'histoire; *ibid.*, Cl. Lévi-Strauss, Histoire et ethnologie, notamment pp. 369, 373.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

révolte impulsive et la feinte, ce génie finit par se prendre à ses détours. Pas plus que ses magnifiques démocraties ne résistent à l'extension au delà du col, ses âmes n'échappent à l'effroi que leur causent leurs propres arcanes. Aussi, pour grandir, l'individu devra-t-il s'évader. A l'égard du groupe natal, il restera alors partagé entre la haine et la nostalgie. Conformiste ou iconoclaste : il le sera simultanément ou tour à tour. C'est que le mécanisme des partis des factions, des groupes, toute cette dialectique de qualifications, de noms et de signes, finissent par étouffer leur homme. L « *optimum* de diversité » (1) est follement dépassé. Cette savante variété de ligues de cantons, de quartiers, n'est en somme qu'une division du travail pervertie.

Excès et précarité ne sont pas sans rapports avec les événements qui ont replié la culture chleuhe dans son caisson montagneux du Sud-Ouest marocain. Ce refoulement géographique, une défensive séculaire ont sans doute déterminé le travail de cette société sur elle-même. Mais dans quelle mesure était-ce libérer en elle le développement de valeurs propres, ou seulement outrer une évolution générale ? La réponse dépendra de la façon dont on considère le pays par rapport au reste de l'Afrique du Nord. De celle-là il est partie intégrante, en vérité. Pour nous en tenir à deux extrêmes, nous pensons qu'il y a continuité sociologique entre Fès et les Seksawa. On peut même dire que les cantons du Haut-Atlas offrent de la société maghrébine l'expression la plus authentique, du fait de la persistance du cadre, et la plus vive, du fait de leur génie hyperbolique. Mais l'histoire peut avoir joué différemment sur la partie et sur le tout.

La richesse déviée du monde Chleuh ne procède-t-elle pas d'un phénomène général ? A partir du milieu du XIVe siècle la vie paysanne s'effondre sur le pourtour méditerranéen. Le XVe siècle est par excellence en Europe une période d'épidémies, de dévastation, de dépopulation (2). De ce côté-ci de la mer, une tradition classique impute aux Hilaliens la responsabilité du même genre d'infortunes. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux rives vont une fois de plus se dissocier. Celle-là prend un essor économique et technique qu'ignorera longtemps celle-ci. Les Seksawa, ces réfractaires, ont beau s'isoler, se contracter sur eux-mêmes, ils n'en sont pas moins emportés, avec les autres Chleuhs, dans les destins de la rive Sud. Mais peut-être plus encore leur personnalité s'affirme-t-elle contre

(1) J'emprunte cette expression à Cl. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Race et histoire*, 1952, p. 9.

(2) F. Braudel veut bien m'indiquer, à ce propos, les études de Lütge et de Wilhelm Abel.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ce qui tout ensemble les cerne et les menace : la mobilité bédouine, la décadence des campagnes alentour, cette culture universelle même à laquelle ils ont si profondément adhéré. De là l'excès, la feinte...

Participation ou résistance à l'histoire nord-africaine ont sans doute joué toutes deux. Mais laquelle davantage, et selon quelles variations dans le temps, et dans quel contexte de faits : ici commence une nouvelle recherche.

[p. 452 is blank]

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[P.453]

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Cette étude repose avant tout sur l'enquête directe, les tournées, la pratique judiciaire, la recherche des traditions et des archives locales. Elle s'est efforcée, aussi souvent que possible, de confronter les faits Seksawa avec d'autres faits du Maghreb. Mais ce serait déformer son caractère que d'élargir à un tel domaine une bibliographie systématique. Celle-ci doit se réduire aux sources où il est directement question du pays et des gens. Elle a ainsi éliminé, malgré tout ce que nous leur devons, un certain nombre d'ouvrages généraux. Pour des raisons analogues enfin, elle néglige les sources non contemporaines ou portant sur un passé éloigné : nous les avons utilisées dans un article sur les « Antiquités Seksawa », *Hesp.*, 1953, pp. 359-417, aux références duquel on pourra se reporter.

I. — *CARTOGRAPHIE*

La carte de reconnaissance au 1/100.000 est sommaire, et sa toponymie défectueuse. En 1950 toutefois, la « couverture aérienne » de la région a été exécutée par l'Institut géographique national à une échelle voisine du 1/40.000. De plus on dispose des travaux de :

J. Dresch, « Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental », au 1/100.000 et « Croquis structural », au 1/200.000, dans *Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas*, Tours, Arrault & Cie, 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 cartes, publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. — *LE MILIEU PHYSIQUE*

J. Célérier, « La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification », *Hesp.*, 2e-3e tr. 1938, pp. 109-180, 17 pl.

J. Dresch, *Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous*, Tours, Arrault & Cie, 1941, 1 vol. in-4°, xix-708 p., 40 pl. hors-texte. Essentiel sur les bases physiques de cette société.

L. Emberger, « La végétation du massif des Seksawa », *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des sciences*, t. CXCVIII, 1934, pp. 968-970.

Id., *Les arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître*, Larose, Paris, 1938, pet. in-12, 317 p.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

III. — *EXPLORATION*

Il n'y a guère à tirer, pour notre propos, des voyages de QUEDENFELDT (1881), *Division et répartition de la Population berbère au Maroc*, trad. par H. SIMON, gr. in-8°, 223 p. + 1 carte, Alger, Jourdan, 1904 ; de LARRAS (1900) ; de L. GENTIL (1904) ; de J. FELZE et Th-J. DELAYE (vers 1923), *Au Maroc inconnu*, 1935, Grenoble, Arthaud, gr. in-8°, 185 p. ill., 1 pl. en couleurs en frontispice. La première description détaillée des Seksawa est celle de A. BRIVES, « Au Seksawa », *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1905, pp. 48-52. et surtout : ID., *Voyages au Maroc*, Alger, Jourdan, 1907, in-4°, x-612 p., 274 photos, cartes, planches et album. Séjour de 1901, remonte la vallée.

Parmi les monographies de la pénétration, toutes inédites, mentionnons surtout :

F. DE LA CHAPELLE, « Note sommaire sur les tribus du Grand Atlas et du Dir du Mtouggui », Arch. in. Im., 1926.

ID. « Le grand Atlas du Mtouggui », fasc. I et II (IIIe Partie), Arch. in. Im., 1926. Non seulement inventaire pratique, mais investigation scientifique de grande valeur.

DUPAS, « Seksawa », Arch. in. Im., 1929. Utile pour les hauts cantons, que n'avait pu connaître directement le précédent.

IV. — *GENRES DE VIE, ÉCONOMIE*

R. MONTAGNE, « L'Aghbar et les Hautes vallées du grand Atlas », *Hesp.*, 1927, t. VII, 1er tr., 5 pl., 1 carte h.-t., pp. 1-32.

J. CÉLÉRIER, « L'Atlas et la circulation au Maroc », *Hesp.*, 4e tr., 1927, pp. 447-498, 2 cartes.

J. DRESCH, *Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas*, Tours, Arrault & Cie, 1941, déjà cité, commentaires, et cartes agricoles, des échanges et des déplacements des troupeaux, au 1/200.000. Utile synthèse d'attente.

J. BERQUE, « Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental », *Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français*, n°s 210-211, mai-juin, 1950, pp. 116-119.

ID., « Terroirs et seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental », *Ann. E. S. C.*, n° 4 et déc. 1951, pp. 474-484.

ID., « Un glossaire notarial arabo-Chleuh du XVIIIe s. », *R. afr.*, n°s 422-423, 1er et 2e tr. 1950, 1 carte, 1 pl. h.-t., pp. 357-398.

ID., « Notes sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas, *Ann. E. S. C.*, 1953, 1 carte, pp. 289-314.

L. ROBINE, « La transhumance dans les tribus d'Imintanout », Arch. in. Im., 1950.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

V. — *LE GROUPE ET L'INDIVIDU*

a) Morphologie

R. Montagne, *Villages et Kasbahs berbères*, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-8°, IX + 22 p., 80 pl., et 1 carte h.-t.

J. Dresch, Carte de la densité de la population et commentaires dans *op. laud.*

J. Berque, « Notes sur la démographie des tribus d'Imintanout », Arch. in. Im., 1953.

b) Institutions

R. Montagne, « Le Régime juridique des tribus du Sud marocain », *Hesp.*, 1924, t. IV, 3e tr., pp. 313-331.

R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris, Alcan, 1930, in-4°, XVI + 426 p., 8 cartes h.-t. Un grand livre de sociologie maghrébine.

G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes des berbères du Maghreb*, Tanger, « Les éditions internationales », 1938, in-8°, XXI + 502 p., 1 carte en dépliée.

Anonyme, « Le mariage dans les tribus de coutume de l'annexe d'Imintanout », Arch. in. Im., s. d.

Hubschwerlin, « Le droit de représentation, succession des petits enfants », Arch. in. Im., 1932.

Id., « Études des successions en pays Seksawa », Arch. in. Im., 1932.

Miollan, « La composition en pays de coutume berbère », Arch., in. Im., 1928.

Dupas, « Les *Igoudar* Seksawa et Ida ou Mahmoud », Arch. in. Im., 1929.

J. Lafond, *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous*, Agadir, Imprimerie du Sous, 1942, in-12, 95 p.

Id., « Le règlement de la dya », Arch. in. Im., 1950.

J. Berque « Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa », *R. afr.*, nos 416-417, 1er et 2e tr., 1948, pp. 363-402.

Id., « Le droit du Sous », *Bulletin des études arabes*, 1949, n° 41, janv.-fév., pp. 8-11.

Id., « Loi et coutume dans l'ancien droit familial du Sous », Arch. in. Im., 1949.

Id., « Quelques documents sur le droit repressif ancien du Haut-Atlas », *R. alg.*, nos 1-2, janv.-avril 1953, pp. 1-8.

c) Comportements

Outre les archives de la pénétration et, sur un plan d'ensemble, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen*, de R. Montagne, nous avons utilisé :

F. de La Chapelle, « Un grand Caïdat du Sud marocain », *Afr. fr.*, Rens. col., 1927, n° 10, pp. 372-386.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

ID., « Les tribus de montagne du Haut-Atlas occidental », *R. E. I.*, 1928, cahier III, pp. 339-360.

ID., « La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas occidental », *Hesp.*, t. VIII, 3e et 4e tr., 1928, 3 cartes, 5 fig., pp. 263-283.

Naissance du prolétariat marocain, enquête collective, sous la direction de R. MONTAGNE, Paris, Peyronnet & Cie, 1948-1950, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, t. III, 291 p. + 61 pl. en 16 feuilles h.-t.

F. BONJEAN, *Au Maroc en roulotte*, Paris, Hachette, 1950, in-12, 318 p., Paris, Flammarion, pet. in-8°.

J. ORIEUX, *Kasbahs en plein ciel*, 1951, 185 p., photos h.-t. Séjour en Ait H'adduyws. Vives notations psychologiques et d'atmosphère.

G. CHEVALIER LE MORE, « L'émigration dans les tribus d'Imintanout », Arch. in. Im., 1953.

J. BERQUE, « Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa », *R. afr.*, 1953, pp. 131-164, 2 pl. hors-texte.

[P.457]

GLOSSAIRE DES TERMES LOCAUX(1) CITÉS DANS LE TEXTE

abadu(u) ibuda : sillon, ados.
abelhas(u) ibelhasen : baie de genévrier.
abuhu(u) ibuhulen : gland.
açd'er(u) içd'ar : tête d'une rigole, vanne.
acheddir(u) ichedran : ronces à mûres.
adaghas(u) idughas : abri pour le bétail transhumant.
ad'ar(u) id'aren : pédoncule (de terrain).
ad'erras(u) id'ersan : mur de pierres sèches.
ad'erg : passage ménagé pour les bestiaux.
adrar(u) idraren : montagne, haut pays.
adunkal(u) idunkalen : irrigation préalable par épandage.
afghyus(u) ifghyas : couche superficielle et très dure de fumier de brebis séché au moins un an.
afqir(u) ifqiren : vieillard, personnage rassis (et du commun).
afraw(u) iferwan : bassin non maçonné.
afza(u) : roche calcaire (cf. *afur*).
agadir(u) igudar : position ou maison forte, construction ou ruine monumentale.
agellay(u) igellayen : verger, champ clos.
agellid(u) igeldan : roi.
agelzim(u) igelzam : houe.
agenza(u) igenzalen ou *igenzwan :* talus séparant des gradins.
aghu(u) ighulen : petit lait.
aghwzzir(u) ighwzran : plante de montagne.
aglib(u) igliben : labour précédant les semailles (= *leqlib iqliben*).
agrur(u) igwrar : écurie, rez-de-chaussée à usage d'étable.
agudi(u) igudiyen : tas ; dim. : *lagudit.*
agwlas(u) : orge donnée en vert aux animaux.
agwrram(u) igwrramen : marabout.
ah'riq(u) ih'riqen : barrage de résurgence.
ah'wach : danse communale avec chœurs.
aida(u) : patrimoine.
ajaffu(u) ijuffa : flambeau, feu de joie ; dim. : *lajafful(l) lijuffa :* petit flambeau.
akchchud'(u) ikchchud'en : bois, planche, et par extension, table de codification.
akwerkur(u) ikwerkwar : tas de pierres.
akhchaw(w) akhchawn : fruits ou légumes conservés.
akheddam(u) ikheddamen : manouvrier.
aknari(u) iknariyen : opuntia.
akuray(u) ikurayen : bâton ; dim. : *lakurayl(l) likurayin :* houlette.
amachchu(u) imuchcha : terre sombre.
amadagh(u) imadaghen : javelle.
amaler(u) imular : espèce de genêt.

(1) Le terme est cité sous la forme du singulier, suivie, le cas échéant, entre parenthèses, de la modification de la syllabe initiale dans l'état construit. Puis vient la forme du pluriel.

amchchard'u(u) imechehurd'a: agent communal chargé de la surveillance des récoltes.
amazir(u) : fumier.
amaz'uz'(u) imuz'az' : tardif.
amazzal(u) imazzalen : agent communal chargé de la distribution de l'eau.
amechur(u) lagud umechur : la fête du *'achûrâ'*.
amddakkwel(u) imddukkwal : personne qui est en rapports suivis avec une autre, partenaire.
amerwas(u) imerwasen : don matrimonial.
amenzu(u) imenza : précoce.
amghar(u) imgharen : chef.
ammer : exercer un usufruit légitime.
amlal(u) imlalen : sable, terrain sablonneux.
am rruz', am farina : année de famine où l'on se nourrissait de riz ou de farine distribués par l'administration.
amud ih'ellan : époque faste pour labourer.
anflus(u) ineflas : porte-bonheur, dirigeant (compris, mais inusité).
anzar(u) inzaren : aire à battre.
anual(u) : local où l'on fait la cuisine.
aqarid'(u) iqarid'en : un sou, des sous (dans le sens de monnaie).
aqend'ar(u) iqend'aren : quintal.
aqerbus(u) iqerbas : meule de paille défendue par un mur circulaire de pierres sèches.
aqeryân(u) iqeryanen : sorte de terre imperméable.
arabbu(u) irubba : sous-groupe, tour de rôle.
aruku(u) irukulen : apport dotal de la mariée.
aryal(u) et dim. *taryalt :* panier, panerée.
asais : place pour les opérations municipales, chœurs, danses, etc.
asarag (comme *asais*).
asaru(u) isura : rigole d'irrigation.
asengar n-dda tadla : maïs cultivé immédiatement après l'orge.
asemlal(u) isemlalen : cerisier.
asghwerl(u) isghwralen : stage prénuptial, fête de conclusion de l'accord sur le mariage.
aseggwen(u) isgwan : abri de nuit (pour le bétail).
asqqif : loggia, véranda d'étage.
aslad'hara : produire une preuve écrite (= *biyyn*).
aswik(w) aswiken : noyer.
ail'aq(w) al'l'aqen : récipient utilisé pour se laver les mains ou pour mesurer le temps d'irrigation.
aylni(w), anli : mil.
ayrni(u) : tubercule de l'arisarum (nourriture de disette).
aylmalen : frères, parentèle agnatique.
ayyaw(w) ayyawn : rejets, drageons (de l'olivier).
aurullu(u) irullu : limites.
*azegg*ay(u) izegg*ayen :* gaulage.
azemmur(u) izemran : oléastres.
azenbu(u) izenba : grillade d'orge en lait.
az'lag : dépendances (d'un fonds).
azmu(u) izma : pré de fauche, fourrage.
az'z'allu(w) az'z'allulen, iz'z'ulla : aire pour la prière collective.
az'z'ayn(w) : interdiction communale (d'ordre agricole ou pastoral), amende (qui la sanctionne).
azzeb : vocaliser (à l'occasion de certaines cérémonies).
azzunli(w) izzunla : olivier (nom d'unité : *tazzunlil(la) tizzunlivin* ou *tizzunla*).
azwag(u) izwagen : banni, suppliant.
bab l-lkhir id-bab l-lkhir : porte-bonheur.
baraka, barakat : influx bénéfique, force magico-religieuse.
baye us-salam : vente en vert.
berninch, lberninch : culture d'assolement ; plur. *lebrannch, id-elberninch*.
berrh' : publier.
berru : se dégager (d'une responsabilité, d'une appartenance).
*bu-zegg*agh :* le rouge (maladie des arbres fruitiers et des céréales).

ççadaqa, ççadaqal : donation, fête de livraison d'offrandes annuelles à un saint.
chajara, chchjert : arbre généalogique.
chchaif : relief aplani, bombement.
chchard', chchrud' : douaire stipulé à l'épouse, cens versé à un saint, salaire du maître coranique.
chchefâa : exception lignagère (opposable à toute mutation du patrimoine) (= *chchufwa*).
chchrif chchurfa, lechref : descendant du prophète.
chutanbir : septembre.
ddabaran : époque d'Aldébaran (moment de l'année agricole).
ddiyt, ddiya : composition pécuniaire.
ddment : portion patrimoniale (d'un immeuble).
ddwa, ddwat : invocation, vœu.
ddurt : fête de fin de cycle.
dujambir : décembre.
erz' ut'l'ib : opérer le bris des mottes (deuxième irrigation).
fwbrayl : février.
ghucht : août.
h'ddit : homélie foraine.
ibrit : avril.
ibrin : semoule grossière, première mouture.
ifid' ifyed' : formule d'expulsion du mal.
ifulki kh-lyuga : bonne pour cultiver (période de l'année, parcelles).
igg(yt) aggiwn : térébinthe.
ighin(yt) ighniwn : tête de rigoir (prise principale).
ighzer(y) ighezralen : ravin.
igmi(yt) igman, ugmi(w) ugman : défens.
ih'h'yalen : période néfaste de l'année.
ikhs(i) ikhsan : sous-groupe agnatique.
ikri(i) akriwn : graviers, cultures de fond du lit.
imi: bouche, ouverture, dégagement.
imiri(i) imaran : mur.
innayr(yennayr) : janvier.
istidkhal : substitution juridique.
istirwa : acte de réserves.
istih'fâd' : acte de sauvegarde.
ilqqi : argile.
izm(y) izmawn : lion, au pluriel : pouvoirs (d'un saint).
jihâz, jjihaj, ljihaz : apport des biens propres de la mariée dans la communauté.
jjrit jjraydat, ljarida ljaridat : liste des parcelles, inventaire patrimonial.
kituber : octobre.
lah'bas : fondation pieuse, séquestre agnatique, ar. *h'ubûs*.
lwaçr : heure de prière (4 h. de l'après-midi).
lwarbûn : arrhes.
lbit, lbyut : demeure individuelle (dans la *tigemmi*).
leuh' : pisé.
lwinçert : fête saisonnière d'été.
lwurf : droit local.
lfaqir lfuqara : desservant d'un saint.
lflyd' : culture par épandage (= *angyun*).
lghimer lghwamer : dépendance d'un fonds.
lh'achit : part réservée dans le patrimoine.
lh'awza, lh'awzat: à l'empoigne (prise de possession).
lh'izb leh'zaib : section dans la psalmodie du Coran.
lh'urum lh'urumat : lieu d'asile.
lid'ilab : cérémonie de demande en mariage.
lifda (ou *lefdiyyt* ou *liftida*) : résiliation.
linçaf : pénalité édictée, codification pénale.
liqâla, lqilutt : clause de résiliation.
listighfâr : acte de repentir.
lkhrif : époque de l'année qui va de la fin du dépiquage aux premiers froids.
lmaqam lmaqamat, id-lmaqam : sanctuaire d'un saint.
lmawruf lmawrayf : frairie rituelle.
lmekçur : noix en pulpe.
lmeqqeddem lmeqqaddmin : préposé, petit chef inférieur à l'*amghar*.
lmirath : acte de répartition d'hoirie, généalogie.

lmord'i lmord'iyin : co-jureur agréé.
lmuslem lmuraslem : foire patronale.
lmud'a lamuad'i : agglomération.
lmunh'is lmunh'isin : époque ou gens de mauvais augure.
lmulazim lmulazimin : attaché à un sanctuaire.
lqaleb : une certaine époque de l'année.
lqubbi lqubbat : coupole.
luçit luçiyat : testament.
lud'a : plaine, plat pays (cf. *azaghar*).
luliyuz : juillet.
lqandil lqnadil : lampe à huile.
luqfi luqfat : démarche accompagnée de don.
luziel luzieat : abatage collectif.
mars : mars.
mayyu : mai.
mendeq, menleq : farine d'orge grillée.
muchu, *muchaa* : terre collective.
nunyuh : juin.
nuwanbir : novembre.
qqen : fermer, être fermé, atteler, attacher, être attaché.
rd'a : acquiescer à un acte ou un état juridique.
rrueda : orage, pluie d'été.
rras l-mal : fonds d'un saint, capital.
rrhen larhinat : vente à réméré.
ssaqra (syn. de *qerri afella*) : produire des actes pour application sur les lieux du litige.
sslukt sslaki : fête de clôture de la psalmodie du Coran.
tasaddu(ta) : transgression.
tafaska(t) tifaskiwin : sacrifice du *'Id al-Kabir*.
taferdit(t) tiferday : unité, fraction d'un tour de rôle (d'irrigation).
tagant(ta) tiginat : forêt.
taghamut(t) tighuma : prise d'une rigole secondaire.
tagellat(t) tigellatin : navet.
tagella(t) tiglaiwin : bouillie de maïs ou d'orge.
takat(t) takatin : foyer, famille conjugale.
takchchut'(t) tikchchud'in : brin de bois, bâchette; d'où: tirage au sort.
takherrubt(t) tikherrubin : mesure de grain.
*tak*mmart(t)* : fromage.
talekhcha(t) tilekhchiwin : bouillie de fèves ou d'autres légumes secs.
taldrar(ta) : belle saison.
talkast(ta) talkasin : pot de terre servant à mesurer l'huile; mesure.
tamakhirt(t) timakhirin : belle saison, estivage champêtre.
tameghra(t) timeghriwin : cérémonie nuptiale.
tamuzunt(t) timuzunin : obole constituant arrhes pour le rachat d'un terrain.
tanurt(t) tinuriwin : culture inondée.
tanut(ta) tuna : petit puits, cuvette façonnée au pied d'un arbre.
taqbilt(t) tiqbilin : unité politique, groupe.
taqrim(te), tiquwim : estimation.
tarad'i : mutuel accord.
*targa(te) tiregg*in* : canal, rigole.
tarrbiet(ta) : tronc placé pour recueillir les offrandes.
tarrut' : tas de pierres ou aire rocheuse à signification rituelle.
*tarwa l-k*mm* : les cousins, parentèle.
taryalt(ta) tiryat : panier, couffin.
tarzzift(t) tirezzifin : conduite processionnelle de l'épouse à l'époux.
tasnfut(t), diminutif de *asafu* : tison.
tasarut(t) tisura : clef. Au plur. bénéfice (d'un saint).
talemnit(t) titamniyin : mesure (égale à la *talkast*).
tauqit(t) tiuqiyn : once, arrhes.
tawz'ut(t) tiwz'a : coin, rentrant, quartier.
tazel'at'(t) tizel'at'in : sauvegarde contractuelle (d'un voyageur).
tifawt(ti) tifawin : lumière, preuve.
tigellatin : navets.
tigemmt(t) tigumma : maison.
tighersi(t) tighersiwin : sacrifice à un saint; victime.
*tigh*mert(te) tigh*mrin* : coin, redan, saillant en pierres sèches.
tiktit(te) tiktatin : limite.
tillirin(t) : sorte de plante de rivière.
timezgida(t) timezgadiwin : mosquée.

tinubga : frairie où se rencontrent deux groupes.
tiseml(t) tismawin : nom.
tisirit(t) tisariyn, tisaralin : planche d'irrigation.
tiwill(ti) : agape accompagnée de palabre entre groupes.
tizzla(ti) : part d'acquêts revenant à la femme ou à tout autre membre de la société familiale.
trama : usurper (= [illegible]).
t'l'aleb(ta) t'olba : clerc.
tefrik : psalmodie successive de sections du Coran.
tikerbil : binage. Cf. *ammend'al(u)*.
tummil(tu) tummalin : semoule d'orge grillée assaisonnée de beurre ou d'huile.
tunya, thunyâ : vente à réméré (autre nom du *rrehn*).
uggug(w) uggugen : barrage de dérivation, captage.
uluf(w) ulufen : divorce, répudiation.
urti(w) urtan : verger.
uzun(w) uzunen : carré d'irrigation.
z'i, intens. *tiz'i :* se disputer.
zugger : installer, mettre en place.

[P. 462 is blank]

[P. 463]

INDEX
DES GROUPES MAGHRÉBINS MENTIONNÉS

'Aisia, 104, 346.
Ud 'Abdi (Aurès), 224.
Aghbar, 31, 41, 63, 92, 218, 273, 364, 365, 369.
Ah'ançal, 66.
Ahl Srif, 296.
Amismatert, 273, 364.
Ammeln, 66, 71, 75, 305, 332, 381.
Aqbil, 404.
Arghen, 273, 377.
a. Atig, 5.
a. 'At't'a, 343, 383.

a. Be'amran, 237.
Ud Berreh'il, 268.
Ud Bessebâe, 5, 7, 35, 41, 66, 67, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 114, 117, 139, 179, 211, 216, 217, 230, 313, 335, 347, 350, 435.
I. Bilal, 105, 216.
I. Buzia, 36, 426.

Chaonia (Aurès), 405-407.
Châwiya (Maroc), 115, 433.
Cherqiya, 104.
Chichaous, 6, 42, 105, 217.
Chleuhs, *passim* et 446-451.
Chyâd'ma, 64, 104, 179.

Ud Daud (Aurès), 224.
Demsira, 5, 6, 12, 45, 54, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 73, 87, 88, 124, 178, 203, 216, 217, 219-21, 238, 240, 241, 306, 351, 365, 428.
a. Dris, 365.
Dukkâla, 67, 70, 162, 209.
Dwiren, 7, 12, 16, 17, 21, 54, 58, 65, 66, 68, 79, 80, 91, 93, 99, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 114, 116, 119, 139, 169, 179, 217, 230, 238, 240, 241, 251, 269, 286, 288, 307, 313, 426.

Ergita, 316-317.

Fezzan, 63.
Figuig, 63.
Frûga, 105, 138, 285, 423.

a. Gâir, 72, 81, 82, 84, 273, 282, 364.
Gedmiwa, 4, 5, 6, 12, 16, 35, 53, 72, 92, 93, 106, 108, 224, 240, 266, 273, 288, 304, 346, 359, 414, 423, 427.
Ghârb, 122, 162.
Gheghaya, 427.
Ghomara, 433.
Glawa, 5 (Aglawu), 93, 344, 428.
Gund'afa, 88, 93, 152, 252, 414.

H'âh'a, 4, 32, 72, 75, 91, 102, 121, 222, 273, 277, 325, 326, 337, 424.
Hilaliens, 117, 420, 433, 450.
Hintata, 64, 120.
H'mer, 65, 72, 115, 310.
Howwâra, 5.

Ichkajjen, 365.
a. Iggas, 73, 114, 115.
Ijjanaten, 116.
Ilalen, 177, 320, 380.
Imedlawen, 13, 41, 42, 273.
Imelwan, 81, 82, 273, 364.
Imerhan, 424.

N. B. — Les abréviations : *Ud.*, Awlâd, — *a.*, Ait, — *B.*, Bani, — *I.*, Idaw, — n'interviennent pas dans le classement de ces noms, d'ailleurs transcrits sans souci phonétique. Les groupes internes des Seksawa et les a. Gosa ne sont pas mentionnés dans l'Index.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

Imsifern, 364, 427 sq.
Indmaghus, 80, 81, 82, 91, 307.
Inghertit, 364, 427 sq.
Irohalen, 365.
B. Ithuragh, 404.
I. Izimmer, 10, 288, 325, 365, 428.
Iwensekten, 273, 364.
B. Iznasen, 327.

Jebala, 337.

Kabyles, 70, 111, 172, 294, 337, 343, 347, 356, 371, 380, 401-405, 424, 431, 432, 437-8, 439.
I. Kays, 35, 272, 378.
I. Kensus, 381.
Ud Khalifa, 435.
Khlot', 433.

Lektaoua, 79, 431.

Macmûda, 4, 11, 67, 118, 172, 218, 296, 339, 409, 424, 433.
B. Mâger, 67.
B. Mâlek, 419, 433-4, 435.
Ma'qil, 117.
I. Mçat't'og, 41, 116, 268, 272, 378, 428.
Meçdiwa, 37.
Meh'amid, 79, 431.
Mentaga, 43, 71, 86, 223, 300, 301, 316, 340, 378.
Mez'ôd'a, 16, 17, 35, 87, 89, 92, 93, 99, 103, 105, 106, 108, 115, 119, 158, 217, 219, 223-4, 229, 230, 245, 251, 253, 271, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 287, 306, 307, 313, 320, 326, 341, 345, 348, 412, 422, 426, 427.
a. Mgilâ, 332, 343.
I. Mh'mud, 35, 43, 49, 66, 71, 87, 116, 159, 288, 300, 301, 365, 366.
Mjjat', 179, 305.
Mtugga, 5, 16, 35, 52, 56, 65, 66, 77, 89, 93, 99, 114, 116, 129, 217, 219, 222-3, 230, 241, 257, 273, 274, 277, 304, 317, 348, 412, 421, 422, 423, 426, 427, 428, 430.
Mzâb, 245, 254, 401, 408, 409, 448.

Nûfa, 35, 64, 99, 139, 217, 219, 221, 222, 238, 241, 307, 318, 363.
Ntifa, 4.

Oasis sahariennes, 63, 149, 431.
Ogdemt, 218, 273.
Ouarsenis, 6.

Regraga, 66, 270, 296, 435.
Reh'amna, 340.
Rif, 401, 431.

a. Sadden, 343.
a. Seghruchen, 343.
Sektana, 424.
I. Semlat, 64, 88, 95, 96.
a. Semmeg, 273.
B. bu Sliman (Aurès), 103, 225.
Sofyân, 61, 117, 419, 433-4, 435.
a. Swab, 332.

Tagizzult, 72, 86, 364, 393, 424, 425, 431.
Tah'oggwat, 72, 424, 425, 431.
a. Tamment, 44, 71, 271, 272, 274.
I. T'anan, 92, 269, 294, 430.
Tazerwalt, 79, 312, 393.
Tekna, 86, 434.
Tigguga, 5, 41, 44, 273, 320, 427, 428.
a. Tigidar, 307.
a. Tiksit, 6, 35, 41, 72, 81, 82, 116, 273, 325, 364.
T'liq, 433.
Touareg, 6, 63, 79, 166, 230, 313, 343, 401, 420, 431, 435, 439.
Tudma, 75.
Tuggana, 5.
a. Tunert, 365.

Urika, 4, 427.

a. Wagunsan, 272.
a. Warain, 343.
a. Wawzgit, 63, 71, 325.
a. Widdjas, 70.
Wijjan, 178.

a. Yah'ya (Sous), 63, 71.
B. bu Yusef, 404.

I. Z'al, 66.
Zayan, 343.
I. Zeddut, 64, 245.
B. Zeggu d'Ahermoumou, 352.
Zekkara, 435.
Zemmour, 337, 343.
Zenaga, 301.
Zenâta, 339, 433.

[P. 464-A]

Lycanthropic figures on Mycenaean stirrup-jar from Berque

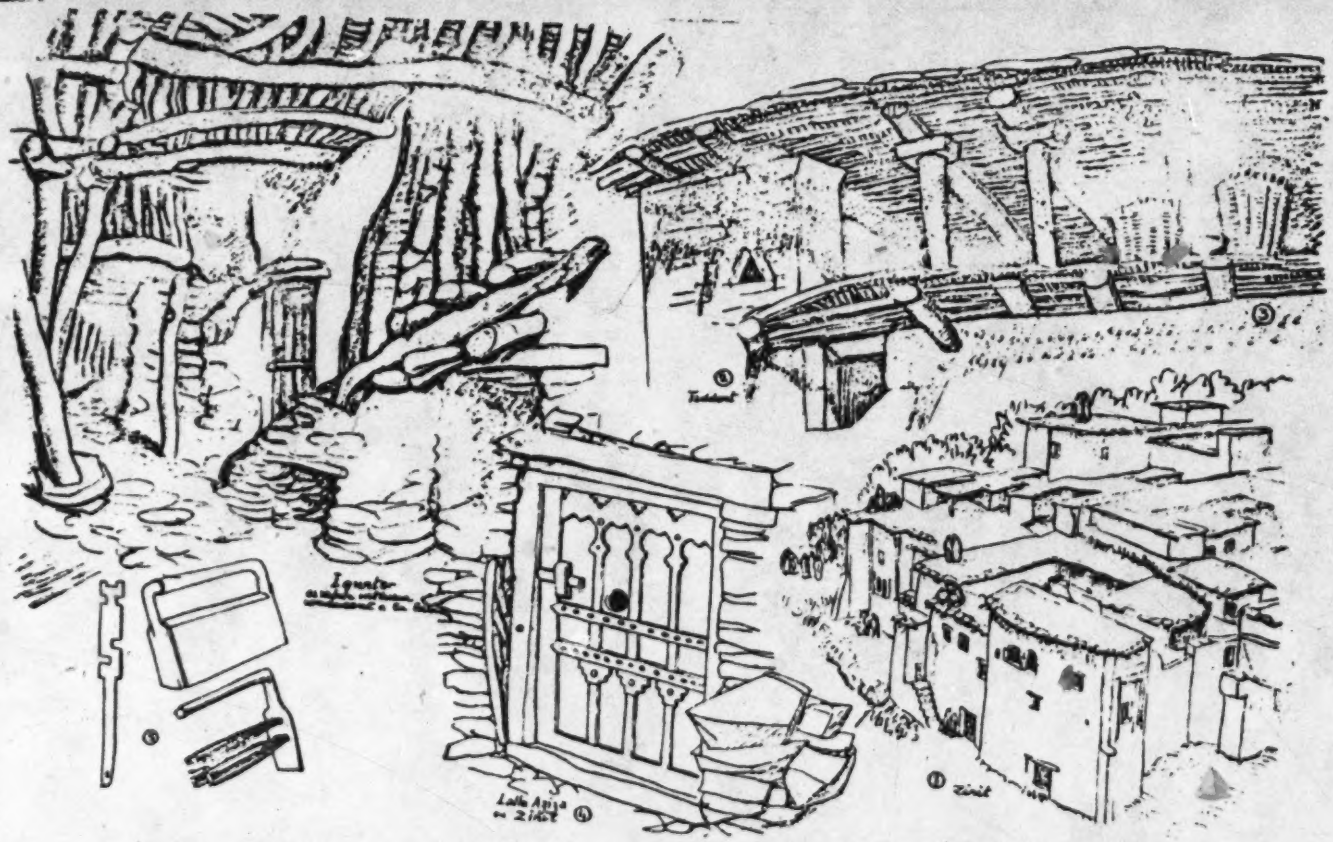
Pl. II

[P.464-B]

. *Le sanctuaire* au bord vert de Lalla Aziza 1, se [illegible] vers le pic du Tanghechi 2, et les hauts [illegible] avec les ruines d'une citadelle des ait Oasa 4. C'est [illegible] 6 Ichiyan ; 7 Ibnghasen ; 8 Ibn n Issukt ; 9 Ibn [illegible] 11 Ifessat ; 15 Imlahuan ; 16 Tawunkht ; 17 [illegible] [illegible]echmacht ; 22 Igadiyin ; 23 Tabdi (vie) ravine.

[P. 464-C]

[illegible] sous des *pagos*. De toutes parts, des pentes abruptes [illegible] sur la rive droite de l'asif n-ysekssawan, un éperon barre. [illegible] Noms de quartiers : 5. Imelz'an ; 6. Iglizer [illegible] um ; 11. Amkuk ; 12. Tighersiwin ; 13. Tibhirim ; [illegible] : 19. Ilehalachl ; 20. Idu Tizzurzi ; 21. Ilels [illegible] à environ 1,100 m. d'altitude.



La maison

(1) Groupe de « maisons en hauteur » à Z'init'. Elles sont jointives. Chaque sortie indépendante représente l'existence d'une *tigemmi*, demeure d'une « famille conjugale » *lakal*. Cours, loggias, technique savante de la pierre jointoyée d'argile, vie de terrasses ; (2) La « loggia », *aggif*, colonnes de soutènement en bois, *tamalt*, avec un chapiteau curieusement dorique, *tilzzat* ; (3) Corbeilles, *isimas*, pour la conserve de fruits, de légumes, ou les semences ; (4) Une porte, *tiflet*, avec le « trou d'ouverture par dedans », *timi* ou *ougfer* ; (5) La « [illegible] », *aplac*, et sa clef, *tamirt*. L'ensemble de la fermeture est dit *lqfel* ; (6) Intérieur de rez-de-chaussée à Iguntar. La porte de l'étable, *aprar*, s'ouvre au fond. Par [illegible], *tadida*, assez rare, on accède aux pièces d'habitation, *ingrem*.

[P. 464-E]

Visages d'hommes Seksawa

(1) L'*amghar* ᶜOmar u Ali, des a. Lh'sen, petit-fils du caïd Lmokhtar ; (2) L'*amghar* Ali Chtittihi, des a. Musa ; (3) L'*amghar* Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hild', des Idma ; (4) L'*amghar* Lh'sen u Abdesselam, des a. Mh'and. Ces quatre premiers personnages se rattachent directement à ceux qui occupaient le devant de la scène, au moment de la pénétration. Ils sont chefs d'*ikhs* considérables ; (5) Le *moqaddem* u Idder, chef des *foqra* de Lalla Aziza ; (6) Le *moqaddem* Myyah'i, chef des *igurramen* d'Ammern, et joueur de tambourin ; (7) Jeunes gens participant au chœur *ah'wach*. Noter les positions des mains, procédant d'un rituel de danse très compliqué ; (8) Les spectateurs.

[P·464-F)

Femmes Schaqua

1. Jeune mère portant son enfant, *Noder*. 2. le pectoral, *hplil*, et le front *mra*, tout de pièces d'argent. Ce bijou fait le plus souvent partie des proj[illegible] de la femme, et de son apport en mariage, *ghoi* ; 3. Fillette revenant de la source, [illegible] du crâne est rasé jusqu'à ce que la fillette soit nubile ; 4. *Mi'roch* [illegible] jeunes filles : parure de broppes de soie rouge et de foulards, retombant en arrière. La cueillette des plantes sauvages ou subspontanées, pour la nourriture [illegible] homme ou des bestiaux, constitue une part importante des activités de la femme

Photo [illegible], de [illegible] N.

Le bas-cour d'Agersith

Le lac et blanc, au bas de la photo, est le pied actuel et la rive montagneuse, vers le fond, celle qui aboutit à l'Aït Ouagrou. Dès la mise descendent, sur la droite, des contreforts du Taïgurt et abondent, sur la gauche, à une exposition, avec [illegible], dite Ayma Wamanou. Les deux pentes de la ravine centrale sont entaillées de terrasses. On voit distinctement, [illegible] de l'irrigation vers le bas de la photo, le lacet sombre de la [illegible] de [illegible] Targa n-Tsila ou T. Ouadal : après avoir descendu Agersith, où coupe la piste, dernier lacet sur la gauche, pour aller du coté d'Ad [illegible] sur la rive droite, les deux villages de pierre sèche, Taïgurt et Agersiyan, se confondent presque avec la roche environnante. Les pitons apicaux du bas de la photo sont ceux du Chaïd Aggouman, ou se confondent à ceux du Tasdit. A Agersiyan, 37 grands quartiers arrêtés se trouvent sur une section de ravine de moins de 2 km.

Pl. VII

[P.464-H]

Cl. L. Berque

Terrasses à Taza

On distingue sur le gradin inférieur les sillons et nids menagés pour la distribution de l'eau.

1: Berque

MW11 Shlah

[P. 464-I]

Pl. VIII

Ch. Mohammed ou Lahcen

Tamgrelles à Tsikis (Ghiaur)

Cet escalier rabossé se continue vers le bas, que masquent les roches du premier plan. Les maisons du village sont collées à la pente. Elles s'agglomèrent par ensembles familiaux.

Clichés Berque

La mosquée d'Ayrou (ch. Ghiaur)

Cette mosquée est un lieu de serments particulièrement redoutables.

Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a (Lieu rituel) (Tamdurt)

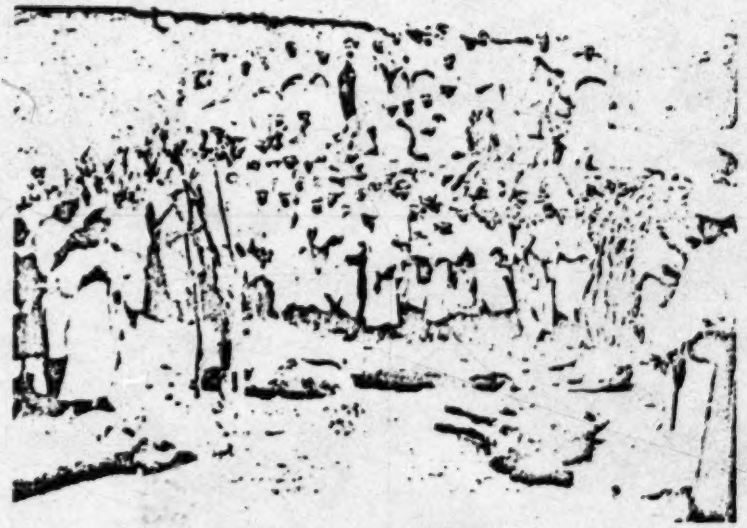
Ce lieu rituel, consistant dans un simple cylindre de pierres et de branchages, joue dans la vie agraire un rôle important.

Cl. L. Berque

Panorama du village des ait Mk'nd

C'est la plus grosse agglomération des Seksawa, en même temps que cette petite *kephall* concentre, à un degré de synthèse remarquable, la densité d'habitat (600 habitants groupés) et l'organisation sociale. On distingue dans le village des quartiers correspondant aux demeures groupées de chaque *ikhs*, ce qui est un cas à peu près unique. Le piton qui domine, les « Roches blanches » *imellalen*, est le siège d'une fête annuelle, à sacre anonyme. Perfection des gradins et de l'horticulture.

[P. 464-K]



Cl. J. Berque

Hecatombe à Lalla Aïsa

C'est le jour du sacrifice de juillet, *tighersiwin ughuz*. Chaque victime est offerte par une *tagbilt*. L'*amghar* est le sacrificateur. Le geste des mains des assistants est celui de l'invocation.

Cl. J. Berque

Invocation à Lalla Aïsa

Les *fqirs*, après le sacrifice des victimes, font une *dhikr*. Ils répètent en chœur les invocations du *moqadem*, qui appelient la *baraka* sur les participants.

Pl. XI [P. 464-L]

(cl. L. Berque)

Vallée de l'oued n-a. Lh'sen

La vue est prise de Bouchrahdin, dans le sens du mouvement aval. Notez l'élargissement de la vallée entre Iglidan au premier plan, et Awines, au fond. Arboriculture soignée, pentes protégées par la végétation, lit large et rigide.

(cl. L. Bolen)

Chœur sur le Tichka

Derrière les gens de *l'ah'rach*, on distingue la prairie marécageuse où le *g'ennis*, du nom de laquelle on a rapproché celui des mythiques Gennes.

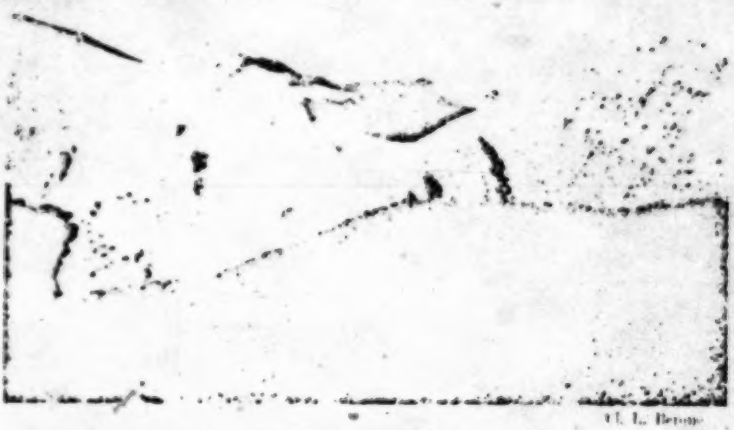
[P. 464 - M]

cl. E. Peyron

Les Igoudar

Les deux photos, en haut Tagenza, en bas Lamentamert, se font suite d'amont en aval. A droite du village de Tagenza, ruines d'un *agadir*, détruit par le caïd Umokhtar. Le panorama offre tous les éléments du cadre de vie d'une *taqbilt* de haute vallée : les agglomérations, les terrasses irriguées, en sombre, les terrasses en sec, plus claires, elles-mêmes dominées par des crêtes rocheuses. Un sentier longe le flanc droit de la vallée, à mi-pente, en direction de l'aval.

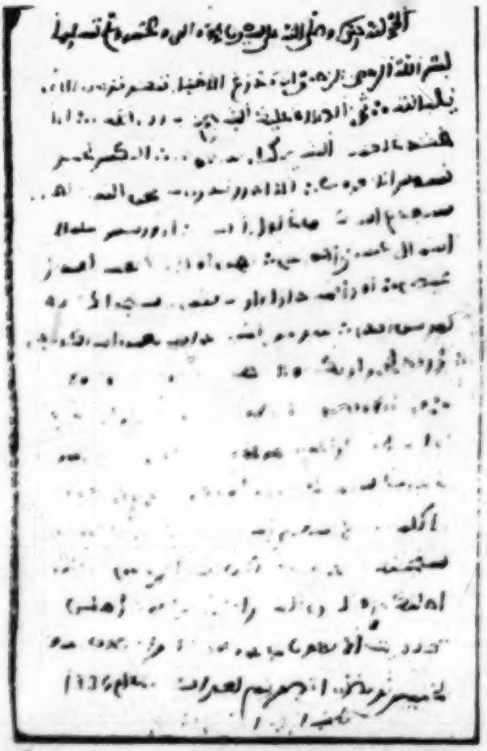
Pl. XIII [P.464-N]



Cl. L. Berque

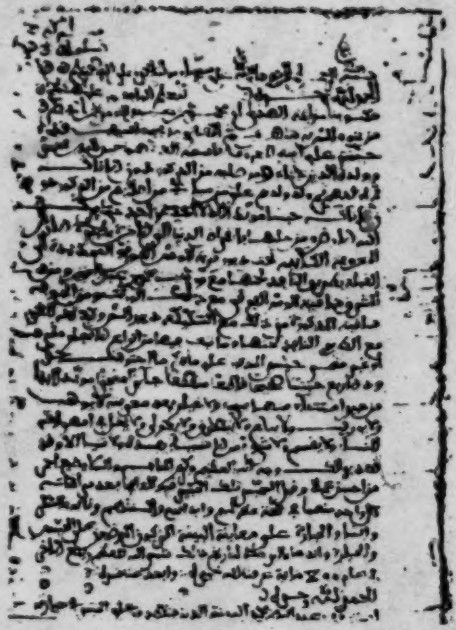
Le haut pays ait Ihsen

Les deux vallées de Wanzid et el Dwalla sont séparées par le relief de l'Anezzur. L'important sanctuaire de sidi Musa se trouve dans le mûle rocheux, à la base de l'Anezzur. Contraste entre les vallées peu fourrées et plus spacieux qui rejoignent vers les 2.000 m. Dans le fond, les rubanières tabulaires des Dwiran, qui limitent sur l'ouest le pays Seksawa.



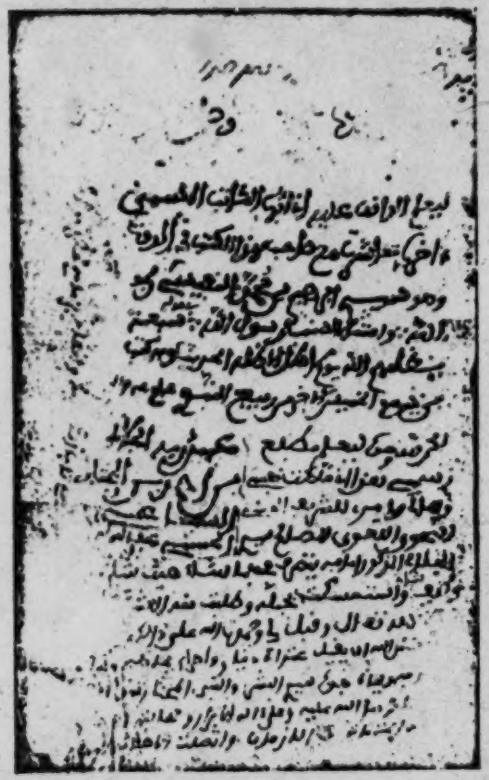
Prescriptions recueillies à Tasa, dans les archives de l'ancêtre Ahmed Lmalid. Texte chleuh, en style prophétique.

[P. 494 - O]

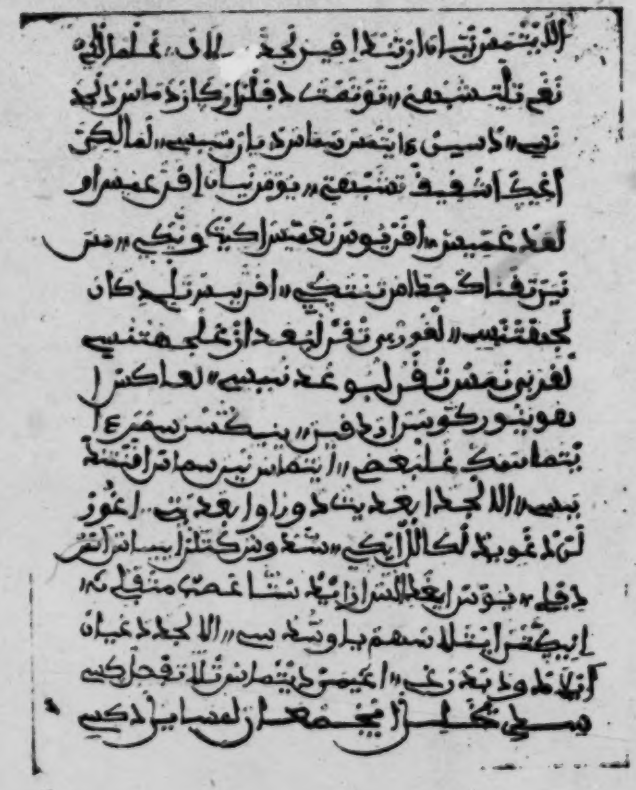


Un serment placé à l'acte notarié lapif
Acte de 500 hégire. 1131. recueilli en Haute Guéroum

[P·464-P]



Acte de dévotion d'un disciple à son cheikh, datant de 1194 hég. = 1780, fait à la *zâwiya* de Takerkuzt, et recueilli sur la marge d'un livre de la *zâwiya* des Mez'ud'a.



Texte juridique du genre Amzal

La première ligne se lit : *wala aylma-sn-yan ur len-d iqqin ijad nlad gh-lmalikiyya*, « non plus que les frères de quelqu'un ne sont exclus (de sa succession) par (l'existence de) l'aïeul

[P.465]

TABLE DES ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES IN-TEXTE

		Pages
Fig.	1. — Les Seksawa dans le bassin méditerranéen	3
—	2. — Le cadre orographique des Seksawa	8-9
—	3. — Paysage horaire des Seksawa et ses rapports avec la carte	15
—	4. — Les *Taqbilt*-s, division cantonale de l'ensemble seksawa	39
—	5. — Terroirs du Moyen-Seksawa	83
—	6. — Liaisons plaine-montagne	100
—	7. — Schéma de l'irrigation d'un terroir de vallée	150
—	8. — Parcellaire du terroir des Ait Mh'nd	186-187
—	9. — La cuvette de Tabratjut (Ait Musa ufella)	201
—	10. — Acte par lequel la Jemâa des Iwulla s'engage à verser une dîme à Sidi Ah'mad u'Ali	278

PLANCHES HORS-TEXTE

Planche I. — Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomérant sept foyers.
— II. — Panorama de Z'init'.
— III. — La maison.
— IV. — Visages d'hommes Seksawa.
— V. — Femmes Seksawa.
— VI. — Le terroir d'Agersili.
— VII. — Terrasses à Tasa.
— VIII. — *A gauche :* Banquettes à Usikis (Idma).
A droite : La timezgida Uwines (a. Lh'sen).
— IX. — *En haut :* Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
En bas : Panorama du village des ait Mh'nd.
— X. — *En haut :* Hécatombe à Lalla Aziza.
En bas : Invocation à Lalla Aziza.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

PLANCHE XI. — *En haut :* Vallée de l'asif n-a. Lh'sen.
En bas : Chœur sur le Tichka.

— XII. — Les Iguntar.

— XIII. — *En haut :* Le haut pays a. Lh'sen.
En bas : Prédictions recueillies à Tasa, dans les archives de l'*amghar* Ah'med Umulid.

— XIV. — Du serment plural à l'acte notarié « lafif ».

— XV. — *A gauche :* Texte juridique du genre Awzal.
A droite : Acte de dévotion d'un disciple à son cheikh.

1: Berque MW11 Shluh

[p.467]

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Pages

Avertissement v

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

PREMIÈRE APPROCHE DU PAYS ET DES HOMMES

I. — **Le pays** 3

Le nom, 3. — Premières coordonnées du pays, 6. — Limitation du monde Seksawa, 12. — Mesure de cet espace, 13. — Aperçu sur la structure du pays, 16.

II. — **Un paysage rural** 20

Paliers végétaux, 20. — Un paysage construit, 24.

III. — **Des hommes** 29

La maison, 29. — Les bourgs, 31. — La famille, vue du dehors, 34.

IV. — **Personnalités cantonales** 41

Descente du Tichka : le bout du monde, 41. — Les ait H'adduyws : des « fils de roi », 43. — « Cantons » par excellence, 45. — Conquêtes de haute lutte : le domaine Idma, 46. — Le domaine des ait Lh'sen, 49. — De part et d'autre du sanctuaire. Terres maudites : les Imt'ddan, 51. — Le parvis du temple : la plaine de Tabratjut, 53. — Descente au Styx : Z'init', 55. — La conciergerie de la montagne : les ait Abdella, 56.

V. — **Arrière-plans historiques** 59

Caractères du passé des Seksawa, 59. — Sources internes : *a)* Morphologie des groupes, 60 ; *b)* Archives familiales, 62 ; *c)* Chronique, 62. — Réfection des groupes montagnards par le S. La fausse autochtonie, 63. — Un vestige des anciens Seksawa : les ait D'alh'a, 68. — Portée de l'immigration du S., 70. — Populations fossiles, 71. — Des conquérants légitimistes. La geste des Idma, 74. — Les épreuves du vassal, 79. — Essai de reconstitution de l'histoire foncière du Moyen Seksawa, 82. — La geste des Ait Lh'sen, 86. — Le stade d'arrivée. Intermittences

1° Berque MW11 Shluh

PAGES

du pouvoir personnel, 89. — Première connaissance française, 92. — Inductions à partir du présent ?, 94.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

ÉCHANGES ENTRE LE GROUPE ET LE MILIEU NATUREL

I. — **Organisation de l'espace Seksawa** 99

Le rapport plaine-montagne, 99. — Solidarités pour l'eau, 105. — Mouvements pastoraux, 108.

II. — **Matière et contours du travail paysan** 121

Le champ et sa personnalité, 121. — Divisions et organes du champ, 126. — Magie ou technique ?, 128. — Le calendrier agricole, 131. — Division des fonctions agraires, 134.

III. — **Compartiments et niveaux d'un système rural** 142

Routines ou techniques ?, 142. — Création de sols, collecte d'eaux, 143. — Emploi de l'eau, 150. — Un génie répartiteur, 153. — L'ordre d'irrigation comme document, 157. — Façons et fumures, 159. — Elevage et arboriculture, 164. — Variété culturale, 170. — Adaptation au pays, 171.

IV. — **Quelques analyses de terroirs** 177

a) Classicisme montagnard : les a. Mh'nd, 177 ; *b)* Autre cas de classicisme montagnard : Agersili, 189 ; *c)* Ordre rural et attraction fiscale : Z'init', 197 ; *d)* Le bassin de Tabratjut, 199. — Pays d'*albur* : *e)* l'Ibuban, 207 ; *f)* Imt'ddan, 210 ; — *g)* Bul'wân, estuaire du système montagnard, 211.

V. — **Consistance, limites et portée d'un ordre agraire** 218

Une hypothèse de recherche, 218. — Recoupements extérieurs : Demsira, 219. — L' « orchestration parcellaire », 225. — Le coefficient d'ampleur, 227. — Le coefficient de valeur, 230. — « La terre et l'évolution humaine », 232.

TROISIÈME PARTIE

INSTITUTIONS ET VALEURS

***a)* Aspects et problèmes communs de la vie religieuse et de la vie juridique**

I. — **Fond local et apport oriental** 237

Une personnalité religieuse et juridique, 237. — Coloration rituelle de la vallée, 238. — Situation

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

PAGES

du droit Seksawa par rapport à ses voisins, 240. — Présence de l'Islam dans le droit, 242. — Islam et croyance individuelle, 246. — Ordre général de cette recherche, 247.

II. — **Sacré non figuratif et « prédroit »** 249

Sacré et ordre rural, 249. — Une personnalité rituelle, les a. Lh'sen, 253. — Sacré figuratif et sacré anonyme, 256. — Le droit immédiat, 260. — Le rite de la pierre sur la limite, 262. — Autres gestes juridiques, 264.

III. — **Patronages de saints, périodicité naturelle et obligation juridique** 268

Autre étage de rites : les redevances aux saints, 268. — Directions, aires et cycles, 272. — Rites saisonniers, pactes collectifs, contrats individuels, 276. — Critique de ces premières données, 279.

b) **Développements de la vie religieuse**

I. — **Grandes personnifications rituelles. Une sainte nationale, Lalla Aziza** 281

Repères archéologiques, 281. — Le fisc de la sainteté, 285. — La légende, 290. — Le rite, 291. — L'histoire, 295.

II. — **Concurrents malheureux de la sainteté** 299

Le cycle du fondateur, 299. — Un « intellectuel », 303. — Un classique, 305.

III. — **Dépassements individuels** 309

Dieu chez les Seksawa, 309. — Etagement du sacré, 310. — Les *igʷrramen*, 312. — Hommes de Dieu, 315. — La sainteté, 318.

c) **Un système juridique**

I. — **Techniques de règlement** 323

Jugement ou arbitrage ? 323. — Deux forces procédurales : l'écrit, 327 ; — le serment, 330. — Un document sur les rapports historiques entre le serment plural et le témoignage *lafif*, 334. — Rôle notarial du *t'ṭ'aleb*, 335.

II. — **Droit familial** 337

Famille agnatique ou famille conjugale ?, 337. — Morphologie du mariage en Seksawa, 340. — Comparaison avec le mariage orthodoxe, 343. — Indices sur l'état antérieur, 345. — La famille dans le temps, 348.

III. — **Droit des terres** 354

Double caractère de ce droit, 354. — La légitimité patrimoniale contre la possession, 356. — Une forme ancienne mal normalisée, le *rrahn*, 359. —

l: Berque MW11 Shluh

PAGES

La vente-attrape, 361. — Le séquestre agnatique, 363. — Vue d'ensemble sur le droit familial et immobilier, 367.

IV. — **Droit communal** 369

Composition pécuniaire et droit pénal, 369. — Le droit public de la *taqbilt*, 374. — La rédaction de la règle, 380. — La communauté, comme organe de création juridique, 382.

d) **Réaction de groupe, éthique individuelle**

Essai de reconstitution, 385. — Divergences entre l'évolution de la religion et celle du droit, 390. — Une culture refoulée, 391. — Idéaux et comportements, 394.

QUATRIÈME PARTIE

ESSAI D'INTERPRÉTATION

I. — **Limites et portée du type Seksawa** 401

Situation des Seksawa dans l'ensemble des Sédentaires nord-africains, 401. — Eléments offerts par le type à la morphologie sociale du Maghreb, 409.

II. — **Formations étroites** 411

Niveaux de l'organisation agraire, 411. — Niveaux de l'organisation sociale, 414. — Un troisième élément de l'analyse : le nom, 416. — La *taqbilt* du Haut-Atlas : un pôle d'explication, 418. — Eclatement local du type, 421.

III. — **Formations larges** 425

La solidarité de *leff* : formes parentes et concurrentes, 425. — Le *leff* en Seksawa, 427. — Une tension à mutation de signes, 430. — Exemples de variations, 432. — Seuils morphologiques, 436.

IV. — **Conclusion** 440

Discordance des aspects matériels et sociaux, 440. — Recours à l'externe et au transcendant, 442. — Le Maghreb, tissu continu, 444. — Caractères originaux du système chleuh, 446.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE 453

GLOSSAIRE DES TERMES LOCAUX CITÉS DANS LE TEXTE 457

INDEX DES GROUPES MAGHRÉBINS MENTIONNÉS 463

TABLE DES ILLUSTRATIONS 465

l: Berque

MW11 Shlah

[P 471]

1975. Imprimerie des Presses Universitaires de France. Vendôme (France)
DÉPOT. N° 23.556 IMP. N° 42 714

2: Montagne E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

000

The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco
Essay on the political transformation of the sedentary Berbers (Shluh group)
[Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le sud du Maroc Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sedentaires (groupe chleuh)]

Robert Montagne

Paris: 1930
Librairie Félix Alcan

Translated from the French by Jean Winchell

Human Relations Area Files
1973

[Title page]

/Pages i-vi are title and dedication pages./

/vii/ Foreword

121 A surprising contradiction dominates the social life and the history of the populations of North Africa.

On the one hand, in fact, the sedentary or nomadic tribes of Berbérie /Barbary/ -- for as long at least as foreign conquests did not transform their conditions of existence and their organization -- have clung to having democratic or oligarchic institutions respected in their primitive States. The Aurès, Kabylia, in Algeria, the Rif, the land of the Jbala /Jebala/, and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, in Morocco, are thus as though covered by a mosaic of small cantons within which men strive to preserve a rigorous and jealous equality among them.

On the other hand, we know that there have always arisen in the bosom of these tribes, faithful to their traditional laws, divided into minuscule republics, leaders of principalities capable of destroying all resistance by means of their own forces, of building up vast commands in a few years, and even of founding dynasties. But the political structures of these men of war or of these "mahdis" remain ephemeral; we sometimes see them disappear without even leaving lasting traces of their capitals on the soil that saw them come into existence. From the barbarian kings assembled in Rome up to the last holy-war agitators and to the pretenders of our time, refugees on the summits of the Rif or at the boundaries of the Sahara, passing by the founders of the powerful Fatimite /Fatimid/ or Almohade empires, the ceaselessly interrupted succession of Berbère /Berber/ leaders fills the history of a constantly renewed agitation. It seems that such efforts cannot bring to an end the resistance of peoples obstinately faithful to the tradition of their anarchic communities.

Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, the only writer of North Africa who has /viii/ tried to penetrate the inner life of this country, often expressed in his work the feeling of melancholy that this fragility of kingdoms and empires inspired in him; he did not consent, however, to explain to us with enough precision how

/viii cont./

121 the play of inner forces, united now to form them, now to destroy them, was exercised. In the absence of historians' texts, it is by studying the tribes -- and more specifically the ones that have stayed away from external influences -- that one can hope to distinguish the phases of these struggles that match the primitive republics against the leaders who dominate them for a time. It is in this form that we are permitted to see this drama, which sums up a large part of the political life of the Maghreb, being performed.

Direct observation of the small Berbère /Berber/ States, a comparison of their forms and of their structure, indeed permits catching a glimpse of the laws of their evolution, which history does not make known to us. Thus Masqueray could show, in a masterly book (1),

[113]

1. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886.

that the primitive hamlets of the Aurès, the picturesque and animated villages of Kabylia, the silent towns of the Mzab represented among the sedentary peoples of Algeria the successive stages in the formation of cities, following a progression analogous to the one that primitive Greece and Rome may have known.

Is it not likewise permissible to wonder whether the establishment of the power of the leaders who rise for an instant over anarchic tribes does not also proceed in rapid stages according to constant rules unknown to men, but which nevertheless invariably direct their courses and lead them first to success, then to ruin?

For the purpose of trying to see whether this is so, there is doubtless no field of research more favorable than Morocco. Indeed, until the establishment of the French Protectorate, we can see an isolated empire living there, half-stricken with helplessness, shaken at the same time by dynastic crises and tribal revolts, now tom apart by dissension, now unified by the energetic

/viii cont./

121 action of a sovereign. It seems that the permanent opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the central power is livelier and more constant here.

Furthermore, in one of the provinces of the South of the Empire large commands with feudal aspects exist, which by an exception /ix/ nearly unique in North Africa have taken on the appearance of stability before our eyes. There is no doubt but that we can comprehend here, from modest examples, it is true, but with a precision that history does not allow us to attain, the relations of the tribes and their chiefs.

Such were the general considerations suggested to us by the study of the history and the spectacle of the life of the tribes, when circumstances led us to conceive the project of undertaking the work that we are finishing today, after five years of investigation.

121 114 When in 1923 Marshal Lyautey did us the great honor of asking us to prolong a stay in Morocco that had allowed us to acquaint ourselves with the life of the indigenous populations and granted us complete freedom to pursue new studies there, we intended to limit ourselves solely to becoming better acquainted with the origin of the power of the chiefs of the Atlas, the organization of their commands, and the institutions that they had been able to found in Berbère /Berber/ country. After two years of missions in the western Atlas and the plains of the Sous /see p. 5, footnote 1/, it seemed to us at first that one could not understand how this "Berbère feudality" had become established without at the same time observing the progressive and correlative decline of the mountain republics, for which the leaders of the South had substituted themselves little by little for less than half a century; on the other hand, the transformation of the country, which had taken place since the appearance of the large commands, obviously only indicated a succession of stages in a more complete evolution; it was easy to see that the central government, the "Makhzen" /makhzan/, whose progressive penetration was so prominent, was coming in turn to gather in

/ix cont./

121 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power
114 that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie
[128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure
[121] struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

/x cont./

121 nevertheless, it is certain that a picture of the existence of the Moroccan South under the great dynasties or in the periods of anarchy illuminates the present rather well and successfully completes the study of still-living social forms. In following the course of history we sometimes see during the great reigns how the same forces were formerly exerted in order to arrive at results similar to the ones that we are given to observe in our day; we perceive also how, on the contrary, during the centuries of complete anarchy other influences could expand -- those of the founders of zaouias /zawiyas, zauias: Moslem monasteries and schools/ -- whose role is reduced to the most modest proportions today.

Certainly the present work -- in spite of its length -- leaves important gaps. Thus, we have not recognized for these religious leaders, shorfa /shurfa/, marabouts, masters of brotherhoods, /xi/ a role as active as one expects to see them take in this land of the "Sous el Aqsa" /Far Sous/, which has remained the fatherland of doctors of law, mystics, and saints, and people will doubtless be tempted to reproach us for not having given at great enough length the reasons for their effacement. Uncontested masters of the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the maraboutic powers have since seen their political prestige diminish before the progress of the authority of the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/. Without doubt it might have been useful to study better the forms of the decline with which they have been struck today at the borders of the Sahara, where we found them as refugees; their activity, reduced but not negligible, still goes on in the south of the Anti-Atlas, and it is known that in the extreme part of this chain the little religious State of Tazerwalt kept a prestige sufficient to disturb the Sultans until about 1885. The necessity of ending our investigations with the tribe and not extending the size of this work indefinitely led us to limit the study of these influences, which have remained all-powerful for so long in Berbère /Berber/ country, more strictly than we would have liked.

/xi cont./

121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evolution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws. [114]

121 We must explain here the material conditions under which the documentation on which this study of the struggle between 127 the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[022] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[13] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Siwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 127 114 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 114 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

121 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener
114 in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

/xiv cont./

122 Mr. Steeg, résident général of France in Morocco, kindly gave us the same trust, and it is thanks to his intervention and the interest that he took in our research, with the late Mr. Duclos, directeur des Affaires indigènes, that we were able to finish the necessary investigations.

General Daugan and General Huré, commanding the region of Marrakech, gave us in every circumstance the kindest help in carrying out our missions.

Without risking omissions, we could not here call off the names /xv/ of all the officers of the Direction des Affaires indigènes who facilitated our labors in the regions of Marrakech, Fez, and Taza, and in their commands reserved for us the most confident and cordial welcome. May they be willing to believe in our feelings of deep and friendly gratitude. We must at least mention here the very constant support and very valuable encouragement that were given us by our late friend Captain H. Thraen, of the service des Affaires indigènes, who died on duty at Marrakech in 1927, as well as the useful information collected with Commandant Bourguignon, killed by the enemy at Kechachda in 1927. Our friend H. Basset, the late director of the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/, had kindly interested himself in our work in 1924 and guided our first research with his advice.

12 We must particularly show our gratitude to our friends: Captain Pennès -- who so often gave us the valuable contribution of his knowledge and courage in the course of aerial missions and the geographical study of the dissident regions -- Lieutenant F. de La Chapelle, to whom we owe such useful studies on the country of the Seksawa (Book III, Ch. II and III), on which we have so largely drawn here; Lieutenant Spillman, Captain Interpreter Ben Daoud, from whom we

/xv cont./

12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

12 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome, so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the
114 poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

000 /1/

First Book
The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

First Chapter
The General Conditions of Human Life

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

121
101

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- The history of North Africa, in its general effect, gives us the spectacle of a series of dynastic undertakings without any order, vainly attempted in the most diverse regions in order to found Berbère /Berber/ or Arab kingdoms in the heart of a land that has remained essentially anarchic and rebellious toward unity. It is not impossible, however, to distinguish in this disorder two distinct regions. In the immense territory that goes from the Gulf of the Syrtes to the Moulouya, it seems that the chiefs, rising from the tribes or coming from the outside, are more often unable to triumph and that their ambitions are more quickly wearied by the obstinate resistance of the sedentary peoples or worn out by the inconstancy of the nomads. The far Maghreb, on the other hand, under the domination of powerful rulers, has frequently come to take on the aspect of a State. The Idrisite shorfa /shurfa/, the Almoravide, Almohade, Mérinide /Marinide/ conquerors, the Saadian and Filalian shorfa, who in the course of the centuries successively wielded power in the same places, and not without interruptions, succeeded in creating there, in spite of the opposition of their subjects, the tradition of a government of the Occident, which is not unworthy of being compared with the great monarchies of eastern Islam.

/3 cont./

121 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Mo-
101 rocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical ar-
rangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.
133 In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of re-
121 volts and anarchy. In these natural centers of resistance, the
101 Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient institutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/4 cont./

121
101

stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish in our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

[197]

1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ᶜAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

/5 cont./

121 II. The Sous political microcosm. -- A large part of the internal history of Morocco can be explained only through the study of the relations of the central government, or "Makhzen" /makhzan/, with the various Berbère /Berber/ regions that border the subdued provinces of the Empire. In order to uncover the hidden web of the most important events of the past, whose links and causes the Arab writers have so little sought to make known to us, it would be necessary to examine the conditions under which the authority of the Sultans over the Berbère republics was developed and consolidated, to distinguish by what imperceptible transitions a personal power based on force, unlimited and tyrannical by nature, could be born, grow, and be exercised in the interior of a country traditionally hostile to a government with a single head, up to the time when dynastic crises or revolts gave the "bled es Siba" its liberty.

It would also be necessary to take into consideration the different degrees of penetration of the great Berbère /Berber/ regions by the politics of the Moroccan dynasties. The Ghomara and the Senhaja of the North, the Masmouda and the Senhaja of the South, have at various times interfered in the "bled el Makhzen" by their alliances or their wars; on the other hand, the unseizable pastoralists of the Southeast have most often remained aloof from the great events that were agitating the central plains, or manifested their existence only by an unyielding opposition; it is still among them that it is necessary to go in our day in order /6/ to find a faithful image of the existence of independent tribes that have stayed outside the great currents of the Mussulman civilization and are attached to their traditions of freedom and anarchy even more than to life.

To conduct an inquiry into the relations of the Berbères /Berbers/ and the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the whole of Morocco and in the course of history would be an ambitious and, in the present state of our knowledge, somewhat bold enterprise.

On the one hand, the institutions of the Empires that have succeeded one another in this land are too poorly known for us to

/6 cont./

121 be able, in studying them, to discover with sufficient accuracy the political rules of the Mussulman sovereigns with respect to their rebel subjects; on the other hand, tribal life, full of apparently insignificant events, of revolts and obscure struggles, lends itself poorly to large-scale research. What we know of the history of the provinces permits us only to perceive a monotonous alternation between periods of organization and of anarchy, whose deep causes are not easily discoverable at first sight.

But if we narrowly limit our field of observation, choosing a part of the Maghreb in which are found joined together in a small space and a short period the successive aspects of an evolution that is going on everywhere according to the same laws, it is possible to understand the nature of the great rhythm of Berbère /Berber/ life. One observes first of all the agitated existence of the small anarchical republics, then the appearance and development of chiefs who bring order and oppression at the same time, finally the return to disorder and liberty.

121 We shall study here, as closely as possible, the social and
101 political organization of the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the south of Morocco between the Dra and the Atlantic, in this region to which the historians give the name of Sous (1).

1. Here we give the province name of the Sous to the whole region that is the domain of the dialect of the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/. Stricto sensu, the name of Sous is often reserved for the valley of the Oued /wadi/ of that name itself and for the two versants of the Anti-Atlas. But in the eyes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the country of the Masmouda, the Atlas Occidental, is likewise part of it. The relative unity of the social structure of the tribes, the close relationship of the various languages, the existence of a kind of civilization common to all the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco justify our terminology.

/6 cont./

121
[101]

/Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The Makhzen /makhzan/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn /7/ and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in reduction, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

121
171

While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. From examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

121

Only the country of the seminomads of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of our protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geo- 101 graphical boundaries of the province to which we give the name 133 of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ʿAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

/9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
121 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the
101 passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/9 cont./

132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too [133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
132 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain,
233 nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/11 cont./

132 chains of the Atlas -- the "Deren" of the Arab geographers and
133 the Anti-Atlas -- between which the volcanic mass of the Sirwa shoots out like a gigantic bridge, form natural barriers and screens on the north versant, from which the streams and snows run down or abate several times in the course of the winter.

The average width of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ reaches 80 kilometers and its crests rise in the east to more than 4,000 meters in the region of the summits of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil M'Goun/ and Wanoukrim; the massif of the Tichka, among the Seksawa, still reaches 3,500 meters; the tabular mountains of the Ida Ou Tanan are more than 2,000 meters above the Ocean. The rising of masses of air, which takes place slowly on the gentle slope of the north versant of the great chain, causes abundant precipitation. Its total amount is double that observed in the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain. Moreover, the rainfall is more regular in the Deren than in the rest of the Sous, and even during the summer the storms from the region of the summits help to maintain in the high pastures a humidity unknown elsewhere. The abundant snows of the high summits last until July, and their melting feeds torrents whose clear waters flow in the plain until autumn. By contrast, the south versant of the Haut-Atlas, steeply inclined toward the Sous valley, is less favored; it receives only a small part of the winter rains and the storms; the snow disappears in a few days under the action of an implacable sun, and the brooks that flow in the spring dry up for the most part before summer.

132 But even if the high parts of the Deren benefit from a favor-
133 able pluviometric regime similar to the one of the plains of the
241 Gharb /Rharb/, man manages to turn it to account only with difficulty. The relief is in fact so abrupt, the cut of the valleys so deep, that arable land is nearly unknown in the mountains. It is by patient effort, rolling big stones to make minuscule terraces, that the Berbères /Berbers/ succeed in retaining on the flank of the torrents /12/ the precious humus from which their labor will make a few ears come up. Accordingly, the high plateaus of the Atlas, such as the Kik, the "Azzeg" of the left bank of the Asif

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneïn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
133 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
241 desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
[137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards.
Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haratten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/15 cont./

133 491 In the western Atlas the Tizi n Fedghat and the Tizi n Telwet, at close to 2,000 meters in altitude, thus put the land of the Skoura, the Haut-Dra, in communication with Demnat and Marrakech by a road that the winter snows sometimes cut for several weeks. Farther to the West, the Tizi n Test, which rises to 1,900 meters, presents the same difficulties; it is followed by travelers who are going from Taroudant to Marrakech by following the valley of the Nefis. The Tizi Ma^{c}cho, whose altitude does not go beyond 1,400 meters, is free in all seasons; it commands the passage from Taroudant to Imi n Tanout and Mogador. Finally, no difficulty is found on the coastal trail, which borders the country of the Haha, other than the slope of the last hills of the Atlas or the bed of the dry wadis in the vicinity of the Ocean; this is the natural route of invasions between the plains of the Sous and Marrakech, which Arabs and Berbères /Berbers/ have so often taken in the course of the centuries.

These routes of the Deren are themselves only the prolongation of the ones used across the Anti-Atlas by travelers who have come from the palm groves of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani and who want to reach the towns of the North. From Aqqa and Tatta, by way of the crests of the Ida ou Kensous or the valley of the Inda ou Zal, one thus arrives in the Sous plain at the very point where the trail of the Tizi n Test climbs the Haut-Atlas toward Marrakech; from Tamanart by way of Amanouz and the Tizi n Taraqatin one reaches the land of the Ida ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal, to find before him the passage of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho across the Deren. Between /16/ the Ocean and the western massif of the Kest and of the Ida ou Semlal, the rolling territory of the Aït Ba ^{c}Amrân, the plain of Tiznit and of the Chtouka offer an easy route for the caravans that go up toward Mogador by following the trail of the Haha.

133 491 492 There are many other intermediate passes, which, without being graded for the movement of the heavily loaded camels, cross the high crests between the upper valleys of each versant. In the Deren during the fine season the montagnards use up to

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
361 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
628 goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.

[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Maʿcho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and hature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only
[137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the
[137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ʿAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Ait ʿAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./
133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Ait Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Ait Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imsouan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the in-
133 terior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
361 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
[226] Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters
and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic
one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of
dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who
were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here,
as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to
conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and
then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the
interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain
[439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the
feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has
been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of
a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time
has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and
thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever
been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons
have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their
too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign
activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and
disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the
Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to
have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the
poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who
frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up
to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth
century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the
Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mussulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/24/

000

Chapter II
The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion. It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

101 184 619

128 127 *175 The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

102
103
131
133
619
491

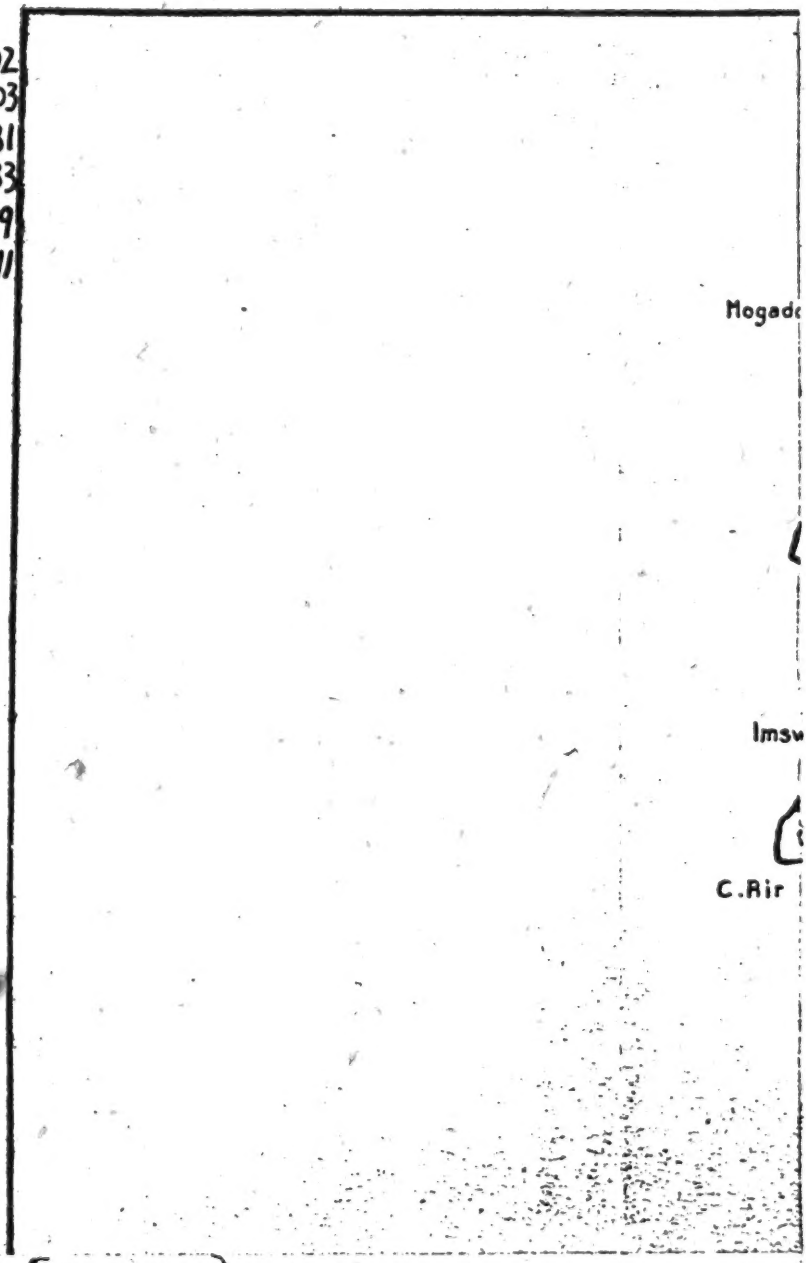
P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

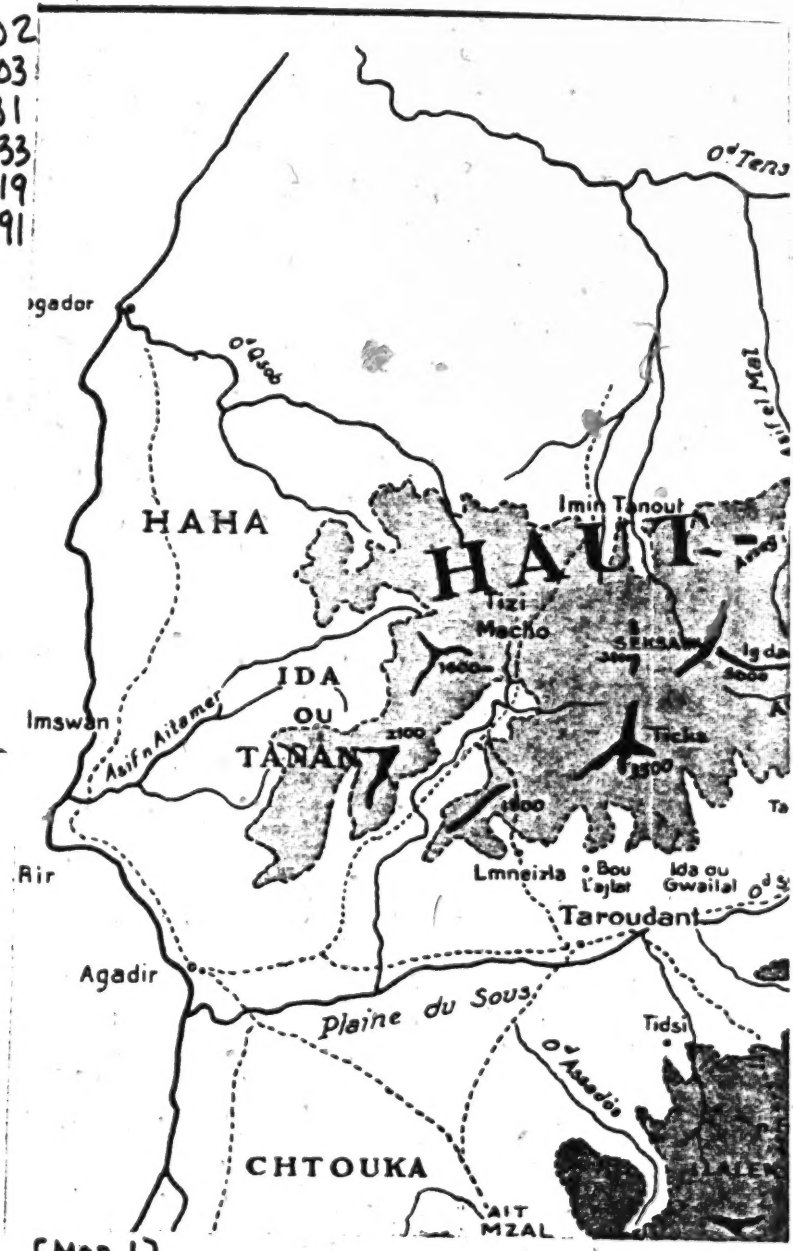


[Map 1]

2: Montagne--27 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

2: Montagne--28 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

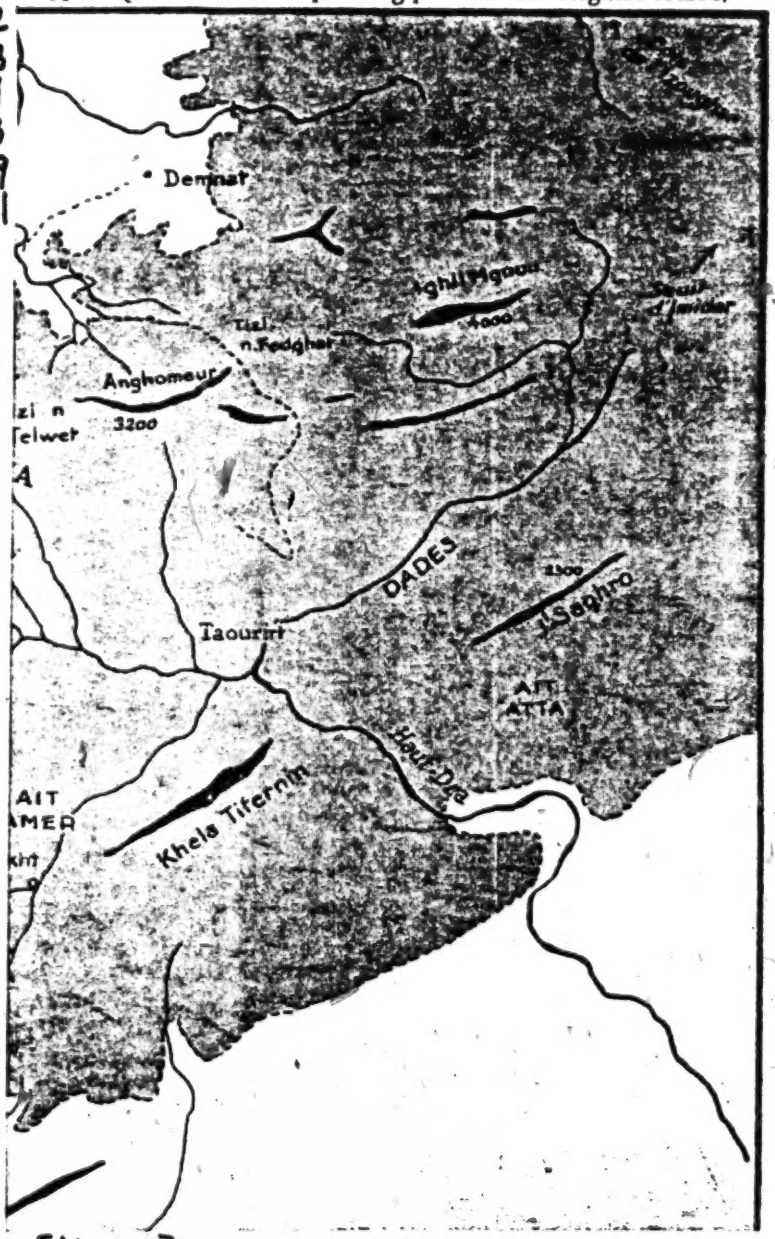
/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

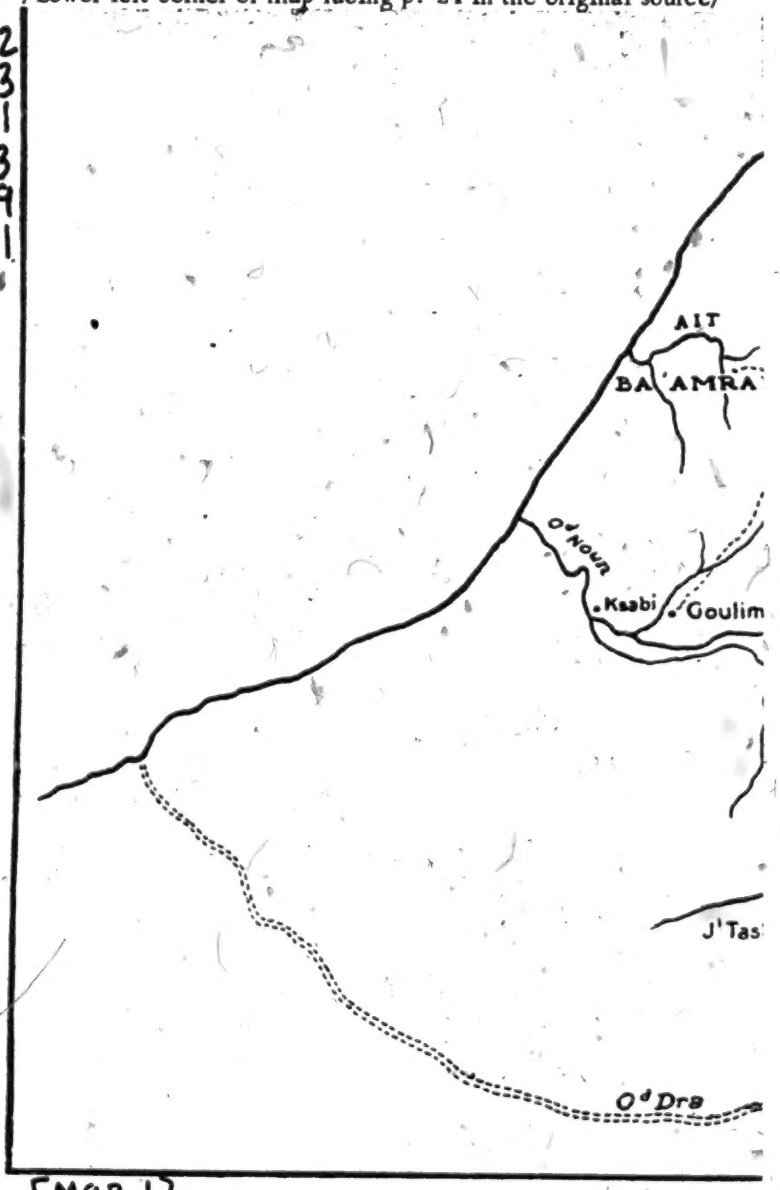


[Map 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

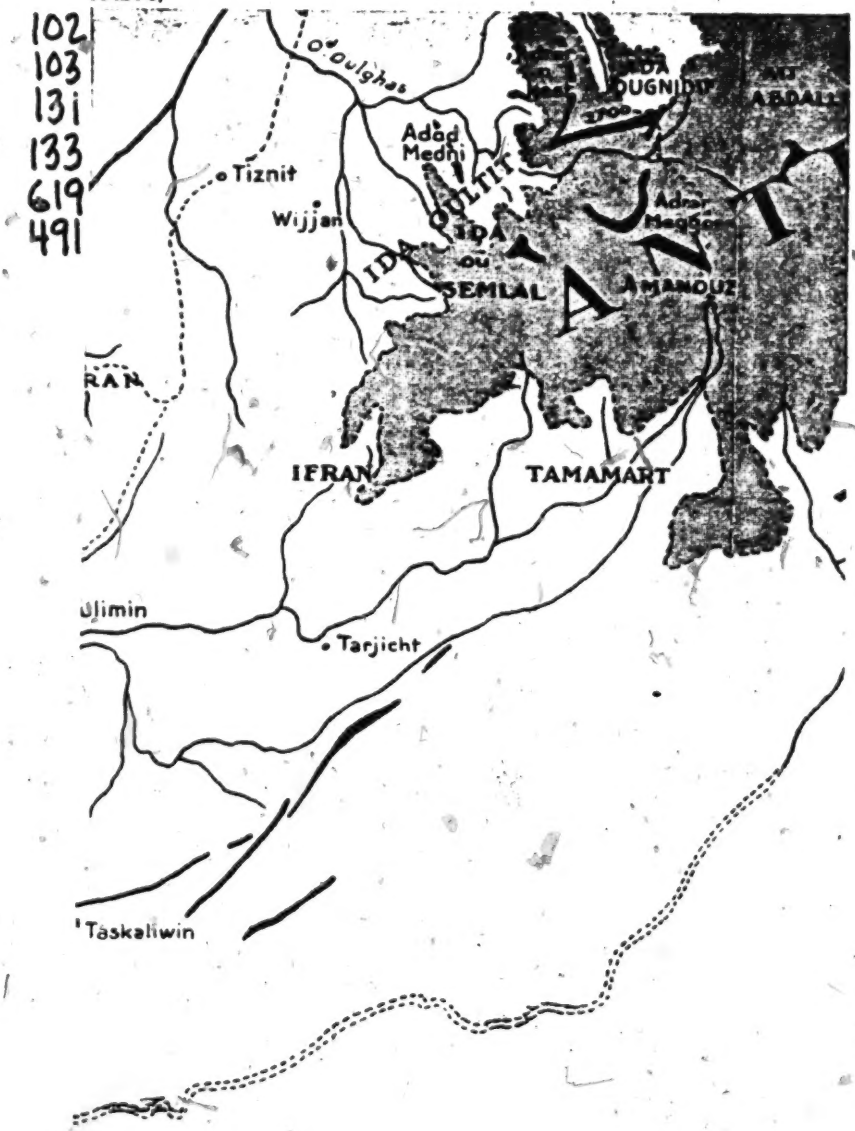
102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

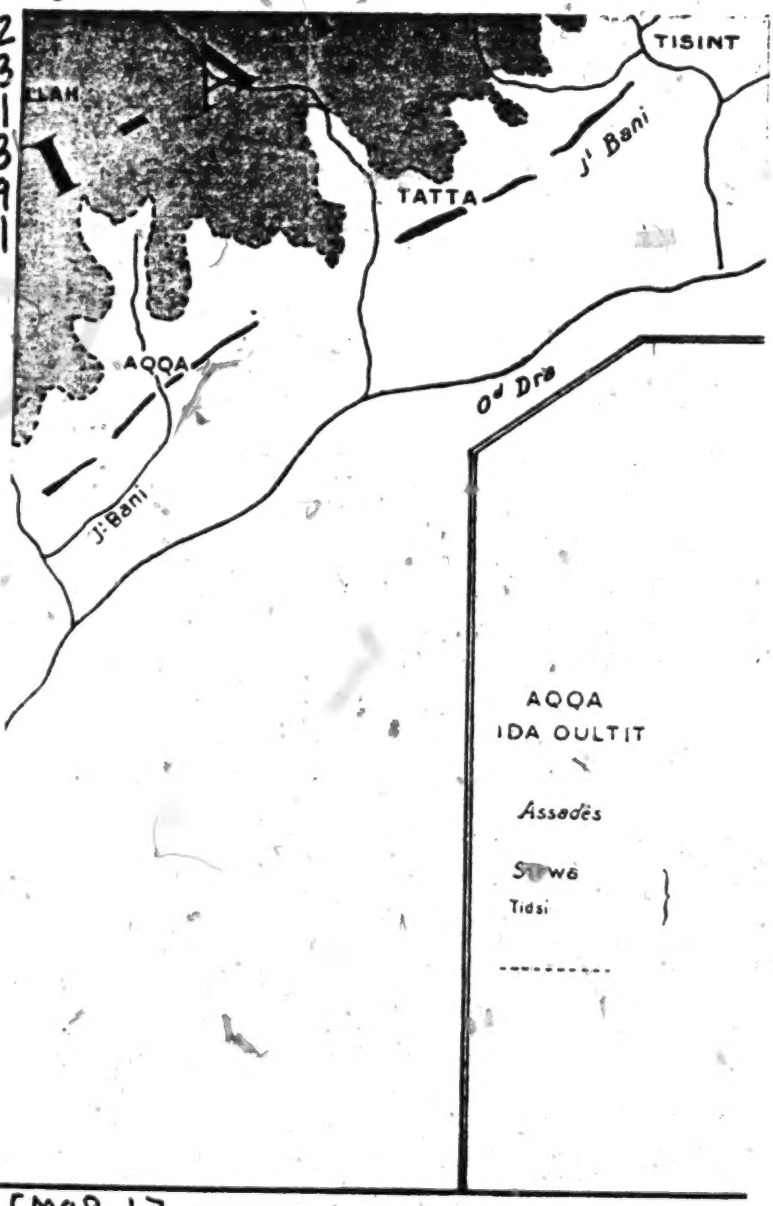


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

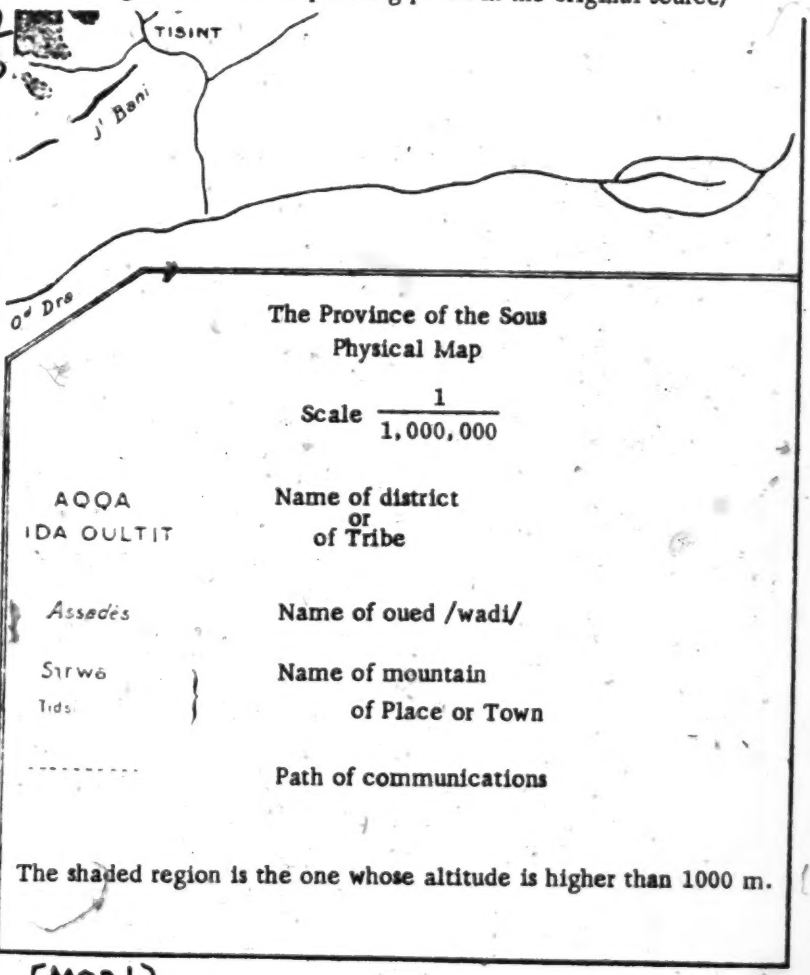


[Map 1]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/25 cont./

*175 [127] I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- If one is to believe the most ancient documents on the coast of Morocco that we possess -- the periplus of Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era (1) --

[113] 1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, Vol. I, 3rd ed., pp. 295, 482, 499; Périple d' Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/, I to VII; Hérodote /Herodotus/, IV, 184 and 196 (cf. collection of texts, R. Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16 to 20).

three distinct population groups were living then in the vicinity of the Oued Dra /Dra Wadi/: the Lixites, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians were those men of black race, well known to Hérodote /Herodotus/, whose very numerous traces have been found in most of the Saharan oases, and who, with their archaic techniques, still exist in our day in the heart of the African continent in Borkou and Tibesti (2).

[113] 2. E.-F. Gautier, Le Sahara /The Sahara/, Paris, 1923, p. 124. Perhaps they should be regarded as the ancestors of the Haraten /Haratin/, who in our day live in the big qsour /fortified places/ of the Dra, the Dadès, and the Ferkla, although, without any doubt, the bringing in of Sudanese slaves has in the course of the centuries renewed in large part the blood of the black populations of the oases.

/25 cont./

¥ 175 The Lixite pastoralists, who in their way of life were doubtless similar to the Touaregs /Tuareg/ of our time, were, one can believe, the predecessors of the Senhaja with the litham /veil/, widespread in the plains and deserts, the very ones who were to invade the plains of northern Morocco in the first centuries of Islam. Finally, one may think that the sedentary Troglodytes, settled in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas and the Haut-Dra, utilized from that distant epoch the numerous caverns hollowed out of the cliffs, which the Berbères /Berbers/ of our day invariably attribute to the Christians, legendary first inhabitants of the country.

No one has been able up to now to find on the Atlantic coast the traces of the five ports founded by Carthage between Cape Cantin and the mouth of the Dra; the colonies that populated them were doubtless rapidly destroyed by the autochthons. The Ethiopians were also to disappear almost completely, if one is to believe the traditions collected in the time of Edrisi /Idrisi/, under the blows given them by the desert tribes (3).

[113]

3. Edrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, Leiden, 1886, Dozy and de Goeje trans., pp. 34-35.

Only Lixites and Troglodytes existed, who, according to our hypothesis, would have belonged to the two great Berbère /Berber/ families of nomads and sedentary people, who subsequently did not cease confronting each other.

/26/ It is known that the Roman occupation of Morocco did not go beyond the plains of the north, and the southern limit of Mauretania Tingitana was marked approximately by the banks of the Bou Regreg. It is not surprising under these conditions that the Latin geographers bring us nothing on the Sous but an undecipherable list of tribes and the names of the large rivers.

We have to wait almost a millennium, up to the time of Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/ (ninth century), El Bekri /al-Bakri/

/26 cont./

*175 (eleventh century), and Edrisi /Idrisi/ (twelfth century), to obtain brief indications that permit knowing what the distribution of the populations of the Sous was in the early periods of Islam. Furthermore, in order to understand clearly the circumstances under which the great Berbère /Berber/ families mingled or collided in this remote epoch, we must make an appeal to the traditions that Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ tried tardily -- in the fourteenth century -- to collect and interpret.

One could not, without risking warping the history of Morocco by simplifying it to the extreme, try to explain the peopling of Morocco by the struggle between two ethnic groups, the Branès and the Botr, between whom Ibn Khaldoun seems to divide the ensemble of the Berbère /Berber/ populations, and whose ancient opposition in North Africa would be only the eternal combat between the sedentary people and the nomads (1).

[113]

1. E.-F. Gautier, Les Siècles obscurs du Magreb /The Obscure Centuries of the Maghreb/, Paris, 1927, p. 202 and sqq.

But if the exact meaning of the genealogical classifications established by Arab and Berbère scholars of the Middle Ages is doubtless destined to remain forever obscure to us, the large ethnic divisions that the historians and geographers distinguished in the same epoch under the family names of the Masmouda, Senhaja, and Zenata retain their value entirely; and all the ancient life of the Maghreb is explained by their struggles.

These groups, which include innumerable tribes and confederations often scattered over all of North Africa, constitute veritable nations in the early times of Islam. The elements that form them feel united by a powerful bond, which they get from the belief -- perhaps illusory -- in a common origin. These brothers of the same race are united enough to lend one another mutual assistance against their enemies, to defend their dynasties together, and at the same time to combat those of their rivals.

*-175 /27/ The Masmouda then represent almost the totality of the sedentary peoples of Morocco who from the Sous to Tangier occupy the mountains and the plains neighboring the Atlantic. The Zenata are nomads who come from the Orient in successive waves and spread out in the central steppes. The Senhaja include at the same time, from the first centuries of history, ancient sedentary peoples, such as the tribes of Kabylia or those of Tangier and Mazagan, and nomads who, under the name of Zenaga, live in the western Sahara or on the southern versant of the central Atlas.

Although the indications of historians are often imprecise, we can try to trace, from the distribution of the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the regions near the Atlantic around the seventh century, a picture that will suffice to make understandable the great events of history up to the epoch of the arrival of the Arabs.

A homogeneous mass of sedentary tribes is then settled in the western Atlas from the sources of the Dra to the shores of the Ocean and forms the most important group of the family of the Masmouda. The interior plain of the Sous is peopled with Masmouda agriculturalists mixed with the Senhaja from the south, to whom Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ gives the name Zenaga, preserved up to our day in a tribe to the southeast of the Sirwa. In the Anti-Atlas and in the confines of the Sahara, the large tribes still nomadic -- Gezzoula, Lamta, and other Zenaga -- of the family of the Senhaja, who exterminated the desert Ethiopians, are on the move; they await, in order to penetrate into the country of the sedentary peoples, the chances that history will not fail to give them in the coming centuries. One feels hovering over the Sous since that remote epoch, well before the Arab invasions, the threat of the nomads' arrival in the cultivated valleys.

To the north of the Atlas stretches the region that the historians call the lower Sous -- Sous el Adna -- in contradistinction to the Sous el Aqsa, or far Sous. It doubtless includes the whole of the Atlantic plains from the western Atlas to the approaches to the coastal chain of the Mediterranean. For the most part, it is also Masmouda agriculturalists who inhabit it. South

/27 cont./

*175 of the Oum er Rbi'a live, in fact, the Doukkala /Dukkala/, Regraga, and Haha, whom the impact of Arab tribes will break up or later drive back toward the south; north of the same river, coming as far as the vicinity of Salé and the present territory of the Tadla, the Berghwata are soon going to found their heretical kingdom with false prophets, whose /28/ prestige over the tribes comes from the Berbère /Berber/ Koran that they teach. On the banks of the Sebou live the Beni Hasan, whose territory is contiguous with that of the Ghomara.

This latter group also belongs, if one is to believe Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, to the Masmouda tribes; it occupies the mountains that border the Mediterranean, so that the greatest part of the regions inhabited by sedentary peoples in the Maghreb el Aqsa forms a people of the same race, the same traditions, and the same customs (1).

[113]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, de Slane trans., Vol. II, p. 135.

On the coast two blocks of Senhaja, one in the neighborhood of Tit and the Oum er Rbi'a, the other on the approaches to Tangier, hardly interrupt the continuity of the Masmoudian territory. But already, on the Saharan confines of the Sous, the great rival family of the Senhaja throws toward the plains successive swarms of conquering tribes, who drive the Masmouda from the Sous valley and who, farther to the East, cross the Atlas and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and make their place by hurling back, to the West of the chain of the Rif, the Ghomara of the mountains of the North.

The great struggle between the Masmouda and the Senhaja, doubtless waged for centuries at the time of the Mussulman conquest, is complicated from the eighth century and still more from the tenth on by the appearance of the Zénète Berbères /Berbers/, nomads who came from the East in the tracks of the Mussulman conquerors, by the invasion route from Taza to Fez.

/28 cont./

*175 While the kingdom of the Berghwata is being created and organized under the aegis of its prophet-kings, in the center of Morocco, Zénète principalities form all around: at Salé, in the country of the Tadla, at Aghmat; their chiefs wage a merciless war with the heretics. The first Zénètes are, moreover, only the vanguard of an army that will come later and whose last elements, in the thirteenth century, will be the tribes of the Beni Merin (2).

[113]

2. L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIe siècle /Morocco in the First Years of the Sixteenth Century/, Algiers, 1906, pp. 140, 146.

II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- It is then that the Almoravide conquerors appear, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ of the Lemtouna tribe, coming from Senegal, who bring along with them the Lamta from the Anti-Atlas (1053). The domination of Yousef /29/ Ben Tachfin /Yusuf ibn-Tashfin/ marks the decline of the power of the sedentary Masmouda; it precipitates first of all the ruin of the Berghwata -- already shaken by the blows given them by the Beni Ifran Zénètes -- and this disappearance takes on great importance, because thus the ethnic continuity of the sedentary tribes, whose territories extended until then from the western Atlas to the Rif, is broken; the Deren itself is conquered and visited by the Almoravides in its smallest innermost recesses (1);

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 71.

finally, in the North the Ghomara are threatened by the unceasingly stronger pressure of the Senhaja from the central Atlas, who have crossed the banks of the Ouergha and are presently reaching the shores of the Mediterranean. Without doubt, at the same epoch in the far Sous other Senhaja, the Gezzoula, are already

/29 cont./

*175 advancing from the Anti-Atlas toward the Sous, taking the place left vacant by the Lamta, and in turn begin the fight against the Masmouda.

Although the Arab historians do not tell us under what conditions the Almoravide conquest was brought about, the ensemble of the events whose concatenation we confusedly guess at suggests at this time the idea of a race struggle; the rapid successes of the Lemtouna, the power of their domination are explained, not only by the energetic effort of their armies, capable of breaking up, one by one, the small independent Berbère /Berber/ states that then cover Morocco, but also by an alliance concluded among all the Senhaja of the far Maghreb. Begun under a religious pretext, the Almoravide conquest became the war of the Senhaja, coming from the steppes and desert, against the sedentary Masmouda of the mountains and fertile plains; the thus aggravated antagonism of the two Berbère families was not one of the least causes that made possible the Almohade reaction and the prodigious success of the tribes of the Nefis in the twelfth century. These little groups of Masmouda, as we shall see, were able in 30 years to found a kingdom in the heart of the Atlas, then to conquer the Almoravide armies in the whole of the far Maghreb; finally to conquer, with the rest of North Africa, Mussulman Spain.

The epic of the great Almohade chiefs, Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/ and ʿAbd el Moumen /Abd-al-Mumin/, had as its first consequence that of giving the populations of the western Atlas for a century and a half a power /30/ and wealth that they had never known; but the effort of organizing the Almohade Empire, whose very special character we shall soon study, also contributed toward consolidating the structure of the social groups that were then settled in the Moroccan South.

The numerous historical documents that we possess on this epoch permit us to know the names and territories of these large tribes with sufficient precision. In the region of the passes of the Glawa and on the two versants of the Atlas, from the Dadès to Demnat /Demnate/, are the Heskoura, whose tribes, separated

/30 cont./

*175 today, have nevertheless kept up to the present the same territory as of old. In the West come the Hintata, vanished now, then the Gedmiwa, still in place west of the Nefis; the Genfisa, of whom the Seksawa nowadays represent the most active group; finally the Haha, in the vicinity of the Ocean, whose habitat has undergone only a slight change.

Moreover, from the twelfth century on we see foreigners from the plain of the Sous or from that of Marrakech, such as the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Ergita, as well as fractions of Zenata or Doukkala /Dukkala/, take their place beside the Almohade tribes. One might believe that they were groups driven from their habitat by the invasions from the plains or even sometimes political emigrants who had taken refuge in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113]

1. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'histoire Almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., Paris, 1928, pp. 64-65.

On the lower course of the Sous wadi, Mesgina, Ksima, and Chtouka lived in places near the ones that they still occupy. In the Anti-Atlas, south of Taroudant, we already find grouped around the Arghen the tribes of the Ida Ou Nadif, Indouzal, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri. Farther to the East the Ait Waouzgit surrounded the Sirwa, while on the two versants of the central Atlas move the innumerable tribes of the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/.

When the empire founded by the Masmouda was consolidated, the large autochthonous families in their ensemble had already taken their present place in the country. Scarcely in the plains of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, the Berghwata ended up by disappearing under the blows of the Almohades themselves, while in the Anti-Atlas the mounting tide of the Gezzoula continued to threaten the peace of the sedentary peoples of the Sous valley.

*175 /31/ So we see, up to the end of the twelfth century, the peopling of Morocco taking place little by little, under aspects that the present-day distribution of the tribes still permits finding again. It is true that up to here it is Berbères /Berbers/ who are disputing the possession of the land. Only a few Arabs, who came from Orient or from Andalusia, are settling in the towns. The Occident in the time of the Almohades still remains the almost exclusive domain of the old African race, while for two centuries already the great wave of Hilalian invasions has been overturning Ifriqiya and the central Maghreb.

III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- It was in the reign of Ya^{c}qoub el Mansour /Ya^{c}qub al-Mansur/ that the Arab tribes deported by the Almohade ruler after having fomented revolts in Ifriqiya appear in Morocco for the first time in 1187 (1).

[113] 1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, Paris, 1913, p. 200 and passim.

The first Mussulman conquest, led by Oqba ben Nafi^{c} /Okba ibn-Nafi/, had brought, as is known, only minute ethnic changes in western Berbérie /Barbary/. More important because of their consequences were the successive deportations of the Hilalian tribes, transplanted into the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/ and into the territory of the Berghwata by order of the Almohade caliphates. It is then that true tribes were constituted in the search for an eventual habitat: these are the Jochem, in the northern plains, in the vicinity of the Loukkos; the Beni Jabir, in the land of the Tadla; the Atbej, neighbors of the Doukkala /Dukkala/, and, closer to the Atlas, penetrating onto Berbère soil among the Haha, the Haret and the Nader. These nomadic groups were not to cease moving in the midst of the sedentary tribes in the course of the following centuries, until they in turn decided to settle in the plains of the north.

/31 cont./

*175 The conquest of power by the Mérinide /Marinide/ Zénètes in itself does not alter appreciably the peopling of the Moroccan South; but at the same time, at the end of the thirteenth century, a terrible tempest blew over this whole region, the effects of which will not be dissipated for 300 years: the invasion of the Ma^{c}qil Arabs.

The Ma^{c}qil, of unknown origin, without doubt younger brothers of the Hilalians, whose tracks in the desert they follow from the south of Ifriqiya, are then nomadizing in the steppes of the Moulouya. About /32/ 1250 ^{c}Ali Ibn Yedder, a minor Almohade chief from the upper valley of the Sous, having rebelled against the last successors of ^{c}Abd el Moumen, calls upon these Arabs in order to make up an army and drive the Gezzoula out of the Anti-Atlas. An imprudent step, which soon attracts to the first allies of ^{c}Ali Ibn Yedder innumerable families from the desert: entire tribes invaded the country; the Chebbanat spread to the north of the river of the Sous, the Dwi Hassan to the south. When the Mérinides take power about 1275, the Ma^{c}qil are already powerful enough to pay them a tribute of 18,000 camels after a defeat (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, I. p. 132.

Except during the short periods of the domination of the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, they are the true masters of the South.

The mass of the Ma^{c}qil tribes, ceaselessly increasing, overwhelms the Sous plain; soon the little nomadic Berbére /Berber/ tribes, Lamta, Zeggen, Lakhes, who live to the south of the Haha, find themselves absorbed by the Chebbanat, while the Dwi Hassan drive back the Gezzoula. Some Hilalian elements, of the Sofian /Sofyan/ coming from the northern plain and who form the tribes of the Haret and Kelabiya, cross the coastal zone and come as far as the Sous valley to pasture their flocks. Finally, in the fourteenth century the Berbères /Berbers/ everywhere are no more than confederates of the Arabs; and when the Chebbanat and Dwi Hassan, settled on both sides of the river, weigh their forces, each side is

/32 cont./

* 175 seen to carry in its wake the Berbère /Berber/ groups from its territory.

Nevertheless, the Arabs' supremacy in the Sous valley could not continue. Incapable of sustaining a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom -- we see them in fact precipitate the ruin of the Beni Yedder -- powerless to bring forth from the bosom of their tribes torn by family quarrels a chief who controls them, they had no role other than to foster anarchy. Moreover, living in a region unsuitable for nomadism, surrounded by mountains that had remained in the hands of the sedentary peoples, they were condemned in advance to disappear as a result of the efforts the Berbères /Berbers/ were making in order to ensure their possession of arable lands.

In the course of the darkness of the fifteenth century, that long period on which we do not possess any historical document, the ruin of the Ma'qil is indeed consummated. Nothing permits us to know the /33/ successive phases of this reversal of the opposing forces (1).

1. L. Massignon, op. cit., p. 132.

But when the Sous reappears in the light of history at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the peopling of the Moroccan South has been almost entirely accomplished in the form that we know at present, with a marked preponderance of Berbère /Berber/ elements.

In the course of the following centuries, the evolution is accentuated; the desert tends to become again the true habitat of the Arabs. While their groups permanently established on the irrigated plains of the Sous wadi, of the Dra, and of Marrakech let themselves be won over by the habits of sedentary life, all while still retaining, when they form whole tribes, a social and political life that distinguishes them from the Berbères /Berbers/, farther to the South on the Moyen /middle/ Dra, the Noun /Nun/, and the Seguiet el Hamra assemble those who in our day are called the Oulad Ma'gel -- descendants of the ancient

/33 cont./

*175 Ma^{c}qil -- faithful to the age-old traditions of nomadism. The Sahara, where their numerous flocks of sheep and their camels live, has remained their true fatherland, and in the oases that are found there they content themselves with exploiting the work of the haraten /Haratin/ in miserable qsour. It is only during bad years that they, with their families and their animals, are seen entering the interior plain of the Sous and the Azaghar /plain; see p. 155, footnote 1/ of Marrakech by isolated groups, when they humbly come to ask the sedentary peoples for a temporary refuge. Sometimes in these periods of famine a few of them allow themselves to be attracted by the security -- very relative, to be sure -- of sedentary life in the country of the Chtouka or the Haha. One village of Oulad Ben Seba^{c} /Oulad Bu Seba/, of Oulad Dlim /Oulad Delim/, is founded, which still maintains active relations with the desert during the first generations. But the new arrivals are quickly won over to the local customs. One century is enough to make these miserable Arabs similar in the way of life, religious and magical practices, and even language to the Berbères /Berbers/ among whom they have settled.

In the seventeenth century the preferred domain of the Arabs remains the valley of the Oued /wadi/ Sous, where the Oulad Yahya and Menabha, descendants of the Ma^{c}qil, are settled today, mixed at present with the Howara, Arabized Berbères /Berbers/, whom the Saadians may have brought into this region.

Other large Ma^{c}qil tribes, the Ahlaf and the ^{c}Amarnat /34/ in the fourteenth century live in the steppes that border the Haut Dra. In the same way as the Hilalians from the land of the Tadla, they will mix with the Heskoura Berbères /Berbers/ and the Seddrata, Arabized Berbères, who are found in our day on the Haut-Dra and the Dadès. These Arabs moreover have remained foreigners to the country for a long time; in this capacity they are always ready to enter the service of pretenders, of agitators, or even of Christians. Portuguese policy in the sixteenth century relied on the Ma^{c}qil of the Sous and the Dra; intrigues will be established from Santa Cruz, the present-day town of

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khela Tifernin, the ᶜArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maᶜqil formerly was.

*175 167 174 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of [101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives.

/35 cont./

*175 167 174 101 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, settled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït ᶜAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

*175 648 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do [101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but sim-
ply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes;
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
+631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
+634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/37 cont./

632 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony
162 -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive groves, as Amismiz [361] /Amizmiz/ [443] and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/38 cont./

000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the

361 plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population
632 reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of several distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

/39 cont./

361
712
184

/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several
592 hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the
712 Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a ram-
[162] part; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

361 The urban character of the construction of the
712 qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there
341 exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architec-
184 tural tradition and a technique more skillful and per-
342 fected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 VII. <u>The house.</u> -- There does not exist, it is scarcely nec-
184 essary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
[642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Ex-
[789] terior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/44 cont./

562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.
565 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/.
792 These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noûn and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself succeeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it
[731] did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Ait ʿAisi and the Ait Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[784] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
[778] to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./

771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
178 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
[825] are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[787] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113] 1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Ma^cqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
[554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The
[192] incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vocabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/53 cont./

181 [171] and development of the ancient cities of the Occident; likewise, we shall see appearing here, in the bosom of the tribes, leaders similar to the tyrants of the earliest times in Greece, who, like them, will succeed in founding their principalities on the ruins of small, dominated and subjugated republics.

In truth, the deep vitality of the western world at the time of its origin is lacking in Berbérie /Barbary/; the great myths capable of associating the local cults with the brilliant destinies of the gods of the cities have always remained unknown there; one only finds with difficulty in these miserable market towns of North Africa /54/ a few traces of an art without delicacy and from which imagination and feeling seem to be absent. Decoration, the technique of the jewels, arms, fabrics remain rudimentary and seem imprisoned in a fixed tradition that is preserved within the narrow limits of a tribe or valley. Thought alone crosses vaster spaces and the poets' improvisations, repeated at great distances, express the popular soul in a form not always unworthy of being compared with the elegiac verses of seventh-century Greece. But Berbère /Berber/ life most often remains attached to the earth of a village; its humble desires can be satisfied within the boundaries of a canton. Consequently one understands that in studying the political evolution of the tribes there is manifest to us the powerlessness of men to found true kingdoms unless influences foreign to the genius of the race come into play to break the numerous cadres of their little states divided by internal struggles. Left to themselves, the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the South of Morocco know only how to sketch the first phases of the founding of empires: the conquest of the tribe by a fortunate military leader.

For lack of poetic religions born in the cities, which, by means of festivals and games, achieved the unity of the Greek world, it is Islam that brings the idea of the State here. This strict and formalistic religion first pursues with infinite patience the ruin of the ancient beliefs so deeply bound to local life; it gives to men of various countries, opposed by unyielding interests, the same duties and the same language; finally, it comes to

/54 cont./

181 favor submission to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the recognition by the independent communities of a government by divine right, alone able to finish by its political work the rough shape, always incomplete, of Berbère /Berber/ royalty.

/55/

Chapter III

000 The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Origins to the Fifteenth Century

I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at the base of an empire. -- VI. The elements of resistance. -- VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- IX. The organization of the tribes of the Atlas under the Mérinides. -- X. A great kaid in the fourteenth century. -- XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous.

*175 Trying to write without gaps or obscurity the history of a province of Morocco in the course of the centuries, by calling on all the Arabic texts, European archives, and accounts of travelers, would be a vain enterprise that the most patient research could not enable one to carry out. This is because the documents available to us for knowing the past are inadequate both in number and worth.

First of all, the sources, abundant at certain epochs, are, on the other hand, entirely lacking at other periods. For example, history is masked in the first centuries of Islam by legends whose meaning and value escape us; it is illuminated at other times, from the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century, by the glory of the Almohade and Mérinide /Marinide/ dynasties, then is obscured anew at the time of the great anarchical struggles of the tribes during the whole fifteenth century and at the middle of the seventeenth century, after the fall of the Saadians.

/55 cont./

*175 114 Later, when Morocco closes its frontiers and lives apart from the western world, the rare writers who still consent to keep the chronicle of the events happening in an already ruined Empire hardly merit the name of historians; they limit their effort /56/ to vindication of the sovereigns or base their judgments on the rules of a narrow religious formalism (1).

[113] 1. E. Lévi-Provençal, Les Historiens des Chorfa /The Historians of the Shorfa/, Paris, p. 21 and sqq.

Moreover, all the books that the Arab authors left to us show only the most official aspect of the institutions as they might appear to the learned men of the towns, faithful servants of the Makhzen /makhzan/; they almost never tell us the policy of the leaders, the reaction of the tribes, the struggle of the influences among which the power is divided up in a region often abandoned to anarchy. The European texts are more precise and sometimes contain valuable information, but they are rarely the work of travelers experienced enough to have penetrated deeply into the obscure and complicated workings of Berbère /Berber/ politics.

*175 Under these conditions it is useless to hope to succeed in knowing, in all their development, the great political movements that have disturbed the life of the Moroccan South, since we would not know how to interpret with certainty the documents that are available to us or to put them together in sufficient number to draw an exact enough picture of the past. It will suffice for us to choose here, from among the number of limited facts whose recital has reached us, those that are most fraught with meaning, to esteem them for what they are worth, and to tie them together, in order to sketch in large strokes the curve of an evolution whose more precise variations we must give up knowing. The general view at which we shall thus arrive will perhaps suffice to bring to light some of the permanent characteristics of the social life and will help us to understand the present better.

/56 cont./

*175 I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- We know almost nothing about the history and ancient geography of the Sous before Islam. The periplus of Hannon /Hanno/, as we have said, only permits us to imagine what the populations of the far Sous might have been, Ethiopians, Lixites and Troglodytes, in the fifth century before our era. It is known that the Roman occupation of Mauretania Tingitana did not extend into the north of Morocco beyond the plain of the Gharb /Rharb/, since the "limes" stopped in the vicinity of Rabat. Beyond, there was doubtless nothing but guard posts for the protection of merchants. Farther toward the South the "Promontorium /57/ Solis," where the Phoenicians had formerly set up an altar to Poseidon, can still be identified with Cape Cantin, but already in the time of Strabon /Strabo/ the trading posts founded by Hannon /Hanno/ had disappeared without leaving any traces (1).

[113]

1. Hérodote /Herodotus/ IV, 43, 184; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/. Cf. text in Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16-17.

Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/ alone can enable us to know, with a great dearth of details, under what aspects this mysterious coast of the Moroccan South then appeared to foreign navigators. The "Getules Autololes" were living between the littoral and the Atlas; then came the river Qosenus and the Selatites, perhaps on the banks of the Sous; the Masates and their river, which we can identify with the wadi Massat; the valley of the river Darat, our Dra of today, peopled with Daratite Ethiopians. Still farther it was the Perorsis Ethiopians with whom the traders made exchanges, while other Gétules, the Dariens, stayed in the interior of the continent (2).

2. The Autolole and Darien "Getules" are

*175 /57 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ perhaps Igezzoulen of the tribe of the Aït Ouloul (?) and Igezzoulen of the Dra.

As for the Atlas, the "Deren" or "Deris," its distance and the marvels that manifested themselves there put it outside the range of exploration by men. Watered by gushing springs, in gardens where marvelous fruits grew, during the day it did not seem to contain inhabitants. But at night, on the contrary, it was covered with fires. The aegipans /fabulous inhabitants of Libya, according to Pliny/ and the satyrs gave themselves over to their dances, while the flutes, the Panpipe, the noise of drums and cymbals mysteriously filled the air with their harmonies and din (3).

[113]

3. Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/, Book V. Cf. text in Roget, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- When the companion of the Prophet Oqba ben Nafi^c, with the aid of the Zenètes, conquered the far Maghreb in 690, it was in the Sous on the already famous banks of Massat that the conqueror came to affirm the completion of his work in a manner that legend has expressed symbolically. Having, it is said, no more men to subdue and convert, he urged his horse into the Ocean in order to greet the fish, subjects of the prophet Jonas.

The Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous, like their brothers of the North, embraced /58/ the doctrines of the Kharedjites /Khawarij/, in order to fight better against their new masters. Punished by ^cObeid Allah Ibn el Habbab, they rebelled again under the direction of a military leader, Maisara, in order to be delivered from the tyranny of the Arab governors.

In spite of its conversion to Islam, the South of Morocco doubtless remained still subject to Judeo-Christian influences, and one can also believe that the old magico-religious practices of

/58 cont./

*175 ancient Libya kept a strong hold on the mind. But while in the center of the Maghreb, in the land of the Berghwata, these ancient ferments were to favor the creation of a heretical kingdom guided by priest-kings, depositaries of a Berbère /Berber/ Koran, when false prophets -- such as Ha-Mim and his family -- on the shores of the Mediterranean were going to lead the Ghomara into impious practices and earn for them the punishment of God for centuries, the success of the new religion was soon affirmed in the Sous. The ardor of the converts there became such, according to Mussulman writers, that this region did not delay in becoming the blessed land of the scholars and the favorite place for theological contentions between rival sects.

Later, when Idris the Fatimite had founded an Empire in Fez and made the dogma of the political pre-eminence of the shorfa /shurfa/ recognized from that time on, the Sous found itself constituting, in the partition of Morocco, a veritable kingdom. Thus it was that ᶜAbdallah, son of Idris II, became king of Aghmat, of the Nefis, of the country of the Masmouda and Lamta, that is to say, of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. In the eleventh century people were still attributing to this sovereign the founding of the town of Tamedelt near a silver mine between the wadi Dra and Igli of the Sous; in the same period a heretical tribe was referring to a king they had had, Abouʾl Qasem Idris, grandson of ᶜAbdallah, and soon the tribe of the Semlala, who also claims as ancestor the Idrisite sovereign of the Sous, began to assert, in the name of their origins, political claims that they have not renounced up to our day (1).

[113]

1. El Bekri /al-Bakri/, Description de l'Afrique septentrionale /Description of Northern Africa/, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 303-308; Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, Vol. I, pp. 212-216, 237, 238; Fournel, Les Berbères /The Berbers/, Paris, 1857-1875, pp. 270-272; Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/, de Goeje tr.; de Slane trans., Journal Asiatique, 1842, p. 67.

/58 cont./

*175 In spite of this progress of sherifism, the Sous then was doubtless not entirely peaceful or orthodox, people indulged in furious /59/ combats even into the mosques; the use of fermented beverages was constant, and it was even said that in the mountains, in a region near the one inhabited at present by the Ida ou Izimmer, the tribes secretly worshiped a ram, probable vestige of a Libyc cult (1).

[619] 1. The fraction of the Ida Ou Izimmer -- in Berbère /Berber/, the sons of the ram -- in our day is part of the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the North of Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque /"Some Notes on the Libyc Ammon"/ (Mélanges R. Basset /R. Basset Miscellany/, Paris, 1923).

[113]

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the rigorists sometimes hurled anathema on the Atlas of the Masmouda and that people repeated the hadith by which the Prophet announced that on the day of the resurrection all this region would be "led into hell with all its inhabitants just as the bride is led to her husband" (2).

[113] 2. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. I, p. 563.

At least the Moroccan South seems to us at this epoch, before the disorders caused by the conquests of the Almoravides, to be a prosperous region, well cultivated and peopled with towns. There were, to the north of the Atlas, on both sides of the mountain of the Kik, Neffis, the town with the gardens, and Aghmat, the Idrisite capital, which had been governed previously by Berbère /Berber/ magistrates changed each year; on the South versant, Igli and Taroudant, at the intersection of the mountain routes, Tamedelt in the Anti-Atlas, Massat in the plain and on the Noun /Nun/, the oases of Noul Lemta and Ifri. The coast was actively

/59 cont./

*175 frequented by the navigators from the Mediterranean and Portugal, between Gouz at the mouth of the Tensift and Oulili in Mauritania, and from this remote epoch the "Sousi" would gain the reputation of clever trader and hard worker, which he has kept up to our day (3).

3. Ibn Hauqal, ibid., p. 81; El Bekri, ibid., pp. 291, 292, 305, 308; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 70-71; Kitab el Istibçar, Fagnan tr., p. 191.

III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- We have already told (4)

4. Cf. above, Ch. II, p. 40.

how the very rapid conquest of Spain, carried out by nomadic Lemtouna Berbères /Berbers/, Senhaja coming from the Sudan, was explained not only by an extremely powerful and energetic military effort, capable of breaking up the cadres of the small Berbère states with a single blow, but also by the natural alliance of all the Senhaja peoples scattered on the frontiers of the territory of the Masmouda. In the Anti-Atlas the Lamta became the auxiliaries of the Lemtouna. Carried far away with them by the work of conquest and holy war, they made room in the Moroccan South, it seems, /60/ for the Igezzoulen, themselves coming from the desert, who also became the natural adversaries of the sedentary peoples already established on the banks of the Sous.

There is no doubt but that the Almoravide conquest, made in the name of the purest Islam, was a harsh trial for the Masmouda. The towns of Massat, Taroudant, Aghmat, already subject to the Beni Ifran from the land of the Tadla, succumbed successively, then the Lemtouna subdued the tribes, visiting all the innermost recesses of the Atlas. But Yousef ben Tachfin /Yusuf ibn-Tashfin/ doubtless met with such difficulties in subjugating the

/60 cont./

*175 montagnards that he decided to found a new town (1062) away from their undertakings. In the middle of a plain then uncultivated, but from the time of that occasion transformed into an orchard by the supply of water that had created the prosperity of Aghmat and Neffis, there thus rose Marrakech /Marrakesh/, protected by its remoteness from the foot of the Atlas from the attacks of the Masmouda (1).

1. El Bekri, ibid., pp. 315, 318.

IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- In 1121, when the Almoravide leaders and the princesses of the Lemtouna scandalized the true believers at Marrakech by the laxity of their Islam (2),

2. El Marrakchi, Histoire des Almohades, Fagnan trans., p. 154.

there appeared in this town a poor fqih / fakhi, f'khi/ from the Anti-Atlas, coming from Egypt, where he had gone, it was said, to collect from the Imam el Ghazzali the most perfect religious knowledge of his time. Surrounded by a few disciples, Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, who passed himself off as the reformer of the morals, was soon a cause of dissension and, to avoid the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ prison, he had to flee into the mountains of Aghmat. Soon this strange personage, whose austerity of life and theological passion never flagged for an instant during his ten years of political activity, succeeded in grouping companions around him, received the adherence of several tribes, and grew bold enough to wage audacious battles with the disciplined forces of the Almoravides of the plain. Four years later, having consolidated his power over his partisans, to whom he had given the name of "Almohadin" -- the partisans of the unity of God -- this new Mahdi set up an entrenched camp at Tinmellel in the high valley of the Asif Nefis. Soon a veritable kingdom had been formed around the reformer's mosque.

*175 /61/ The death of Ibn Toumert in 1130 and a bloody defeat of his partisans in Marrakech could not stop the movement thus launched. A believer from the first hour, ᶜAbd el Moumen el Goumi /Abd-al-Mumin/, originally from a tribe near Oran, having taken over the government of the Masmoudian tribes with a firm hand after the death of the Mahdi, the Sous, the western and central Atlas, and the North of Morocco successively fell into the hands of the Almohades; finally, after twenty years of fierce wars, most often in the mountains, the Almoravide armies yielded, exhausted, and the taking of Marrakech in 1147 came to crown this surprising triumph. ᶜAbd el Moumen, carried away by his victories, immediately completed his work; he successively took possession of Spain, the central Maghreb, and Ifriqiya. Thanks to the unstinted support given to this religious movement by the populations of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, an immense Empire was founded for the benefit of the Masmouda. The solidity of the conquest was such that, for more than a century, under the glorious reigns of Abou Yaᶜqoub Yousef, Yaᶜqoub el Mansour /Yaᶜqub al-Mansur/, and Mohammed en-Naser, the Almohade Empire was to resist the forces of dispersion, so powerful in North Africa, and preserve intact until the time of El Mansour the religious teaching and the traditions of the Mahdi.

People have often tried to explain the irresistible success of this conquest, the stability and the order of the Empire thus built, by the religious faith communicated by the Mahdi to his believers. It is certain that such a union of forces, a discipline both rigorous and constant, was impossible in Berbère /Berber/ country without the existence of a lasting enthusiasm capable of making the internal divisions disappear, the presence of which keeps the tribes in a state of perpetual weakness. The character of Almohade art, so stable and spontaneous, proceeds, on the other hand, to give us evidence of a high ideal of greatness, strength, and simplicity, which the Maghreb has never found again in the course of the centuries, any more than it has since been able to manifest so resolute an energy in its warlike undertakings.

/61 cont./

*175 But it is no less interesting to try to understand in the light of documents recently brought to light (1)

[113]

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, Lévi-Provençal tr. (Mémoires d'El Beidaq), Paris, 1928.

by what means was ensured, in the heart of the state of the Masmouda, the solidity of a foundation on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could make rest with so much /62/ success the government of the immense territory of which he had taken possession with the support of a few thousand ignorant montagnards.

In the first period of the Almohade penetration the tribes of the Deren could actually constitute an intact reserve of intrepid fighters, but they were not at all prepared to play the grandiose role that the Mahdi dreamed of for them. Hintata, Gedmiwa, Genfisa, Ait Tinmellel, who formed the large Masmoudian tribes, were then only names by which was designated an aggregate of little isolated cantons like the ones found in our day in the highest regions of the Atlas. Most of these fractions formed minuscule republics, at the head of which was put a "mezwar," doubtless similar to the "moqaddem," magistrate named for one year, who still today exercises the same functions in the same valleys. All the important decisions were made during general assemblies, and we see, at the origin of the movement, the considerable role played by these meetings of minor notables. It is the "jmaᶜa" /jemaa, djemaa/ of the Hintata that conclude the first alliances with Ibn Toumert; the "impeccable Imam" himself frequently assembles his believers in "agrao" -- a term that designates, in all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco, the "jmaᶜa" of all the men from one tribe constituted in order to deliberate jointly --; soon there will appear in the service of the Mahdi the council of ten, made up of his most reliable companions, as well as the council of fifty, in which all the tribes of the newborn state are represented. All these features indicate very well the republican

/62 cont./

*175 character of the first Almohade institutions, just as the familiar scenes of life, reported with simplicity by the chronicler El Beidaq, show the harsh existence of these warriors, fervent in combat, but envious, argumentative, free in their language to the point of being insolent, carried away by their egalitarian passion to defend their opinion in an assemblage, arms in hand, rather than to follow respectfully the advice of the most tested leaders (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, pp. 35-73.

In order to conquer the Almoravide armies and ensure the triumph of pure Islam over the "anthropomorphists" of the plains, it was necessary first of all to discipline the Masmouda. Ibn Toumert, doubtless advised /63/ by 'Abd el Moumen, the true political and military leader of the enterprise, knew, with a particularly acute sense of the spirit of association of the Berbères /Berbers/, how to utilize the institutions of the tribes in order to give the internal organization of his kingdom solidity against any test.

V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at the base of an empire. -- The first concern of the Mahdi was the establishment of an order of pre-eminence among the various allied tribes and a rigorously fixed hierarchy within each of them. This was the "Tamyiz" of the Almohades (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 53.

There it was originally a military institution and like the definitive sanction of an "order of battle," the notion of which was not unknown to the Berbères /Berbers/. The large confederations of

*175 [631] [726]

/63 cont./ The large confederations of the Moroccan South as a matter of fact in our day still have the custom of assembling their contingents and throwing them into combat in a succession exactly determined and known to all; doubtless it was already like that at the time of Ibn Toumert. From that time on it sufficed to utilize the secret penchant of these egalitarian montagnards for ceremonial, their taste for the theatrical spectacle, to bend them to a rigorous discipline. In the heart of the Atlas, in a verdant basin of the Nefis surrounded by the wooded crests of the Wichedden, the snowy mass of the Wanoukrim, the red mountains of the Tizi n Imiri, the Tinmellel camp then saw unfold innumerable defiles of the tribes destined to fix the tradition and found the institutions of the new kingdom. The order of succession was regulated by the services rendered for the sacred cause of the Mahdi; the first who came forward were the Hargha, brothers of his father; then the Tinmellel, brothers of his mother; then came the Hintata first to assemble, the Gedmiwa; finally the Genfisa, a little lukewarm and sometimes coming into the community against their will. The place of each notable and of each fraction was noted with care on registers kept by the comrades closest to the master. Thus the control of the army of the Mahdi and the titles of nobility of those who were to become the Almohade sheiks were established at the same time.

During the first years, for combat and the dividing up of the booty, the "Tamyiz" was the fundamental institution of the small State of the /64/ Masmouda. A test of the solidity of that hierarchy was soon made in a striking manner. After the death of the Mahdi, kept secret for three years, when the council of Ten had accepted as leader the foreigner ᶜAbd el Moumen, the tribes defiling before the new caliph in the prescribed order recognized him as their master, putting at his service an organized force that was going to enable him to bring about in twenty years the conquest of the Occident (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 137 and sqq.

/64 cont./

*175 ᶜAbd el Moumen, in continuing the founder's tradition, knew how to adapt that organization immediately to the new situation created by the rapid growth of the subject territory. The Heskoura, the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/ took their places following the first tribes; after a few years, when the revolts among the Hargha had obliged the Caliph to call on his brothers from Oranie to make sure of his personal guard, the Goumiya also entered the "tamyiz" of the Almohades.

From the beginning the boldest innovation had been to make all the foreign elements -- comrades who had come from Egypt or various districts of North Africa -- disappear into the mass of the Masmouda by making them enter the tribe of the Hargha. This practice was continued by subsequently attaching to one of the five original tribes the populations of the regions conquered or won over. Thus a new crystallization of the tribes was brought about in an entirely original form by grouping the least reliable elements around a faithful nucleus. In this way the Hargha received the Inda Ou Zal, Ida Ou Nadif, Ida Ou Limit, Ida Ou Finis, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri from the north versant of the Anti-Atlas (2).

2. The fact that it is the tribes from the south of Taroudant who are then attached to the Hargha is enough, in our opinion, to show that the territory of the Mahdi's tribe of origin was indeed that of the Arghen, at present still settled in the Anti-Atlas not far from the Inda ou Zal.

[113] Cf. in the opposite sense H. Basset and Terrasse, Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924, p. 19.

The itineraries of the Almohade expeditions in the Sous valley confirm, insofar as they can be identified, the opinion that

*175 /64 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ makes the present-day tribe of the Arghen to the southeast of Taroudant the Mahdi's country of origin.

The Hintata and the Tinmellel divided between them the people of the Sous and the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, or incorporated the Aït Yighaz, the Aït Mzal, the Souktana. Later, when regular contingents, the "Ghozz," of foreign origin had been formed to participate in the distant operations that the Masmouda could not adequately carry out, the Caliph integrated them into each of the five tribes. /65/ A veritable bond of brotherhood, which perhaps was manifested by special ceremonies, at the very least by the right to take part in common meals, sanctioned that adoption. Soon, when the Empire grew, the officials of the Makhzen /makhzan/, from the talebs, the tax collectors, to the drum players and makers of money, each took his place in the cadres prepared by the "tamyiz," with an order and discipline that seems to us unique in the history, so unstable and troubled, of the Maghreb (1).

1. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, pp. 57, 71-73.

In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ what were the social consequences of such prodigious transformations produced on the customary conditions of Berbère /Berber/ life?

First of all, local resistance engendered by family rivalries disappeared completely in the heart of the kingdom of Tinmellel. In the course of the "Tamyiz" in a difficult period it had been necessary, even in the Mahdi's lifetime, to exclude hypocrites and swindlers from the Almohades and to put them to death. In this way, in the course of a severe forty-day examination, the five tribes were rid of all those who did not accept the new regime. One should not believe, however, that the Masmouda from then on lost the habit of independence and in every circumstance bent their heads before their new leaders. On the contrary,

/65 cont./

*175 they kept great freedom of direction during the whole period of the conquest. One could see the caliph himself bow to the common rules for the division of booty and wait his turn to choose captive virgins taken from the enemy. At the time of the taking of Marrakech, in order to go to collect a treasure said to be hidden in the courtyard of a house, it was necessary to send two men from each of six tribes in order to take possession of it; finally, in the course of the same events, when ᶜAbd el Moumen wanted to save from death a minor Almoravide prince for whom he had felt moved with pity, one of the combatants, Aboul Hasan ben Waggag, was not afraid to cry out in order to prevent him from doing it: "Hola! hola! Almohades, here is ᶜAbd el Moumen opposing us; he wants to raise lion cubs against us" (2).

2. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, p. 171.

Better than the strictness, the profitable sharing of the spoils of the defeated also contributed toward keeping the Masmouda warriors on the path that had been traced for them by the Mahdi. Soon these /66/ rude montagnards who formerly lived in low hovels covered with dry grass received fiefs in Andalusia and participated in the government of the conquered provinces with all the honors and advantages that were attached to it (1).

1. El Marrakchi, ibid., p. 290.

While Tinmellel was adorned with a magnificent mosque, the high valleys, to be sure, looked to constructing, thanks to the money collected outside, numerous and comfortable dwellings of those who had become Almohade sheiks. For the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ this was a period of abundance which the tribes remembered with nostalgia for a long time.

At the same time that the dividing up of the profits of governing an Empire was giving to the land of the Masmouda a prosperity that it had never known, the political role of the Almohade

/66 cont./

*175 sheiks' council did not cease to grow at the Sultan's court. From the time of the death of ᶜAbd el Moumen (1163) this assembly intervenes; one of his sons, Mohammed, is judged incapable of reigning and another proclaimed in his place, Abou Yaᶜqoub. Soon the leaders of the Hintata, having become powerful emirs, are going to govern the kingdom of Ifriqiya with their own forces, while their brothers remaining in the country will establish themselves solidly in the high valleys of the Dra (2).

2. El Marrakchi, ibid., p. 203.

VI. The elements of resistance. -- Well before the period of decline into which the Empire of the Masmouda began to enter starting from 1230, the domination established by ᶜAbd el Moumen, thanks to the support of the tribes of the Nefis, had not existed without entailing important reactions in the rest of the Sous.

First of all, the conquered tribes of the Maghreb had accepted with some difficulty the firm authority of the new caliph. So, just as a purge had been necessary to put swindlers and hypocrites out of the way, it had also been necessary to separate the good from the bad throughout the Empire. To get rid of all those who were slow in recognizing his absolute authority, ᶜAbd el Moumen had lists of denunciations drawn up, which amounted to death for more than 32,000 warriors in the various provinces. The Doukkala, the Regraga, the Haha, the Sous valley, the land of the Ingisat and Gezzoula in the Anti-Atlas contributed to these massacres at the rate of six to eight hundred victims per large tribe. /67/ This time, moreover, the Almohades served exclusively as executioners and "Allah helped them in the best way" to pacify the country and to stop the disturbances that were taking place there (1).

1. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, pp. 181-185.

/67 cont./

*175 In the high valleys of the western Atlas, accessible with difficulty because of the narrow defiles that command them, some fractions of the Seksawa and Gedmiwa, doubtless living near the summits of the Tichka, stayed away from the great religious movement in which all the rest of the mountains had been involved (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, p. 269.

It is there that independent chiefs were soon to appear, the most powerful of whom, ᶜOmar Seksawi, was going to dare, after the ruin of the Almohade Empire, to take the title of "agellid" or Berbère /Berber/ king. Likewise, the Masmouda near the coast remained very lukewarm for a long time and the ethnics of the Haha, of the Regraga, of the Mtougga scarcely figure here and there in the long lists of the dignitaries of the new Makhzen /makhzan/ that have been preserved for us (3).

3. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, pp. 48-53.

After the taking of Marrakech, the populations of the plain of the North rose up twice, first joining the rebels of the Gharb /Rharb/ with ᶜOmar el Khayyat of Salé, then all the tribes of the South, under the leadership of Yahya Es-Sahrawi.

But it was above all the nomadic tribes of the Anti-Atlas and of the desert that vigorously resisted the establishment of the new power. The Igezzoulen, defeated a first time after an expedition that had carried ᶜAbd el Moumen as far as El Kost in the Far South, called on the Christian leader Réverter, in the service of the Almoravides; they soon betrayed him, but were nonetheless massacred by the Almohades, except for the small children. In 1153, with the aid of Yahya Es-Sahrawi, they began their rebellion again at the same time as the Lamta and some Aït Yighaz. Defeated anew, as well as their leaders, Ahoukar, sultan of the Lemtouna of the desert and the lord of Taᶜgizt, they perished in

/67 cont./

* 175 great numbers; and one could see put up for sale at Bab Chari^{c}a in Marrakech the women of the Gezzoula and Lamta with all their flocks. Finally the A'lt Waouzgit of the Sirwa, subject from the first years of the Mahdi's preaching, also rebelled at the end of ^{c}Abd el Moumen's reign. Their territory was cut into two parts and divided between the Hintata and the Tinmellel. The frequency /68/ of these uprisings, which, according to El Beidaq, happened no fewer than 28 times in the reign of the first caliph (1),

1. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, p. 207 and sqq.

shows well enough what severity was necessary to maintain order in a country that had never known submission to a strong and organized power; their importance makes us understand how the Senhajian populations of the Anti-Atlas remained trembling under the domination of the Masmouda. The weakening of the central power in the course of the last years of the dynasty and the arrival of the Arabs were soon going to set free all these forces of disorder in the Far South and deliver the Sous over to frightful anarchy for three centuries.

VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- The intrigues of the council of the Almohade sheiks of the Atlas, whose growing role in the affairs of the State we have indicated above, made the first signs of the decline of the Empire of ^{c}Abd el Moumen appear beginning from the reign of Yousef el Mostanser (1214). Two of these powerful chiefs, Ibn Ech Chehid and Yousef Ibn ^{c}Ali, who had taken command of the Hintata and of Tinmellel, after Yousef's death had El ^{c}Adel, son of El Mansour, named, then strangled (2);

2. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 231 and sqq.

their next candidate was Yahya ben Naser, who, with the support

*175 /68 cont./ of the Heskoura and the Arabs, was to hold Sijilmassa, the Dra, and the Haut-Sous for a long time. So when a son of El Mansour, El Mamoun, had taken power in Marrakech, the role of the council of the Almohades seemed so pernicious to him that he had 100 of them executed and ostentatiously rejected the doctrines, traditions, and ceremonial of the Mahdi, whom the sheiks referred to ceaselessly (3).

3. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 236.

A few years afterwards, his successor, Er-Rechid, had to re-establish these institutions (1232) in order to win over the mountains in revolt, but at the same time he was falling under the tutelage of the chief of the Hintata, Abou Mohammed ben Wanudin, lord of the Dra, master of Sijilmassa and governor of the provinces of the North. Another Almohade, Sa^c^id Ibn Zakaria el Gedmiwi, played an analogous role in the reign of Es-Sa^c^id, son of El Mamoun, who at one time had tried to get rid of the sheiks by concluding a dangerous alliance with the /69/ Sofian, Khlot, and Ma^c^qil Arab tribes. After the death of Es-Sa^c^id and the rout of his army at Tlemcen, in the land of the Beni ^c^Abd el Wad, in the reign of El Mortada, again an Almohade sheik, ^c^Ali ben Yedder, revolted in the Sous in order to found an independent kingdom with the aid of the Ma^c^qil Arabs, and the Sultan was powerless to put it down (1).

[113]

1. Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides /Chronicle of the Almohades and Hafsids/, Fagnan tr., pp. 23, 30, 32, 39, 43; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 231-243; El Marrakchi, ibid., pp. 205-285.

For 30 years, however, the thrust of the Zenètes, interrupted for two centuries, again took a new form. The Beni Merin were advancing in the north of the country, winning the territory of the

/69 cont./

*175 Tadla, encouraging the rebels; when the Almohade sheiks saw them give their powerful support to a relative of the sovereign, Abou Debbous, they themselves abandoned a lost cause and many of them rendered homage to Abou Yousef Ya^{c}qoub, son of ^{c}Abd el Haqq the Mérinide. El Mortada sought refuge in the Atlas in vain; he had to flee to Azemmour, where he was betrayed, then delivered over and put to death.

The reign of Abou Debbous, last Almohade caliph, was brief; having succeeded in destroying the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the Sous, the Sultan, who had asked for the Mérinides' protection, tried to betray them by seeking to obtain the support of the son of Yaghmorasen at Tlemcen. At that moment Ya^{c}qoub ben ^{c}Abd el Haqq advanced on Marrakech, took the town, killed the Sultan, and the remains of the Almohade Makhzen /makhzan/ fled into the mountains (1269).

Then for one last time the last Almohades could be seen trying to reconstitute an independent kingdom in this place that had seen the birth of the Empire of the Mahdi. In Tinmellel, around the mosque and royal tombs, the vizier Ibn Attouch had Ishaq, brother of El Mortada, proclaimed sultan against all hope. The Masmouda held firm for several years against their enemies, then, without strength, allowed the holy city to be defiled; defenders and Sultan were put to death and the sepulchers desecrated. It was the end of the epic in which the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had surprised the Occident by their valor in war, their organizational power, and their spirit of adaptation (2).

[113]

2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 247-253, IV, 82. -- Cf. also the fine article by H. Basset, H. Terrasse on Tinmel (Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924).

This collapse, rendered inevitable by the rivalries and ambition /70/ of the Almohade sheiks, did not entail, as has sometimes

*175 /70 cont./

been believed, the disappearance of the tribes that had given their support to the political and religious movement created by Ibn Toumert and ʿAbd el Moumen. Although the names of several of these groups henceforth disappear almost entirely from history, it is certain that most of the fractions that made up the large tribes continued to occupy the same places. In our day a large number of small tribes that formerly formed the confederation of the Genfisa are found in the same place as in former times, around the summits of the Tichka. The ancient fractions of the Gedmiwa cited by El Beidaq can also be identified in the proportion of half. Without doubt the ancient tribe of Tinmellel is the one that, from Tagontaft to Tagadirt n Bour, forms at present the group of the "Asif Nefis." The Arghen and the neighboring tribes of the Anti-Atlas have scarcely changed their habitat south of Taroudant. Finally, the tribes of the Hintata, several groups of which, like the Gheghaya, still skirt the mountains of the Kik, continued to give their support to the Mérinides, and their chiefs dominated the mountains as far as the région of Imi n Tanout until the sixteenth century.

The memory of the Mahdi's glory and the immense success achieved by his companions was to be preserved for a long time in the valleys of the Deren. In vain did the Mérinides have spread by their talebs legends damaging to the memory of the founder of the sect, whom they tried to pass off as a master swindler, clever at making angels talk and simulating miracles. But the Masmouda nonetheless preserved a deep respect for their heroes for a long time. At Tinmellel the inhabitants piously obliterated the traces of profanation of the last siege. At the time of Ibn Khaldoun the tomb of Ibn Toumert was still the object of earnest worship. There were readers of the Koran as well as a "body of caretakers preserving the same ceremonial as at the time of the Almohade Empire" (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 260.

For numerous generations the hope of a renewal of past greatness

/70 cont./

*175 secretly haunted their hearts, uprisings were attempted against the Mérinides, and up to the reign of the Saadians. Faithful to this memory, the Masmouda of the tribes of the Nefis closed their territory to the great maraboutic movement of the sixteenth century. We have proof of this in the fact /71/ that the qoubbas /kubbas/ of holy personages, surrounded by their descendants, so numerous in the Sous, the land of the Demsira, the plain of Marrakech, are nearly absent in the heart of the Almohade Empire.

Little by little, however, the Masmouda lost their hopes; at the same time they ceased to become an object of terror for the inhabitants of the towns of the plain. But still in our day tradition places the tomb of Ibn Toumert under a jujube tree several centuries old; the montagnards pass proudly before the crumbling walls of the astonishing mosque of Tinmel, so rich in glorious memories; the most ignorant know who the Almohades were. We should not dare to assert that even at present in these lost cantons of the high valleys, where the noise of the political events of our time scarcely reaches, the dream of the prodigious return of a Mahdi does not sometimes come to mind. The conquest of the kingdoms of the earth, which one glimpses in the distance while pasturing the flocks in summer on the high summits of the great chain, would be easy for the Masmouda as in former times, "if God gave them his assistance."

VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- The Mérinide victory made the Masmouda simple tributaries whom it was important for the new Makhzen /makhzan/ to weaken, all the more because they constituted a danger for the neighboring plains. Moreover, no motive was spurring the Zénète dynasty to carry its efforts toward the South. During the first years, the sultan Abou Yousef Ya'qoub the Mérinide, prompted by a concern for arranging the alliance of the Almohade sovereigns of Ifriqiya, descendants of Abou Hafs ʿOmar Hintati, had still preserved some memories of the customs of the Mahdi and commanded that prayer be offered in the great mosque of Marrakech

/71 cont./

*175 in the name of the Hafsides. But when he had taken possession of the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/ and turned his weapons toward Spain, where high thoughts of holy war attracted him, he established his capital definitely in Fez, beautified it with magnificent monuments, and court life flowed on in a luxury that the Almohades, who in spite of everything had remained a little uncouth, had never known.

Under these circumstances the principles of Mérinide policy in the Sous were fixed very simply: make the montagnards pay taxes as heavy as possible and, in order to manage this, /72/ vigorously organize the tribes' command; intervene in force in the country each time serious troubles threaten to develop.

The history of this period is quite well known to us for more than 100 years, thanks to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ and the author of the Raoud el Qirtas, so that we can understand how the Moroccan South endured this inferior situation, after having known a century of greatness.

In order to collect easily in the country of the Masmouda the Koranic taxes, to which the Mérinides added the imposition of the "kharaj" or the "naïba," it was necessary to place the tribes under the legal authority of powerful leaders; it was then that there appeared among the Heskoura, the Hintata, the Gedmiwa, the Haha, large families loyal to the Makhzen /makhzan/ and who seem to have exercised their power in the manner of the "lords of the Atlas" of our time.

In truth, as we have seen, from the time of the death of the first Almohade caliph, the importance assumed by the autochthonous chiefs in the mountains of the Deren had already indeed been observed, and their role had not ceased to grow in proportion as the decline of the dynasty was accentuated; but if the command of the Masmoudian tribes was conferred upon them, that was doubtless a simple consequence of the progressive dissolution of the council of Almohade sheiks, whose members were trying to establish themselves in the mountains where the home of their ancestors was. As a matter of fact, it is remarkable to note that from one reign to another the names of these chiefs

/72 cont./

*175 change as if they did not belong to families long established in the exercise of power, but rather as if the authority had been given successively to various notables of the country; in any case no indication permits us to believe that this rough outline of feudality resulted, as happened at the end of the nineteenth century, from the progressive affirmation of a personal power born in the bosom of the tribes, and which would be substituted for the faltering authority of the sultans.

On the contrary, under Mérinide domination it is families firmly implanted in the country who concentrate power in their hands and constitute veritable local dynasties. Such would be the Metzara among the Haha, the Ait Haddo ben Yousef among the independent Seksawa, the Sad Allah among the Gedmiwa, of Almohade origin; among the Hintata, the Oulad Younes, autochthons, /73/ and the Oulad Mousa Ben ᶜAli, who came from the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/; the Beni Khettab among the Heskoura.

The organization of the large commands of the Atlas moreover could not prevent the Sous from experiencing, even during the finest years of the Mérinide Empire, an almost uninterrupted succession of revolts. The existence of independent tribes like those of the Seksawa, the presence of the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the high valley of the Sous, of Almohade origin, and above all the arrival of the Maᶜqil, by means of whom the contagion of disorder reached the Haut-Dra and Sijilmassa, actually then made the Moroccan South the seat of all the revolts and the ready-made refuge of unfortunate pretenders (1).

[113] 1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 378-385.

It is necessary to indicate here by way of example the monotonous series of uprisings that justify the constant intervention of the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/, occupied, however, in other regions with crushing tasks, if one wishes to explain what the life of a faraway province might be under a glorious dynasty.

/73 cont./

#175 The Sous having been conquered in 1269 by the Mérinides and the commands in the South organized in 1275, Sultan Abou Yousef Ya^{c}qoub could think of preparing for a holy war in Spain. In 1279, at the moment when he was going to cross the strait to fly to the assistance of the Mussulmans besieged at Algésiras /Algeciras/ and in great danger of being defeated, the emir of the Sofian and Djochem Arabs, Mesa^{c}oud ben Kennoun, rebelled at Nefis, then went on among the Seksawa. For long months he was besieged in that the army was camped at the foot of the Atlas, until he was finally betrayed and captured among the Heskoura (2).

2. Roudh el Kartas, Beaumier tr., pp. 472-551. -- Ibn Khaldoun, IV, pp. 100-103.

In 1284 the Arabs of the Sous revolted, and it was necessary to pursue them to the Seguiat el Hamra. As soon as Abou Ya^{c}qoub Yousef had succeeded his father (1286), his brother and other rivals revolted in the Dra; then it was another relative, Talha Ibn ^{c}Ali, having become independent in the Sous plain with the help of the Dwi Hasan, who was successfully killed and whose head was sent to the Sultan; in 1289 the sovereign's own son, Abou ^{c}Amer, seized the treasury in Marrakech and fled into the mountains among the Masmouda (3).

3. Roudh el Kartas, p. 534; Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 136.

In the repression, the region of the Haha was subjugated anew, and /74/ the Zeggen Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous were cut to pieces with their leaders. In 1303 the Sous was again disturbed by the uprising of the Beni Gommi, a tribe of the Beni ^{c}Abd el Wad, in the service of the Mérinides and settled in the Azaghar of Marrakech. Having abandoned the cause of Abou Ya^{c}qoub at the siege of Tlemcen, they doubled back toward the Haha and Taroudant, where ^{c}Abd er Rahman Ibn Yedder had

/74 cont./

*175 taken supreme authority by using the name of the Almohades. After hard fights the brother of the sultan Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub scattered the Beni Gommi and destroyed Taroudant (1).

[712]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. -- Perhaps it is necessary to attribute to Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub the construction of the immense fortress which is still seen among the Ait A^{c}issi (Haha) on the Jebel Asles facing the territory of the Ida Ou Tanan. From its appearance it seems to date from the Mérinide period; tradition attributes it to Ali Ya^{c}ich, a personage about whom there are only imprecise legends. Tadert, the place where Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub was first defeated, could be the village of this name among the Ait Zelten, near the kaid's house. Irgharen, where he put the rebels to flight, would be the present-day Iregharen among the Ida ou Tanan (Ait Ouqsri). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. III, p. 493.

In the reign of Abou Tabet, in 1308, there was first of all the disturbance created by a pretender, Yousof Ibn ^{c}Ali ^{c}Ayyad, at Aghmat among the Heskoura; then in the western part of the Deren an independent chief, ^{c}Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, claimed the title of "agellid," Berbère /Berber/ king of the Seksawa. After a semblance of war, the Sultan contented himself with receiving presents from ^{c}Omar ben Haddo, had the Rokna, a rebel tribe who had taken refuge among the Haha, pursued, and left again to chastise the Arabs in the plains of the North (2).

[103]

2. Roudh el Kartas, p. 551. Tamezouart is without doubt the present village of Tamezaourt near our post of Bigoudine, on the main Makhzen /makhzan/ road from Bibaoun. The Rokna

*175 /74 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ are perhaps the Rekouna of El Beidaq, a group of plains fractions counted in with the Gedmiwa in the "tamyiz" of the Almohades in the twelfth century.

The sultan Abou Saᶜid in turn had to subjugate a chief of the Heskoura, ᶜAddi Ibn Hennou, who had revolted in his fortress (1313). He especially had to fight his own son, Abou ᶜAli, who had become independent at Sijilmassa, in the Dra and the Sous, after having made the Almohade dynasty of the Beni Yedder disappear. Abou ᶜAli, who had taken Marrakech, was vanquished by his brother, Abou ᵓlHasan, the future sultan (1321), and remained at rest for several years until a new revolt in 1332 forced Abou ᵓlHasan to have him strangled (3).

3. Ibn Khaldoun, IV, p. 306.

The Atlas stayed calmer during the glorious reign of Abou ᵓlHasan. But upon the announcement of the Kairouan disaster, caused by the treason of the Arab tribes in 1348 and which had surprised the sovereign in his conquest of Ifriqiya, the Masmouda stirred anew. /75/ Abou ᶜInan, having rebelled against his father and already proclaimed in the Maghreb el Aqsa, had no trouble taking power. Abou ᵓlHasan, having come back from Ifriqiya after a trip full of tragic vicissitudes and arriving in Marrakech via the Tafilelt, had no other resource than to seek refuge in the mountains with the loyal great chief of the Hintata, ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz Ibn Mohammed Ibn ᶜAli. He died in these mountains after having been forced to surrender to his son's victorious army. After these events, the chiefs of the Masmouda, who had made the plain tremble for an instant, planning to go to overturn all the Mérinide mosques in Marrakech, "returned to their lairs" (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 270 and sqq.

/75 cont./

*175 Finally, in the reign of Abou ᶜInan in 1353, El Fadel, the Sultan's brother, had himself put ashore on the coast of the Sous by the Christians; with the help of the independent chief of the Seksawa, ᶜAbdallah, son of ᶜOmar Agellid, he rallied the Masmouda around him. Abou ᶜInan built the fortress of El Qehira at the foot of the mountains and succeeded in inducing ᶜAbdallah Seksawi to abandon his protégé. El Fadel, then a refugee among the Zenaga on the eastern, reverse side of the Anti-Atlas, was taken by treachery and strangled.

From then on the Mérinide Empire entered a period of irremediable decline. The Sultans who succeed one another are often only young princes, playthings of all-powerful grand viziers; during the short period that separates us at present from the great anarchy of the fifteenth century, the ruin of the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ policy in the South is precipitated. Soon the Maghreb el Aqsa is divided into two kingdoms, that of Fez and that of Marrakech, whose common boundary is Oum er Rbiᶜa; the interest that the weakened Beni Merin then have in Granada turns the last forces of the Makhzen away from the Sous. For more than a century history is silent on these regions, and we can only imagine very confusedly the sequence of the events that disturb them. Ibn Khaldoun was acquainted with the first phases of this abandonment of Morocco to growing anarchy and has told about the tragic vicissitudes at length; the very precise picture of the political life of the country in this period that he has left us makes the figure of the chiefs of the Atlas in the fourteenth century appear in such a light that we shall stop with him in order to travel one last time through the Moroccan South before we see spreading over all Morocco the shadows /76/ in which the marabouts' reaction against the Christians is prepared.

IX. The organization of the Atlas tribes under the Merinides. -- Under Mérinide domination, the country of the Haha seems to us to have accepted the government of the Makhzen /makhzan/ with more docility than the other Masmoudian regions; the most populous part of the territory was then included between the

/76 cont./

*175 Tensift and the Qsob wadi, and one doubtless already saw rising there the fortified market towns in which thousands of Berbères /Berbers/ took shelter, before the Portuguese conquest and the flowing back of the nomadic tribes had chased the autochthons from the richest part of the country (1).

1. Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Vol. I, pp. 134, 140, 146, 149, 150, 160. Although it is almost impossible to identify the "Berbère towns" described by Léon north of the Qsob wadi, one can at least, by observing the ruins of the villages of sedentary peoples and their agadirs /collective storehouses/ in the present country of the Chiadma, find evidence of the ancient establishments of the Masmouda in a region occupied in our day by tribes of nomadic origin.

In the South, in the middle of the forest of argan trees, the leaders of the Haha lived in their town of Tednest; still farther toward the Sous were found the lands traveled by the Zeggen and Lakhes, Lamta by origin, but allied to the sedentary peoples. Already renowned for their learning in law and their knowledge of religion (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 275.

the Haha were soon going to accept with enthusiasm the preaching of the mystic sheiks and the tutelage of the marabouts.

After the ruin of Tinmellel, the country of the Seksawa, which had always remained apart from the Almohade movement, naturally became the last rampart of the independence of the Masmouda against the Mérinides; then one sees formed in the shelter of the snowy peaks of the Tichka, around cypress forests that still adorned the Atlas summits, a little Berbère /Berber/ kingdom whose glory has not yet been completely forgotten in the memory of the tribes. The founder of this minuscule State,

/76 cont./

*175 Haddo ben Yousef, had appeared in the reign of the last successors of ᶜAbd el Moumen, and tradition has it that he was a descendant of the Lemtouna. In 1281 his son ᶜOmar, who succeeded him, took the title of agellid and soon had command from the Nefis to Bibaoun. His power extended far, since the Arabs of the Sous, Haret and Chebbanat, were loyal to him and since he had the strength to make a Mahdi disappear, one who had come out of the ribat of Massat, where he was passing himself off as the awaited Fatimid. /77/ The Mérinide sultan Abou Tabet could not subdue him. Besides, the personality of this Berbère /Berber/ king was singular: passionately fond of study, owner of a sizable library, jurist, philosopher, even a sorcerer, "he enjoyed himself in the society of rabbis to such a point that his orthodoxy was suspect and he was accused of wanting to give up his religion." These traits show us how much the Almohade victories had been able to contribute toward making civilization spread into the most impenetrable regions of the Atlas (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 270 and sqq.

ᶜOmar Agellid, who has become the ᶜAmer of local legends, which attribute to him a reign of 100 years, was the true founder of the power of the Seksawa. His son ᶜAbdallah, also given to magic and alchemy, spread terror in Marrakech at the time that Abou ᶜInan was having his father, Abou ᵓlHasan, besieged in the mountains of the Hintata and then threatened to go to demolish the Mérinides' unclean mosques in the capital. He nonetheless later delivered to the Sultan, as we have seen, the pretender Abou ᵓlFadel, a refugee in his territory. Subsequently chased from his country by his own son, ᶜAbdallah had to beg for help from the great sheik of the Hintata, ᶜAmer Ibn Mohammed, who had become the most powerful lord of the South; but, after having killed his son, he perished, assassinated in turn; the dynasty of the Ait Haddo ben Yousef disappeared then, at the very moment when the weakening of the Mérinides was enabling the tribes to resume their anarchical existence in safety and was

/77 cont./

*175 thus taking away from the chiefs of the Seksawa their role as defenders of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

Among the Gedmiwa the power belonged to the Almohade family of the Sad Allah, whose leader had abandoned Abou Debbous in flight before the Mérinides; but the Sad Allah were later won over to ᶜOmar Seksawi; command was then exercised by another sheik of the country, Abd el Kerim Ibn ᶜIsa. The latter died by betrayal with all his people, and the former chiefs were called back into the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/. But the Sad Allah were incapable of contending with the ambition of their powerful neighbor, ᶜAmer Hintati; several of them were assassinated by his order, and their family took command again only after the disappearance of their enemy (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 267.

X. A gread kaid in the fourteenth century. -- At the very beginning the Hintata had had at their head the Oulad Younes, Almohade sheiks who, /78/ like the Saᶜd Allah, went into the service of the Mérinides. That family having disappeared, the Makhzen /makhzan/ replaced it by the one of a tax collector, Mousa Ibn ᶜAli, chosen by the Mérinide sheiks. In the reign of Abou ᵓlHasan, ᶜAmer ben Mohammed, Mousa's nephew, left with the Sultan for the conquest of Ifriqiya. Momentarily governor of Tunis, ᶜAmer was charged with bringing back by sea his master's harem, after the disaster of Kairouan, and he refused to deliver it to the pretender Abou ᶜInan, who had revolted against his father. It was with Amer's brother, ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, that the defeated Abou ᵓlHasan sought refuge in the mountains of the Hintata. When the legitimate Sultan was dead, ᶜAmer gave back to Abou ᶜInan his father's wives. Touched by the loyalty of the Hintata chiefs, the new ruler wanted to bind them to him and reestablished them as a tribe in their command. It was then that ᶜAmer Hintati began to play a startling and active role in the politics of the Empire, which made a veritable novel of his existence.

/78 cont./

*175 His first concern is to ensure solidly his power in the mountains. First of all, he breaks down the resistance of the Gurika, his irreducible neighbors; then by means of tribal wars, whose cause, according to Ibn Khaldoun, is "the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former quarrels," he intervenes among the Gedmiwa, makes their sheiks disappear, and takes possession of the country. At the time of the struggles that tore apart the family of the Ait Haddo ben Yousef, ᶜAmer Seksawi chooses him as arbiter; he collects the fugitives, extends his influence over their territory. All-powerful in the western Atlas, he becomes, even in the lifetime of Abou ᶜInan, collector of taxes for all the tribes connected with Marrakech and preceptor of El Moᶜtamid, son of the Sultan. From then on ᶜAmer can await with confidence the dynastic disorders that threaten the Mérinides; he is strong enough to exercise his authority by his own means.

Upon the death of Sultan Abou ᶜInan, ᶜAmer takes his protégé, El Moᶜtamid, into the mountains of the Hintata and shelters him from the intrigues of the vizier El Hasan El Foudoudi, veritable mayor of the palace, who, from Fez, governs in the name of the weak Es-Saᶜid. To defend him, he goes so far as to hold out against a long siege in his casbah and, moreover, escapes destruction only by good luck.

In the reign of Abou Salem, he re-establishes his position, momentarily jeopardized. Now at court, now in his mountains, he incessantly increases and utilizes his power. Upon the death of the Sultan in 1361, he /79/ is, with the assent of his friend, the vizier ᶜOmar Ibn ᶜAbdallah, established in Fez, the true master of the South. "To serve the dynasty," he undertakes to maintain order in all the provinces that belong to Marrakech. Soon he marries a widow of the sultan Abou Salem, and his wedding procession astonishes Marrakech by its richness and pomp. He is the one who makes or unmakes kings at will. In his mountain casbah ᶜAmer keeps in reserve two little princes, sons of Abou Salem. If anyone wants to try to fight him, he immediately has them proclaimed sovereigns, one for the North, the

/79 cont./

*175 other for the South. Scarcely have his enemies gone away than these shadows of sultans disappear in a recess of his fortress. But finally fortune betrays him. During one of the periods in which ᶜAmer had the young Abou ᵓlFadel proclaimed in Marrakech for his political needs, news reached the city that the sultan ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz had succeeded in having the all-powerful vizier ᶜOmar Ibn ᶜAbdallah, who held him in tutelage, assassinated in Fez; confronted with this example, the chief of the Hintata rightly fears that his ward may try to make him submit to the same fate and flees into his mountains. Abou ᵓlFadel, left to himself, makes himself independent; he soon pays with his life for this imprudence; the sultan of Fez comes to take possession of Marrakech and kills his rival. Threatened in turn by the arrival of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz at the head of his troops, ᶜAmer decides once more to resist in his Deren fortress. He proclaims ruler one of the pretenders whom he has kept with him as a precaution and enters into relations with the sultan of Tlemcen. But soon a powerful army surrounds him; his adversary throws gold by the handful in order to instigate desertions and betrayals, while he himself displeases his partisans by his harshness and avarice. Little by little the last retrenchments are carried; ᶜAmer then advises his son to abandon him, next he flees in the snow toward the Sous with his wives. On the road, exhausted and betrayed, he falls into the power of the emissaries of the sultan ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz. While the casbahs are pillaged and destroyed, and riches accumulated in prodigious quantities fall into the power of the conqueror, the ghost of a sultan whom ᶜAmer was keeping in his fortress is carried off to Marrakech to be strangled, and the great sheik of the Hintata perishes under the lash (1370) (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, pp. 266-269; IV, pp. 377-378.

*175 /80/ XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous. -- A common characteristic in the development of the power of these minor chiefs in Berbère /Berber/ country is the brief duration of the period during which we see them exercise their authority; two or three generations suffice to exhaust their forces. The kingdom founded by the Beni Yedder in the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ does not escape this rule.

About 1252 an Almohade sheik originally from Zgonder, to the west of the Sirwa, fled from Marrakech and revolted against the weak representative of the Sultan in Taroudant (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 131; II, p. 276.

Perhaps ᶜAli Ibn Yedder, who had the reputation of possessing, like the kaid Gontafi of our time, immense treasure in his casbahs, used the possession of his country's silver mines, famous already at the time of the Almohades, to establish his power. His command was exercised doubtless in the beginning over the richest fractions in the high valley of the Sous: the Tifnout, the Onein, and the beautiful valley of the Ihouziyoun. He constructed a fortress at Tansest, where the Sous enters the plain, and his cousin Hamidi took possession of that of Tisekht among the Zenaga. It is known that soon, the better to conquer the Igezzoulen, his neighbors, he had the ill-fated idea of appealing to the Dwi Hasan and Chebbanat Arabs, then wandering in the lower part of the Moulouya, and taking them into his service. Several operations attempted against ᶜAli Ibn Yedder by the Almohades were without effect, and the rebel chief succeeded, with a small army of 1,000 Arab horsemen, in dominating the Igezzoulen. It was over him, however, that Abou Debbous, the last Almohade sultan, won a last victory; ᶜAli submitted before the catapults that were battering his fortresses; but he resumed his command after the taking of Marrakech by the Mérinides and then conquered Taroudant, Ifri, and all the Sous cities. He perished later in an Arab revolt, and power passed to his nephews (1270).

In the reign of Abou Yaᶜqoub Yousef, the brother of the sultan Yaᶜich ben Yaᶜqoub destroyed Taroudant, which had become

/80 cont./

*175 the capital of this small independent kingdom. But a few years later the town was rebuilt by the rebels (1306). Abou ᶜAli, son of the sultan Abou Saᶜᵓid, who had obtained from his father the government of Sijilmassa and had at his disposal forces of the Maᶜqil Arabs settled on the whole south versant of the Atlas, undertook to carry his conquests /81/ as far as the Sous plain and chased ᶜAli Ibn Yedder's nephews among the Zenaga, into the mountains of the Ngisa, not without taking away their riches deposited in Tansast (1313). Finally, the sultan Abou ᵓlHasan conquered the Sous valley and re-established the Mérinide government in Taroudant and in the other towns of the South. Thus there was restored for a moment the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which, in spite of its weaknesses, succeeded in imposing itself on the anarchy of the tribes and the ambitions of the minor chiefs until the middle of the fourteenth century (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 278.

In the course of this first period in the history of the Sous, which is not, in spite of its distance in time, the one that we know least well, we already distinguish one of the most durable aspects of life in Berbère /Berber/ country. Except during the Almohade dynasty coming out of the Atlas of the Masmouda, the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in carrying out its operations in the mountains only in an indirect manner; it is limited to occupying the plains. It is especially under the domination of the Mérinides that the resistance of the tribes is affirmed. Even when the Berbères /Berbers/ agree to serve the great chiefs -- ᶜAmer Hintati, ᶜOmar Seksawi, the kings of the Beni Yedder -- it is with the thought of continuing the struggle against the sultans under their command.

Soon, when the government of the Empire is going to disappear for two centuries into anarchy, the tribes will stop grouping themselves around temporal leaders, in order to seek from the marabouts the supreme authority that they need in order to live in independence.

2: Montagne--106 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/82/

000

Chapter IV
The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Fifteenth Century to Our Day

I. The first maraboutic reaction. Its general characteristics. -- II. The Regraga. -- III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1669). -- VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. -- XII. The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah and the founding of Mogador. -- XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- XIV. Insufficiency of historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- XV. The Makhzen policy under Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. -- XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- XVII. Moulay ᵓlHasan and the Sous expeditions. -- XVIII. The development of anarchy; the Protectorate.

*175

I. <u>The first maraboutic reaction; its general characteristics.</u> -- During the interval of time that extends from the decline of the Mérinide dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century to the appearance of the Filalian sultans in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century, the political life in the south of Morocco is entirely dominated by maraboutic activity. The aspects of this great movement, which has as its stage the whole of Morocco and whose double goal is to complete the Islamization of the Berbères /Berbers/ and to struggle against the Christian conquests, are quite well known (1).

[113]

1. Cf. especially the useful book by Cour, <u>Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc</u> /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/, Paris, 1904.

/82 cont./

*175 but it is not useless to try to understand here what the play of influences was at that time, the operation of which has become difficult to observe in the same region in our day, since the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has taken all real importance away from the leaders of the brotherhoods.

/83/ The traces left by this form of power are still apparent in the tribe, and, if the practical importance of the survivals of maraboutism in our time has sometimes been exaggerated, the history of its development in the past deserves to be examined attentively, because it makes us understand better the facility with which the independent Berbères /Berbers/ organize their political life under the aegis of the religious leaders.

In the general confusion of the Maghreb in the fifteenth century, when on all sides the tribes were clashing and fighting on the plains following invasions, and the last impotent Mérinides shut themselves up in Fez, the progress of the Christian nations becomes more noticeable. We shall see them, after the reconquest of Spain, apply themselves to carrying out their project of dominating Africa. The province of the Sous is doubly hit; having become like a huge melting pot where the Ma'qil, Sofian, Haret Arabs or Arabized Berbère /Berber/ tribes reflow, it looks in vain for masters who might deliver it from anarchy; at the same time the Portuguese fleets frequent the little bays of the Atlantic, and soon, from Anfa to Agadir, the threats that presage the establishment of Christians on the coast become specific.

It is in these favorable circumstances that religious personages with immense prestige well up from the bosom of the tribes; they alone are capable of interposing themselves between the Mussulmans who dispute the possession of the land with one another and of uniting them against foreigners; for three centuries we shall see them preach at the same time the duties of an exact practice of Islam, boast the attractions of the mystical life, and remind all of the obligation of holy war.

Doubtless the great development of maraboutism then can be explained by the intense proselytism of the brotherhood leaders and their disciples, but it also found a milieu fully prepared for

/83 cont./

*175 its expansion, by reason of the limitless credulity of the Berbère /Berber/ populations. The reading of the hagiographies of the period, that of Ibn ᶜAskar, for example, makes us understand in what an atmosphere of the marvelous the saints and their admirers lived; we find them mingled with a crowd of intriguers, madmen, and the simple-minded; the heretics and the sorcerers corrupt the crowds and stir them up by their discords or their marvels (1).

[113]

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâcihr /"Daᶜwat [dawut] al-Nāshir"/, Archives Marocaines, Vol. XIX, pp. 80-85.

/84/ Another psychological force of great power is the terror in which the Berbères /Berbers/ hold the malediction of the saints. Their "daᶜwa" /incantation/ is not invoked in vain, and those who transgress their orders are promptly struck with an exemplary chastisement (1).

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., p. 54; Weir, The Shaikhs of Morocco, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 91.

While the religious personages will utilize the frame of mind of the Berbères /Berbers/ in order to gain their confidence, group their forces, and soon to found veritable small states with their co-operation, the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/, on the other hand, will try for 100 years to re-establish the political unity of the Maghreb el Aqsa for their advantage. But their action will appear only as an interlude in the slow work that the marabouts pursue in order to put the populations of the Moroccan South under their moral and political tutelage; a second religious reaction will sweep away their achievement until the time when the Filalian shorfa will succeed in re-establishing the tradition of the Empire for two centuries and a half.

The great religious movement that dominates the whole history of our province from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century is

/84 cont./

*175 specifically Berbère /Berber/. The leaders, like the subjects, belong mostly to the old tribes of the Sous. Moreover, one can observe that the fires of maraboutism, which are kindled successively on the Atlantic coast, ceaselessly move farther to the South and develop in regions where the tribes are more and more rebellious against the tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and, on the other hand, more attached to their independent government.

Each of these religious or political centers has its own characteristics and evolves separately. The Jbel Hadid, on the left bank of the mouth of the Tensift, saw the militia of the Regraga arise in the fourteenth century; the central region of the Haha country is the seat of power of the Imam el Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ in the fifteenth century; the South of the Haha and the Tazerwalt, in the Anti-Atlas, shelter Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, and their descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, the very valley of the Sous and the country of the Haha will be the cradle of power of the Saadians, whose enterprises at the beginning of the sixteenth century will come to cross the course of the maraboutic movement, without succeeding in stopping it.

/85/ The Regraga. -- We have very little precise information on the religious organization of which the Regraga made themselves the champions. Founded by Abou Saᶜid ᶜAbd er Rahman er Regragi, died at Chichawa in 1370, and by Abou Otman Saᶜid el Hartanani, whose zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ was located at the very mouth of the Tensift, that association of holy men used the name of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, like all those who were subsequently to arise (1).

[113]

1. Cour, op. cit., pp. 13-17; Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, Rabat, 1923.

/85 cont./

*175 Its missionaries spread throughout the South; one finds their tombs, more or less legendary, not only all along the coast, but in the mountains among the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the Demsira, and as far as the high valley of the Sous and the Zagmouzen. The memory of the Regraga seems bound up in the folklore, especially at the time of the "Jahiliya," when people were still ignorant of the true God, whom they contributed powerfully toward making known. Perhaps they even had to struggle against hostile tribes and were warriors at the same time as religious men, according to the true tradition of Islam. People made of them, in the South of Morocco, the 40 missionaries of the Maghreb, or again the seven pilgrims of Mekke /Mecca/, to whom the Prophet spoke in the Berbère /Berber/ tongue (2).

[113]

2. H. Basset, Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, Algiers, 1920, p. 265.

However that may be, they doubtless had no political role, but rather asked the converted, in exchange for their preaching and good example, to grant them "ziara," lucrative offerings. As a matter of fact, one still sees their descendants, after six centuries, making fruitful tours to collect alms in the region of the Haha and Mtougga.

III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- The enterprise of the Imam El Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ is better known to us than that of the Regraga. Mohammed ben Sliman el Jazouli was originally from a tribe of the Asif n Tankert on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas. After writing in Fez the "Delaïl el Khirat" /Dalā'il al-Khairāt/, a devotional book at present widespread throughout the Maghreb, he came to follow the teaching of Chérif /Sherif/ Abou ᶜAbdallah of the Banou Amghar of Tit, was afterward expelled from Safi by the governor, disturbed by his deeds, and

/85 cont./

*175 left to found his brotherhood in Afoughal among the Haha (3).

[114]

3. In the course of research carried out with Mr. P. de Cenival among the Chyadma /Chiadma/, we have been able to identify Afoughal with the Souk el Had of the Dra, 35 kilometers to the east of Mogador.

Preaching the holy war at the same /86/ time that he was propagating the mystical doctrines of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, at the time when the Christians' expeditions were multiplying, Jazouli had immense success. More than 12,000 disciples carried his doctrine into all the tribes, while powerful offshoots of his zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ were founded in the north of Morocco in Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, on the Tadla, and in the South at Bou Romman, among the Howara, at Massat, and at Aqqa. But the power of this man, whose pride was such that he had heard God declare to him "that he had placed him above the creatures of his time," was the cause of his downfall; he perished, poisoned, in 1465, and his enemies, temporal leaders or talebs hostile to his brotherhood, ruined his achievement. We know that one of his adepts, ᶜOmar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnamed Es Seyyaf -- the executioner -- assembled the loyal disciples and ravaged in his name the Masmoudian tribes of the plain of the North, while he was transporting the corpse of the master in the midst of his bands of brigands, in order to continue to live on his prestige (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir /"Daᶜwat al-Nāshir"/; Ahmed el Fasi, Momtiᶜ el Asmaᶜ; El Arbi El Fasi, Mirat el Mahasin; Archives marocaines (Graulle trans.), Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 271, 282; Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/,

/86 cont./

*175
[172]

/footnote 1 continued/ pp. 43-44. -- We believe we can identify "Culeihat el Muridin," the fortress of ᶜOmar Seyyaf, with the one that exists at Tameloukt among the Mtougga, 15 kilometers to the southeast of Bouaboud, at the place called "Agadir n Jorf." The site and distance in relation to Tasegdelt (Lalla Tasegdelt) from the map at 1/200,000 of the Service géographique du Maroc /Geographical Service of Morocco/ seem to us to correspond to the description by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, p. 155.

But other, less frenzied disciples were to gather up the religious heritage of the Imam el Jazouli. In the first years of the sixteenth century a whole flowering of saints appeared, whose role was above all to maintain the spirit of holy war against the Portuguese settled henceforth at Anfa, on the Tensift, at Agadir, and allied with the Arabs of the plains of the South. The most famous of these personages are Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed Es Sogheir el Amri, from an Arab tribe of the Sous, whose tomb is found in Marrakech, Abou Mohammed ᶜOmar Ajana, buried in the Sous plain at Tajemmelt near the Leben wadi; these saints, with Sheik ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz Et Tebbaᶜ, buried in Marrakech, were the masters of Jazoulism in the south of Morocco. Another honored "moujahid" /leader in the holy war/, killed in the struggle against the Christians or their Arab allies, was Sidi ᶜAbd el Malek Sbaᶜi, mortally wounded on the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho at the "Fortress of the Gold" and buried in the forest of Harjan, between the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud, "with /87/ the ax he used against the Christians" (1).

1. Tradition collected by F. de La Chapelle (unpublished note on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

/87 cont./

*175 Sidi Mohammed ben Mbarek Hilali, affiliated with the Regraga, enjoyed at the same time a limitless authority among the tribes of the Gezzoula; finally, a few years afterwards, two disciples of Sheik Et Tebbaᶜ appeared, called to found powerful zaouias: Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa el Jazouli, who had come back into his native land of the Tazerwalt, after accomplishing, according to tradition, prodigious journeys; and Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, who settled among the Haha in a center already celebrated for its learned jurists, among the Aït Daoud in the tribe of the Ida ou Bouzia.

IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- Beside these marabouts, who operate by means of their preaching, their virtues, or the fear that they inspire, other personages, the shorfa /shurfa/, have a more peaceable "baraka" /Berber word indicating quality of holiness/ and do not have the obligation to produce such fearsome miracles; their mere presence is enough to make a country prosperous. Such is this Abou Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah el Hasani of the Banou Amghar, who settled at Tameslouht at the beginning of the sixteenth century, where he found the country uncultivated and uninhabited. Having come with his father and mother and one single cow for his entire fortune, he was soon at the head of a prosperous zaouia toward which the gifts of the laborers flowed; he actually delivered the region from the damage the birds were doing to it and helped the women conceive by means of small mouthfuls of flour (2).

2. Ibn ᶜAskar, Dawhat en Nachir /Daᶜwat al-Nāshir/, p. 77; Graulle tr., pp. 181-183.

Likewise at this period the Banou Saᶜd shorfa /shurfa/, the future Saadians, settled at Tagmadert in the Haut-Dra, were still only holders of "baraka" when they were, it is said, called into the Sous by the wish of the Berbère /Berber/ populations in order to take part in the holy war. At the beginning of their arrival in that valley they still kept a peaceable aspect and in their first

/87 cont./

*175 appearance did not resemble "soldiers, but masons and laborers, because they were all animated by the benefit they expected to draw from it" (3).

[113] 3. Diego de Torres, Histoire des Chérifs /"History of the Sherifs"/ (in Afrique /Africa/, by Marmol), Vol. III, p. 24.

At the time when, thanks to the tribes' support, the family of the Saadian shorfa was on the point of rising, the political anarchy in the Moroccan South was at its height. The profound decline of the kingdoms of the North had actually ended in the carving up of the whole country. The /88/ Christians had acquired the co-operation of the plains Arabs against the Berbères /Berbers/, and their allies were making raids for them against the cities north of the Haha, which were destroyed one after another as far as the Qsob wadi. The Arabs, under the command of Yahya ben Tahfouf, even pushed to the gates of Marrakech. The capital of the South was in the hands of a sheik of the Hintata, Naser Bou Chentouf. After fighting for a long time the Oulad Mota^c Arabs, who were imposing crushing tithes on the sedentary people and had become the confederates of the Portuguese, this chief had usurped the power that the Mérinides were incapable of exercising. Moulay Idris, a relative of this king of Marrakech, whose family had been settled for a long time at the foot of the Atlas in the region of the Asif el Mal, had himself called the "king of the mountain" and collected tribute among the Masmouda and in the plain. These two chiefs were doubtless descendants of Almohade sheiks; perhaps they were even from the family of the Hafsides, those Hintata emirs who had become rulers of Ifriqiya; they claimed the rank of shorfa /shurfa/ and used the prestige that their birth gave them in order to have their authority accepted in the mountains. But by their position in the plain or on the Dir one can think that they were depending on the tribes of the Azaghar of

/88 cont./

*175 Marrakech, the Heskoura and the Tadla, rather than on the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113]

1. Marmol, Afrique /Africa/, Perrot d'Ablancourt trans., Paris, 1667, Vol. II, pp. 41-63.

The upper valley of the Dra was divided between two lords of the family of the "Mezwar" (2),

[192]
[622]

2. The term "mezwar" designates, in the towns of Morocco, the representative of the shorfa /shurfa/ settled in the city. This Berbère /Berber/ word derived from the root zwr, to precede (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229), also has the sense of president of an assemblage of notables, of "moqaddem"; at the time of the Almohades, a "mezwar" was at the head of each of the fractions of the confederation of the Gedmiwa (cf. above, p. 80).

ruling the districts of "Tenveves" and "Tensita" and separated from each other by a deep enmity. In the fury of their struggles, the Mezwar went so far as to call on the Christians settled at Santa Cruz (Agadir), and the whole Sous valley, already traversed by the Arabs, was agitated by their quarrel. Moreover, their power and liberality were famous, and Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ received a most generous welcome in their dwellings. One of them, who had thought he would do well to present magnificent gifts to the king of Fez, had them carried by an ambassador whose pronunciation and style, doubtless not very classic because of /89/ Berbère /Berber/ influences, were, in the opinion of the

/89 cont./

*175 scholars, a lively and hilarious success (1).

1. Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Scheffer ed., Vol. I, p. 286; Marmol, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 446-448, and Vol. II, p. 124.

There were still other lords in the Sous. While the mountain Berbères /Berbers/ of the Anti-Atlas, remaining in anarchy, accepted only the maraboutic influence, there were commanding as masters in the plains: Sidi "Buxima," chief of "Alquel," not far from Taroudant; Sidi "Buagaz," master of the town of "Tul," both allies of the Portuguese; finally, Sheik Moumen, lord of Tagaost, who on the contrary became the ally of the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/ and later owed to their protection seeing his power grow (2).

2. Diego de Torres, Histoire des chérifs /"History of the Sherifs"/, in Afrique /Africa/, by Marmol, Vol. III, pp. 21-40.

It is in these circumstances favorable to the execution of their ambitious projects that the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/, in a country divided into small commands, constituted little by little, starting from the valley of the Sous and the Haha, a kingdom capable of giving them the means of subsequently carrying out the conquest of Morocco.

In the beginning and later, up to the time of the discord that separated the two brothers Ahmed el Aᶜrj and Mohammed El Mahdi, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes unreservedly gave their support to a movement that was directed against the Christians and their Arab allies. They promised to assist the shorfa (3).

3. Cour, op. cit., p. 56.

/89 cont./

*175 doubtless in the manner of the tribes of the North who, in the same period, were signing "an act of union" with a marabout of Tlemcen, or as was still being done recently by the turbulent fractions of the Rif, who were forming a "ribat" while proclaiming a military leader against the Spanish.

Mohammed el Qaim, called first of all by the wish of the populations in the Sous valley to Tidsi not far from Taroudant (1509) with the support of the marabout Mohammed ben Mbarek Hilali, soon established himself in Taroudant, where he built the fortress of Freija (4),

4. Marmol, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 446-448.

and struggled with his contingents from the Anti-Atlas, Gezzoula and Zenaga, against the allies of the Christians, who were the Arabs of the plains and the Mezwar of the Haut-Dra. A few years afterwards it was from Tednest and Afoughal, among the Haha, that the Chérif /Sherif/ led the fight against the Portuguese with varying success.

V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- After the death of El Qaim, his two sons Ahmed el Aᶜrj and Mohammed el /90/ Mahdi, established respectively among the Haha and at Taroudant, strengthened their power and took possession of veritable provinces. In the north of the Atlas the taking of Marrakech in 1524, the conquest of the plains as far as the Oum er Rbiᶜa, and the submission of Moulay Idris Hintati, in the South the surrender of Agadir taken from the Portuguese in 1541, the re-establishment of order in the Dra, and the submission of the Mezwar mark the first stage of Saadian political power. The two sherifs, having then conquered the temporal power, name governors, make peace reign, and take the Arabs into their Makhzen /makhzan/. Their unreasonable demands also become more numerous, and they are already levying taxes. They forthwith

/90 cont./

*175 cease being holy-war leaders in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

1. Cour, op. cit., pp. 67-71.

The Sous is waiting for no more than a favorable occasion in order to rise up against an authority that claims to substitute itself for that of the assemblies and of the notables. The discord that breaks out between the two brothers in 1542 on the subject of the apportionment of the territories subject to the tax furnishes the first occasion for a revolt; the sheiks of the country and the leaders of the two armies take sides and, behind them, the tribes fight at Ameskroud and El Qehira. Scarcely has Mohammed el Mahdi triumphed over Ahmed el A^c^rj, exiled at Sijilmassa, than an uprising breaks out in 1543 among the Nfifa, where the fqih ^c^Abdallah is agitating the country by referring to the Almohades, whose very name has remained a symbol of independence for the Masmouda. In order to put an end to him in the mountains of the Seksawa, it is necessary to send against him an army led by the Christians, alone capable of fighting against the spells of this sorcerer (2).

2. Marmol, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 70, 123, 124.

Shortly afterward the "sheiks of Mount Atlas," doubtless in the region of the Demsira and Seksawa, refuse to pay the "kharaj" tax, which they rightly regard as illegal. Cleverly enticed onto the plain, eleven of them are taken to Marrakech, where their heads are cut off (1547). Meanwhile El Harran, the Sultan's brother, exerts himself to keep the plain calm and deals severely with the marabouts. The Sous contingents participate again in the taking of Fez, but news of the Tlemcen disaster in 1550 gives the signal for the general revolt of the Atlas. El Harran's death carries the Berbères' /Berbers'/ audacity to its peak. Their war chief, Sidi Mohammed, puts the mountains in a state of defense

/90 cont./

*175 and makes an alliance with a rebel /91/ from the plain, Sidi Saᶜid, who holds the fortress of "Peignol," on a rock at the foot of the mountains, not far from Taroudant. In vain the Sultan sends an army of Turks and renegades. Defeated and captured by the Berbères /Berbers/ while crossing the Atlas, these mercenaries end up by swelling the contingents of the montagnards and teaching them how to fight better (1).

1. Diego de Torres, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 152, 159, 168, 211.

This revolt in addition was to be fatal to Mohammed el Mahdi. In the course of an expedition among the Demsira, while he was camping with his harka at Aglagal, on the Tizi Maᶜcho trail, a Turkish officer belonging to his militia, a traitor in the service of the sultan of Stamboul /Istanbul/, assassinated him and cut off his head. The emissaries from Constantinople carried it away salted, in a haversack, to their country, where it was exhibited as a trophy. All the Sultan's companions met death in this disaster (1557) (2).

2. Cour, op. cit., p. 129.

Moulay ᶜAbdallah El Ghaleb Billah, son of Mohammed el Mahdi, was taking over the power in difficult conditions. The Turks, his enemies, were relying on the religious sect of the Qadiriya, rival of the Chadiliya /Shadhiliya/, and were supporting pretenders in the North. Only the support of the Berbère /Berber/ marabouts was able to save the Sultan. "If you abandon me," he was then writing to Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa El Jazouli of the Tazerwalt, "I shall be able neither to safeguard my life nor to find a refuge on earth." This weakness of the sherifian power became greater still when, El Ghaleb having shamelessly allied himself with Christian Spain against the Turks, the religious leaders of the South withdrew their support from him and made themselves independent. For several years they represented the

/91 cont./

#175 only authority to which the tribes could turn. During the crisis of anarchy that followed El Ghaleb's death (1574), it was with one of these marabouts, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed ben Ou Saᶜdoun, that Mohammed el Motawakkel, El Ghaleb's son, came twice seeking refuge, in the highest region of the Atlas mountains, accompanied by the pious biographer Ibn ᶜAskar (1577). The holy man predicted to his host, driven from Fez and Marrakech, an imminent return of fortune; but these wishes could not protect him from the attacks of his uncle Ahmed, brother of the sultan ᶜAbd el Malek. It is known how El Motawakkel, allied with the Christians, perished with them the following year in the disaster of the Oued el Mkhazen /sic/.

/92/ VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- The sultan Ahmed el Mansour, whose glorious reign has so often been celebrated, was unable to change notably the anarchical situation of the South of Morocco. A brother of the sultan, Abou Faris, received command of the Sous, but he remained shut up in Taroudant (1).

(113) 1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

Actually, since the assassination of Mohammed Ech Cheikh in 1557, the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ no longer, it seems, had any ambition in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ other than to hold the great routes of passage by constructing casbahs entrusted to reliable guards. Doubtless it was at this time that the fortresses of Frouga, Qehira, Imi n Tanout, Ben Takemous, and Ameskroud were constructed or restored in order to mark out the Tizi Maᶜcho trail. The sultan Ahmed el Mansour himself wrote to his son to recommend that he make every effort to have this route adopted by all. The use of another road, which the people were trying to impose on travelers across their territory, "would have," he said, "ruined the country if it had become permanent." The authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised, however, in certain regions of the Deren, doubtless between the

/92 cont./

*175 Nefis, the pass of the Glawa, and the Sirwa. A command had been entrusted to the kaid ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz ben Saᶜid El Mezwari el Ouzgiti, born in Taroudant, vizier of Ahmed el Mansour. This leader probably belonged to the same family as the Mezwar of the Dra and referred to an Almohade origin, which assured him of great prestige with the tribes. A man of great ambition and extensive knowledge, if one judges by his library, which contained, it is said, 50,000 volumes, he preserved his personal position a very long time; and it was with him that Abou Fares, beaten by Moulay Zidan, came later to seek refuge (1).

1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

In the western part of the great chain, on the contrary, anarchy did not cease developing. After his accession, Ahmed el Mansour had had to pursue his nephew, Daoud ben ᶜAbd el Moumen, who had had himself proclaimed king among the Seksawa. An expedition had driven him from there, but this rebel settled in the Anti-Atlas, where it was again necessary to pursue him as far as the edge of the desert. A Portuguese traveler who was crossing the passes in the region of the Tizi Maᶜcho in 1596 noted there the state of rebellion of a marabout, doubtless Sidi ᶜAbdallah ben Saᶜid of the Haha (2).

[113]

2. Anonymous Portuguese, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, first series France, Vol. II, p. 256.

/93/ VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1660). -- It is above all after the death of Ahmed el Mansour (1603) that the religious leaders are going to assert their power; but even during his reign they continue to strengthen their political organization so well adapted to Berbère /Berber/ life. Perhaps it is possible, in

/93 cont./

*175 spite of the insufficiency of our documents, to indicate under what conditions their power was able to develop.

When they appear in a tribe, the founders of zaouias at first have no influence other than that given them by their learning, their personal worth, and their authority over hundreds of disciples. But little by little their centers of operation multiply and hive off by degrees. The framework of the small states that they formed can still be found again today by counting the tombs of saints and the maraboutic groupings presently without importance, widespread in an area whose boundaries most often remain quite precise. Thus, Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim founds at the beginning of the sixteenth century the zaouia of the Aït Daoud among the Haha. His son ᶜAbdallah, already threatened by the sultans because of his independence, settles down in the mountains in the region of the summits (1).

1. The zaouia of Berada, which does not appear to us to have been identified up to now. We believe it to be distinct from that of the Aït Daoud and from that of the Aït Tamment.

His grandson Yahya Abou Zakarya comes among the Aït Tamment on the south versant of the Atlas, by approaching Taroudant (2).

[113]

2. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir, Graulle tr., Archives Marocaines /Moroccan Archives/, XIX, p. 176.

Each new zaouia is a center from which new colonies leave, following the valleys, to the point where, in the legend, Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, whose sons have settled everywhere in the best irrigated lands of the country, could subsequently acquire the reputation of having in former times been a great discoverer of springs. The boundary of this pacific occupancy of the country by the family of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim appears to have been

/93 cont./

*175 the chain of the Atlas to the North and to the South and the Asif el Mal to the East (3).

3. Three sons of Sidi Yahya, Sidi Benso, Sidi Saᶜid, and Sidi Brahim, are buried among the Aït Haddious, the highest fraction of the Seksawa. A descendant of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim is venerated among the Amesmatert (Gedmiwa). (F. de la Chapelle's note.)

One would likewise find in the region of the Haha other traces of maraboutic organizations, doubtless of lesser importance, but realized in the same form. The sons of Sidi Mehend Ouchchen did this among the Haha, and in a little different way, by keeping a still more complete centralization, the descendants /94/ of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli, who have remained up to our day the religious and political counselors of the Ida Ou Tanan. This religious colonization of the Moroccan South is analogous to the one that is still going on under our eyes in the mountains of the Rif, where, for example, the Khemalcha hem in the tribes of the Senhaja of Srair with an irresistible grip by the network of their zaouias.

Bearers of baraka, animators of the holy war, teachers of religious knowledge, the marabouts at first see the gifts flow into their zaouias and collect the tithe that each one scrupulously pays to them. The sultans do not dare subject them to the tax. For wanting to impose the "nalba" on the sons of Sidi El Khalid ben Yaha el Masmoudi under the pretext that "all Mussulmans are equal in this case," the Saadian Mohammed Ech Cheikh had been struck, it is said, with a serious illness, from which only the intervention of the Saint's children could deliver him (1).

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., Arch. marocaines /Moroccan Archives/, XIX, pp. 195-198.

/94 cont./

*175 The zaouias thus founded and maintained by the piety of the faithful constitute inviolable shelters where the guilty come to take refuge. They are especially caravansaries where the master gives liberal hospitality. Ibn ᶜAskar describes for us with admiration the sumptuous table of the saintly ᶜAbd el Kerim el Fellah of Marrakech, and the marvels accomplished by another sheik, Abou Mohammed ᶜAbdallah el Kouch, great feeder of peoples, by the permission of God. Mohammed Ousaᶜdoun, at the summit of the Deren, in a land without crops and without barley, accomplished the same prodigies, and Sheik Abou ᶜAmar, another thaumaturge, while dying had declared to his descendants: "Close the door of hospitality henceforth; do nothing of what I have done. That is a divine mystery, the secret of which is possessed only by him to whom God has unveiled it." "If one meditates on these mysteries," adds the pious biographer, "it is necessary to recognize that only those who would open the chambers of public treasuries or whom divine generosity would come to assist could be equal to similar liberalities" (2).

2. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., trans., pp. 173-185.

By the afflux of pilgrims and beggars, the marabouts ceaselessly extend their political relationships; called to arbitrate disputes, to stop the conflicts of fractions, they institute truces, impose their decisions, thanks to the fear in which their curse is held. Even granting their protection to fairs /95/ and markets, they little by little come to supervise all the activity of the tribes that they keep in peace. From then on it is enough if the sultan appeals to their authority or solicits their support in a difficult period, in order for their situation as true masters of the country to be officially authorized. A modest tribute addressed to the sovereign barely calls to mind the former bond with the Makhzen /makhzan/, which stops exerting any direct authority in the region that they have colonized, while they themselves doubtless succeed in appropriating for their benefit the contributions raised.

/95 cont./

*175 With what haughtiness will they soon treat the temporal power, which they consent to protect on the condition that it follow their advice! The sheik Abou ʾlHasan ᶜAli ben Abou ʾlQasem Es Sandjai, a man of noble rank and great worth, approaches the kings with only this brief polite formula: "Greeting," then in a severe tone he prescribes the good for them and forbids them the bad. The correspondence exchanged at that time between the Saadians and the important marabouts of the Haha must be read in order to see the freedom with which the religious leaders are prodigal with their advice, and in a tone which no longer permits knowing who the true rulers are (1).

1. Nozhet El Hâdi, p. 346 and sqq.

Sometimes, however, the sultan is disturbed and tries to act severely; but it seems that an attitude of revolt further exalts the religious lords, who draw a large part of their strength from the independent mountain tribes. The hostility of Ahmed el Mansour causes the descendants of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim to settle down among the Seksawa, and in the high mountains where they become invulnerable, while the sons of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa assemble around them in the western Anti-Atlas the forces of the Igezzoulen, away from the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- From the first years of the seventeenth century, after the death of Ahmed el Mansour, the impotence of the Saadian dynasty becomes conclusive. The various pretenders, El Mansour, ᶜAbdallah, Zidan, and Abou Farès, dispute the regions located south of the Atlas. More than ever the Sous serves as refuge for the candidates to the throne whom success betrays. Finally, Moulay Zidan succeeds in keeping a precarious power in Marrakech until his death in 1627, but the rest of the country escapes him /96/ entirely. It is by means of this decline of sherifian authority that leaders of maraboutic principalities make new progress. We see them become the absolute masters of small states; they wage war for themselves and extend their dominion over tribes ever more numerous.

/96 cont./

*175 The adventure of El Mahalli in Marrakech in 1612 gives us the occasion to observe this new development of maraboutic power. Abou ʾlAbbas Ahmed ben ʿAbdallah, surnamed Abou ʾlMahalli, a scholar famed for his knowledge of law and mystical doctrines, established far from the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ authority in the Saoura wadi, had passed himself off as a reformer of customs and soon as the awaited Fatimid. The movement of religious indignation and reaction against the Saadians that had followed the ceding of Larache to Spain in 1610 had seemed to this new Mahdi favorable for attempting to drive the weak Moulay Zidan from Marrakech. The latter, having taken refuge in Safi, made an urgent appeal for the protection of Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, grandson of Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim of the Haha, then all-powerful in the western Atlas, to re-establish him on his throne. After some hestitation the marabout assembled his contingents: they were not only the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Deren, but also those of the Anti-Atlas from the Chtouka to the Ida Ou Kensous, whom the Chebbanat Arabs, maternal uncles of Moulay Zidan, had joined. After a fight waged at Imi n Tanout, Sidi Yahya put to flight the army of his adversary, who was killed at the Gueliz, and even established himself in the palace of Moulay Zidan (1613). The temptation to take supreme power for himself was great, and it indeed seems, according to El Oufrani, that for an instant the marabout had the dream of having himself proclaimed Sultan. But the Berbères /Berbers/ of his army, perhaps the Igezzoulen subject to the family of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, rival of his own, refused to aid him in his projects; he came back to his mountains and contented himself with using all his influence to direct from the depths of his zaouia the policies of Moulay Zidan, who had come back to his capital (1).

1. Nozhet el Hadi, ibid. -- Moulay Zidan had been obliged to struggle, even in Marrakech, against other, too enterprising marabouts. The sheik Abou Ishaq ben Ahmed,

/96 cont./

*175

/footnote 1 continued/ grandson of ᶜAbdallah ben Hosein of Tamesloht, whose mystical teaching stirred up the town, was thus pursued and fled to the tribe of the Souktana, where he died.

Henceforth turning his projects toward the Sous, Sidi Yahya made /97/ the decision to take possession of Taroudant, hitherto regarded as the town of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and to conquer his enemy, Abou ᵓlHasan ᶜAli, grandson of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, better known under the name of Sidi ᶜAli. The two adversaries waged furious battles, but Sidi Yahya died in 1626, before having succeeded in putting all of the Sous under his authority (1).

1. Nozhet el Hadi, pp. 325-346.

For a few more years his sons fought the marabout of the Tazerwalt, who had in turn become master of a powerful State; then the family of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim little by little lost its influence in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and soon disappeared forever from the political life of the South.

After the death of Moulay Zidan in Marrakech, his successors no longer had more than a shadow of power, to the point where we see them struggle with difficulty against uprisings at the very gates of the capital (2).

2. Nozhet el Hadi, p. 423.

Sidi ᶜAli, rid of his rival Sidi Yahya, organized to his liking the kingdom that he had conquered in the Sous with the support of the Igezzoulen. In the same period the provinces of the North of Morocco were also breaking up and falling into the hands of the holy-war leaders, such as El ᶜAyachi and Ghilan at Salé and in the Habt, or into those of marabouts, such as the masters of the zaouia of Dila in the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. One can observe, moreover, that the evolution of the power of these

/97 cont./

*175 marabouts of Dila continued and seemed to be a replica of that of the sons of Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en Na^{c}im, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa in the Sous; likewise animated by the confidence that the independent tribes showed them, having become, like them, in the third generation, the leaders of a veritable State, they scorned the sultans and tried to establish their dominion in the plains of the North. Only the Filalian shorfa /shurfa/ were going to succeed in destroying their power.

Thus, after a century and a half Morocco was coming back to the state of anarchy that the Saadians had known at their beginnings; but while in the fifteenth century the parceling had usually been done for the benefit of tribal chiefs, Almohade sheiks, of Mérinide pretenders, at present the different parts of the Empire, except for Marrakech, were finding themselves in the power of the Chebbanat Arabs, subject to religious personages. It was reserved for the new dynasty, coming from the Tafilelt, to resume a policy /98/ of the Makhzen /makhzan/ exclusively based tribally on the co-operation of temporal leaders.

IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- During the period of anarchy and maraboutic reaction, what had been the inner life of the tribes that, in the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, had found their independence again? Without any doubt the large commands of the Mérinide period in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which had been prolonged for some time yet with the support of the Hintata, had been swept away in all the regions where the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ did not have the strength to implant itself. The era of the "mountain kings" and lords of the Dra is then closed for a time. One sees their successors appearing from all sides in the sixteenth century, minor sheiks, probably maintained by these councils of "gentlemen who keep the peace" in the regions described by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and Marmol. Capable of uniting in order to designate a military leader, as in the great revolt of 1552, they did not any the less, by reason of their number, represent Berbère /Berber/ particularism, formed to limit its horizon to the narrow boundaries of a canton.

/98 cont./

*175 At the same time as local government was thus being reborn on all sides in the form of sheiks, amghars /heads of cantons/, or small republics whose diverse constitutions are sometimes indicated to us by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, the Islamization of the Moroccan South was being achieved, thanks to the holy war and to the efforts of the marabouts. From this time on, religious law is substituted little by little for Berbère /Berber/ custom, for the "orf" of the tribes; now it replaces it, for example, when the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ takes the government of the country into its hands (1),

1. Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 153.

then again it corrects it in order to make it conform to the divine law. This juridical activity was going to make of the Sous the fatherland of scholars and talebs and, up to the end of the nineteenth century, the blessed land of the zaouias.

X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- The first Filalians are not, as has indeed been pointed out (2),

2. Cour, op. cit., p. 185.

simple "moujahidin," holy-war leaders, but shorfa /shurfa/ who, having come from the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, thanks to successful military adventures, have with their own forces gradually gained power /99/ in the midst of general anarchy. They owe nothing to the marabouts who helped the rise -- and later facilitated the ruin -- of the Saadians. So they are going to be able to persist in getting rid of these religious leaders whose authority, so naturally accepted by the Berbères /Berbers/, remains threatening for the Makhzen /makhzan/ and in addition perhaps is secretly supported by the Turks, declared enemies of the dynasty.

/99 cont./

*175 As soon as Moulay Rechid /Mulai Arshid, Mulay Rashid/ had taken possession of Fez in 1667, he made an attack on the zaouia of Dila, the most dangerous because of its power and the ambition of its masters. After leveling it, he advanced on Marrakech unexpectedly and put out of the way the usurper Kerroum el Hajj, who had had the last of the Saadians, Moulay el ᶜAbbas, assassinated ten years earlier. Finally, penetrating into the valley of the Sous by way of the country of the Haha and subjugating the tribes frightened by his arrival, he seized the Chtouka from the country of the Ahel Sahel, defenders of the kings of the Tazerwalt, and after a stubborn resistance took the fortress of Illigh, which had been the center of the power of Sidi ᶜAli (1670-71) (1).

[113]

1. De Chénier, Recherches historiques sur les Maures /Historical Research on the Moors/, Vol. III, Paris, 1787, pp. 355-356.

At the time of the arrival of the Filalian Makhzen /makhzan/, the South of the Sous had just known a period of prosperity. Since the death of his rival, Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, the grandson of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, Sidi ᶜAli, who was also called Abou Hassoun or again Sidi Boudmeia, had extended his dominion as far as the high valley of the Dra and of the Dadès; taking sovereign power, he had even put up the parasol, which had become the emblem of royal authority in the Maghreb. The happy memory of his reign, which lasted until 1660, is faithfully preserved in tradition; the country moreover was no longer to find again later such an era of riches.

At this time, as a matter of fact, when the commercial relations of the Sous with Marrakech and Fez were interrupted because of the insecurity, the caravans were heading toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ in order to transport there manufactured

/99 cont./

¥.175 objects from Europe and coming back loaded with gold powder and ivory from the Sudan (2).

2. Réponses à plusiers questions sur les États du Roy de Tafilelt /Answers to several questions on the States of the King of Tafilalet/, Paris, 1670, pp. 50-71.

We know from the sailors and Christian traders what attention Sidi ᶜAli gave to maritime commerce. He had forbidden the use of Agadir, whose activity he could not control perfectly. Massat had become his port: "The traffic there is /100/ very good," a traveler tells us, "the more so as the Santon has assistance there so that, after having had his passport, the merchants can go ashore freely and carry their merchandise there, indeed display it there in tents, and this without any peril of slavery, for the said santon neither wishes nor permits one to make slaves other than the Spanish and those who also do it."

The Hollanders were then making great efforts to establish an important trade movement in this region and, to ingratiate themselves with Sidi ᶜAli, were offering him, to the great scandal of the other sailors, munitions, arms, material for naval construction: "wood, carpenters, masts, oars, ready-made chains for chaining Christians." Admiral Ruyter, himself sent on a mission by the United Provinces, was received with consideration by the sons of Sidi ᶜAli, without succeeding, however, in setting up profitable agreements with the country (1).

[113] 1. De Castries, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, France, first series, Vol. III, p. 365; Pays-Bas /Low Countries/, Vol. V, pp. 571, 583, 614, 616, 627.

Concern for maintaining trade relations with the Moroccan ports of the insurgent provinces of the Empire was moreover, at

/100 cont./

#175 this epoch, the constant preoccupation of the Christian powers. This desire corresponded at the same time to the concern that the pretenders had for taking in fresh stores of war material. Moulay Rechid, at the outset, had welcomed in the same manner, with the greatest hopes, the mission of Roland Fréjus on the coasts of the Rif. More and more, European armaments were going to play their role in the internal affairs of the Sherifian Empire.

Under these conditions one understands that Moulay Rechid's primary concern was to put a stop to this traffic, dangerous for the security of the Empire, and to seize the Tazerwalt.

The success of Moulay Rechid in the Sous was facilitated moreover by the incapacity of the successors of Sidi ᶜAli, whose 22 sons and several brothers were making war on one another, taking by turns Taroudant, Ifran, Tagaost, Illigh, Agadir. The one of them who had won out, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed, was poisoned in Fez; after this blow struck by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the marabouts of the Tazerwalt lost all political authority for 100 years (2).

[113]

2. Ez Zaiani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Paris, 1886, Houdas trans., p. 22.

XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. /101/ -- We have shown in the preceding pages what the agitated life of the Sous had been in the time of the greatest glory of the Mérinide dynasty; it is not without interest to compare with that picture the one of the reign of the greatest of the Filalian shorfa.

Upon the death of Moulay Rechid, killed by his horse in Marrakech in 1672 when he was receiving a deputation of the Sous tribes, Moulay Ismaᶜil, his brother, proclaimed sultan, succeeded in getting himself recognized only at the price of the greatest difficulties. His nephew, Ahmed Ben Mahrez, and the "moujahid" Ghilan, backed by the Turks, had themselves

/101 cont./

*175 proclaimed sovereigns. Ahmed ben Mahrez shut himself up in Marrakech, where the Sultan beseiged him for several years. New expeditions were undertaken among the Haha to raise large contributions and against the Chebbanat of the Atlas, of whom "a large number perished in the troubles." The Sultan had even advanced into the Sous as far as Aqqa, Tisint, and Chinguit, and had received the submission of the Arab tribes of the desert, but without succeeding in seizing Ahmed ben Mahrez.

As soon as the armies of Moulay Ismaʿil had left again on the eastern frontier of the Empire, the pretender reappeared in the Sous, which he organized from then on to his liking. He divided the country into two provinces, the one administered by Taroudant, the other by Illigh; then, having made an alliance with a sheik of his kingdom, whose daughter he had married, he took the title of king, and even tried, it is said, to conquer the Sudan (1).

[113]

1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 398; Mouette, Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy /History of the conquests of Mulai Arshid/, Paris, 1683, p. 466.

His intrigues with the Turks soon made him, for Moulay Ismaʿil, a formidable rival. Attacked by the Sultan himself at Taroudant, Ahmed ben Mahrez resisted desperately. In order to put an end to murderous battles, the two adversaries concluded a truce of several years. But, in 1684, el Harran, brother of Moulay Ismaʿil, dismissed by him from the Tafilelt, fled to seek refuge with the king of the Sous. Having decided to finish it, the Sultan came back to besiege Taroudant. Ahmed ben Mahrez was killed before the town was taken, but the inhabitants were nonetheless exterminated and replaced with Riffians (1689).

Some years passed during which the Sous seemed to know a relative tranquillity. But the Sultan had numerous sons who, having scarcely come of age, tried to form a kingdom most quickly in the inaccessible regions. They /102/ preferably chose

/102 cont./

*175 the Sous as the theater of their exploits. In 1703 Mohammed el ᶜAlem, the Sultan's son, in residence at Taroudant with 3,000 horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/, revolts and enters Marrakech by storm; his brother Zidan comes to drive him out and pursues him in the mountains for three years. Mohammed el ᶜAlem, taken prisoner, loaded with chains, is led to his father, who cuts off one of his feet and a hand. Zidan succeeds his brother in Taroudant, after having once more exterminated the inhabitants of this rebel town.

Then come new pretenders: Moulay ben Saᶜid and another son of the Sultan, governor of Safi, who stirred up the Sous plain and the province of the Haha; they attack Moulay Zidan in Taroudant without success, and Moulay el Mamoun in the Tafilelt (1).

[113]

1. Relation des trois voyages /Relation of the three journeys/, etc. of the Pères de la Mercy /Fathers of Mercy/, Paris, 1744, p. 148 and sqq.

Moulay Zidan is assassinated in 1708. Finally, in 1721 Moulay ᶜAbd el Malek, who resides in Taroudant and commands the part of the Sous near Agadir, refuses to pay to his father the tribute of the province. Besides, it seems as though the Sultan's old age is in itself the cause of a recrudescence of anarchy. Actually, although Moulay Ismaᶜil has manifested the intention of having his eldest son designated as successor, each of the heirs, sure of being assassinated when the latter takes power, tries to form a party so as to be able at least to try his luck on the day after the "siba."

When the old Sultan died, if one is to believe the historian minister Ez-Zayani, the country enjoyed the most complete security, and, according to the time-honored expression, a Jew or a woman could move about from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/ to Oudjda "without anyone's venturing to ask them where they

/102 cont./

*175 were coming from or where they were going" (2).

2. Ez Zaiani, op. cit., p. 52.

What we have seen of Sous history during that great reign makes us doubt it. But nonetheless it is certain that Moulay Isma^{c}il had done much to ensure, for want of the tranquillity of the provinces, at least the security of the roads. The innumerable casbahs that he had built at the road posts and on the important mountain passages were entrusted to the care of a large black army, which was called the "^{c}Abid," the slaves; it was also easier to control the disarmed tribes especially north of the Atlas. But this creation -- the most original of the administrative achievements of the /103/ great Sultan -- was to be fatal to his successors. It was the "^{c}Abid" who sided with the pretenders.

From 1727 to 1757 there were no fewer than twelve proclamations of sultan; and Moulay ^{c}Abdallah, who won out over his brothers, Moulay Ahmed Dehbi, Moulay ^{c}Abd el Malek, Sidi Mohammed ben ^{c}Arbia, Moulay el Mostadi, Moulay Zin el ^{c}Abidin, was recognized six times and obliged to take flight five times. In 1733 he had undertaken for the first time a campaign to pacify the Sous, and a little later, forced to seek refuge as far as the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/ with his maternal uncles, the Meghafra, he was living in the desert with his young son Sidi Mohammed, the one who fortunately was subsequently to succeed him.

One can think without risk of error that these dynastic wars, whose theater was especially the Tafilelt and the plains of the North, gave to the tribes of the South of Morocco the chance to recapture the freedom that they had had to give up off and on during the preceding reign.

XII. The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben ^{c}Abdallah and the founding of Mogador. -- The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben ^{c}Abdallah marks a new era for the Moroccan South. Henceforward the marabouts, completely eliminated from the Sous

/103 cont./

*175 or reduced to a strictly religious role, ceased attracting the Sultan's attention. The policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is asserted at the same time by the founding of the port of Mogador and by the organization of the command among the Haha and in the plains. Decisions made at that time by Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah will be upheld by his successors, and their consequences will make themselves felt in the social and economic life of the country up to our day.

From having grown up in exile in the Sahara and having carried out, in his father's reign, an expedition in the Sous, with the purpose of putting in irons a band chief, the Taleb Salah, who then held Agadir (1).

1. Ez Zaiani, op. cit., p. 126.

Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah had learned to know the dangers that threatened the security of the Empire in that distant region. In order to put an end to them, he had the idea of closing the Berbère /Berber/ coast of the South to European trade and to found at Mogador, at a point that would always remain under the direct surveillance of the /104/ agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, a port and a modern town open to Christians (1765). The creation of the new town, to which was given the name of Souira, would also be part of a larger commercial and fiscal plan; Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah was hoping, by establishing foreign traders in all the towns of the coast, to bring about a sizable movement of trade, thanks to which he could establish new taxes and set up a commercial monopoly for the benefit of the Treasury. The emptiness of the coffers of the "Bit el Mal" gave this project particular interest (1).

1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 466 and sqq.

Sidi Mohammed's hopes were vain. The tax yield was very small and the Christian merchants, ceaselessly molested by the

/104 cont./

*175 amins /directors/ of the customs, quickly ceased to contribute to the traffic of Souira. But another result was attained without difficulty: henceforth, all the trade of the Far South was concentrated in the new port; the caravans went back up by following the coast of the Haha to Mogador; the presence of a sizable Jewish colony in touch with all the mellahs /ghettos/ of the Sous and the Anti-Atlas permitted definitively establishing the new commercial position of the town of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

The move was in the long run deeply resented by the populations of the Anti-Atlas; the manufactured objects, more and more necessary to life, arrived in the Far South at high prices because of the middlemen and long transport; the sale of local products became more difficult; importation of arms and gunpowder was hampered. The disappearance of maritime trade on the coast, against which the Igezzoulen and the Arabs of the Noun /Nun/ vainly tried to react in the nineteenth century, thus had the effect of creating a noticeable economic depression, all the more dangerous for the country because it was less rich and fertile. More than ever a temporary exodus became necessary in order to ensure the subsistence of a large population, settled on an unfruitful soil, in a climate already subject to the influences of the desert. The Sous became weaker and its rebellions became, as the Makhzen /makhzan/ had wished, less dangerous for the Empire.

The Sultan had tried at the very first to utilize, like his predecessors, the black army formed by Moulay Isma'il, but a bloody revolt in 1776 turned him away from this practice. He tried /105/ from then on to use to his advantage, in order to support his provincial governors, some tribes chosen from among both the most warlike and the easiest to keep obedient. By arming them, he could thus more readily levy taxes on the neighboring tribes, at first less easy; thanks to them, he directed against the rebels expeditions of pillage, the threat of which usually sufficed to break down the first resistance. The most important of these "Makhzen tribes," whose command was organized with care, was that of the Haha. At this period two families destined to play an important

/105 cont./

*175 role in the nineteenth century in the service of the Empire were chosen by the Sultan to give chiefs to the tribes of the Haha and Mtougga: the A'lt Bihi and the A'lt Mousa.

In spite of the attention given by Sidi Mohammed to the problems of the South, the political situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous remained precarious to the end of his reign. Little by little, the chiefs of the Tazerwalt reassumed their authority over the Anti-Atlas tribes; the maraboutic state of Sidi ᶜAli was reconstituted, upheld by the Igezzoulen. Another rebel, ᶜAli el Hajj, who commanded the Tekna, was on the Noun at Goulimin /Goulimine/. In the subject regions the cost of living rose ceaselessly, taxes were heavier, and, in spite of the ruler's efforts, one observed "an increase in the oppression and misery of the peoples." Above all, for the future, the dangers of unrest of the preceding reigns existed; in particular, the number of the Sultan's sons enabled Chénier to announce for certain that upon his death pretenders would appear from every side.

There was one point, however, that the vigilance of the sherifian government did not neglect: the marabouts remained the object of active surveillance. In 1772, 3,000 visionaries armed with sticks, who had arrived in Marrakech from the South under the leadership of a marabout announcing the end of the reign, had been vigorously dispersed; and it was reported that Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah, with his own hand, had killed "several Moors who were in veneration of holiness or marabouts that he believed to be Turkish agents" (1).

1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 464-484.

It is certain that these rigorous measures had the effect of throwing back to the ill-favored confines of the Empire, in the middle valley of the Dra and on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, the /106/ heads of zaouias whose activity remained suspect, even dangerous, during the periods of anarchy. The attention given to this peril was to produce the results: in the course of the

/106 cont./

*175 nineteenth century temporal power became unrivaled, and the zaouias themselves often paid the tithe to the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- Upon the death of the sultan Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah in 1790, anarchy broke out as had been foreseen. Moulay Yazid having been proclaimed in the Gharb, Marrakech and the Haouz recognized his brother, Moulay Hicham, who was relying on the powerful kaids of Safi and the Doukkala. The death of Moulay Yazid in 1792 had as a consequence the accession of Moulay Sliman in Fez, while other brothers of the Sultan, Moulay el Hosein, Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman, agitated separately. It was Moulay Sliman, however, who won out and came to Marrakech in 1795. By good luck the great epidemic of cholera took place and wreaked its havoc in the provinces of the South where the pretenders were: "It was through it that God delivered the Sultan from the embarrassments that his brothers created for him" (1);

1. Ez Zaiani, op. cit., p. 181.

all three died affected by the scourge. From then on Moulay Sliman knew several years of peace in his empire. But the end of his reign was darkened by the Berbère /Berber/ revolts of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ under the leadership of the marabout Amhaouch. Successive defeats, and even the capture of the Sultan by the neighboring tribes, seriously damaged sherifian prestige. Finally, there took place, one year before the death of the sultan Moulay Sliman, the affair of the Cherradi zaouia near Marrakech, during which he was again taken prisoner by the rebels.

Under the authority of this weak Sultan, the Moroccan South nevertheless was more subdued than it had been under the greatest rulers. After a long period of internal wars, at the time of the "siba of the seven years," which coincided with the pretenders' struggle, from 1790 to 1797, an energetic military leader, Mohammed ben Yahya Aghennaj, originally from the north of the

/106 cont./

*175 Haha, undertook in the name of the Sultan successful campaigns in the plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka; he subjugated and organized for several years the Ida ou Tanan, so rebellious against the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/, drove from Illigh the marabout Sidi /107/ Hachem, who had succeeded in giving back the Tazerwalt part of its glory again; Aghennaj even reached the Noun and crossed the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, where his memory has been preserved up to the present; along his route, the "agadirs" /storehouse-fortresses/ of the Berbères /Berbers/ were knocked down, while he built fortresses to shelter garrisons in the plain at Biougra and Tiznit (1).

[113]

1. Justinard, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous /"Notes on the History of the Sous"/, Hespéris, 1925, p. 271; 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

But this work of twenty years was ephemeral; as soon as Aghennaj was dead, Sidi Hachem came back into his fortress and took back his mountain tribes, and it was at that time that there developed under his protection the great maraboutic fair of the Tazerwalt, the most important market in the South in the last century. In the subjugated plains, moreover, the attachment of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/ remained uncertain. This can be judged by the instructions given by Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman to his vizier, the historian Akensous, sent on a mission to Taroudant. When the unfortunate affair of the Cherradi zaouia took place, this vizier, who was on a mission in Taroudant to re-establish order, received from his master instructions that suffice to show the weakness of the central power: "Leave everything in the state," it was said to him, "bring back with you the sheiks of the Sous, to whom you will promise our confidence and our support in all that they may ask of you" (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. X, p. 91.

/107 cont./

*175 174 XIV. Insufficiency of the historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- From the time of the reign of the sultan Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman (1822-1859), the documents that might enable us to know the history of the Moroccan South become fewer and fewer. On the one hand, the writings of the historians Akensous and Ahmed en Nasiri show us the life of the Sherifian Empire under more and more conventional aspects; on the other hand, it seems as though, in the isolation in which it is shut up, the far Maghreb is seeing the activity of the dynasty and of the tribes diminish and that great deeds capable of striking the mind and fixing themselves in the memory are becoming rarer. For want of sufficiently complete texts by means of which we might be able to know what the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ policy in the South of Morocco had been for a century, tradition and the memory of the oldest old men can, however, suffice to /108/ enable us to find the major lines and understand the reaction that it evoked among the tribes.

By putting together, at the price of patient investigations, the thousand small events that stirred the Berbère /Berber/ mountain cantons, one can actually arrive at some knowledge of the deep life of this province precise enough in order to distinguish well the nature and the importance of the main political forces, which oppose one another, as we shall see, according to constant laws. Local history, thus reconstituted, is the web of the study that we are going to try to make of the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, of the birth and development of personal power, of the submission of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/; but the fabric of this history is so uniform, the threads that cross one another in it are so numerous and so closely woven that it would perhaps be difficult to perceive at first, if we tried to make too complete an exposition here, the simple rules according to which the facts are connected. Therefore we shall limit ourselves, for the moment, to choosing from among the numerous pieces of information collected on the spot by our efforts the events that make known the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the reigns of the last Filalian sultans. In the course of our study of the

/108 cont./

*175 174 institutions, on the other hand, we shall draw besides from the history of the tribes for the past century, applying ourselves to finding, among so many obscure struggles, the examples that make one understand how the transformation of the Sous province was brought about.

*175 XV. The policy of the Makhzen under Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman. -- In the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, sherifian policy relied, as during the preceding period, on the forces of the Arab or faithful Berbère /Berber/ tribes charged with keeping the more rebellious ones obedient. On the whole, the Atlas of the Masmouda remains little changed by the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/, but through the Telwet pass and the Tizi n Fedghat to the East on the one hand, by the coastal road of the Haha to the West on the other, leaders in the Sultan's service try to reach at a great distance the tribes of the Dadès, the Dra, the Feija, or the ones of the western Anti-Atlas. Finally, in the heart of the Sous plain, Taroudant forms another center that directs its activity toward the central Anti-Atlas.

In the coastal region the champion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is El Hajj /109/ ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, kaid of the Haha; the Sultan's enemy is the marabout of the Tazerwalt.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi appears about 1844 and in the South of Morocco takes over the tradition created by Aghennaj 50 years before. After reducing to impotence the minor kaids of the Mtougga, his rivals, whom he expels from their house of Bouaboud, he subjugates entirely the country of the Haha, whose tribes of the South have regained their independence; he immediately conquers the Ida Ou Tanan and establishes himself, as the Sultan's caliphate, in Taroudant and among the Chtouka of the plain; he draws to himself the minor chiefs of the fractions of the Dir, and with the aid of a sherif of the Haha, Moulay Idris, to whom he entrusted the command of Taroudant, he keeps all the tribes submissive in obedience.

The domain of the sherif of the Tazerwalt begins beyond the territory of the Chtouka, on the left bank of the Oulghas wadi. At Illigh, Sidi Hachem has recaptured, since the death of his enemy

/109 cont./

*175 Aghennaj, all his authority over the Igezzoulen. Assassinated about 1830, in the middle of the moussem /festival/, the leader of the Tazerwalt has as successor his sons Sidi ᶜAli, then Sidi Hosein. The latter soon governs his little State with a prestige equal to that of his father (1).

1. Justinard, op. cit., Hespéris, 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

To the south of the Anti-Atlas, in the country of the Tekna Arabs, weakened remains of the Maᶜqil tribes, mixed with Berbères /Berbers/ and haraten /Haratin/, the ancient preponderance of the town of Tagaost on the Noun has been replaced by that of the qsar /fortified place/ of Goulimin /Goulimine/. A family of rich merchants, the Oulad Beirouk, have command there and monopolize the Saharan trade toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/. We see then the Chérif /Sherif/ of the Tazerwalt and the Beirouk unite to try to obtain from the Christian nations, especially England and France, the creation of a commercial agency on their coast in order thus to be able to escape the economic control that the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/ has maintained over these distant regions since the creation of the port of Mogador (2).

[113]

2. Marty, Les Tribus de la Haute-Mauritanie /The Tribes of Upper Mauritania/, Paris, 1915, p. 72 and sqq.

The insurmountable difficulties of the bar /Fr. barre/ of the Ocean cause the project of the port of Assaka to be abandoned; later, the progress of French penetration in Senegal and the Sudan will lead to the disappearance of the caravan route from Goulimin /Goulimine/ to Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ and the commercial ruin of the markets of the Tazerwalt and the Noun.

/110/ XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- The death of Sultan Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, the embarrassments of the Tetouan war, and famine cause a "siba" of five years in the western

/110 cont./

*105 Atlas and the Haut-Dra region, which ends only when the sultan Sidi Mohammed entrusts to his son Sidi el Hasan the government of the Moroccan South (1864).

Sidi el Hasan himself carries out a policing tour in the Sous and clashes, on the Oulghas wadi, with the Igezzoulen subject to Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt; unable to defeat them, he retires toward the North and conceives for the future the project of an expedition intended to re-establish the prestige of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Anti-Atlas and the Noun.

In the same period, troubles breaking out in the Sirwa region oblige the Sultan to send by way of the Telwet pass, as far as into the Feija, a harka entrusted to the kaid of Demnat; shortly afterward, the command of these distant regions is reorganized, and from then on we occasionally see appearing in the government of the tribes of the south versant of the central Atlas the minor kaid of the Glawa, Mohammed Ibibat el Mezwari, whose sons will later play an important role in the conquest of the Sous by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

The disturbance created in the western Atlas by the revolt of the Arab tribes of the Marrakech plain during the first years of Sidi Mohammed's reign and the battles that they wage against the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Dir require the Makhzen /makhzan/ to pay sustained attention to the intrigues of the minor chiefs of the land of the Masmouda. The pasha of the casbah, Brahim el Grawi, then receives command of all the region included between Imi n Tanout and the valley of the Ourika; he multiplies the mountain commands and sees appearing in the Asif Nefis, without conceiving any fear for the future, the amghar of Tagontaft, Mohammed n Ait Lhasen, in rebellion against his master, the kaid of the Ouzgita from the Jebel Kik.

Finally, in 1868, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha and of the Sous, accused by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of maintaining relations with the marabout of the Tazerwalt that are dangerous for the security of the Empire, perishes, poisoned by order of the Sultan; his tribal command is cut up, while sherifian favor comes back for a time to the chiefs of the Mtougga. During

/110 cont./

*175 long years the country of the Haha remains delivered up to anarchy and internal quarrels, fanned by the kaids of Bouaboud.

/111/ XVII. Moulay el Hasan and the Sous expeditions. -- Sidi Mohammed dies accidently, drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech at the time when his son, Sidi el Hasan, is exerting himself to re-establish order among the Haha (1874). Proclaimed sultan at Bou Riqi by the Haha sheiks themselves, on whom he confers the title of kaid in return for their loyalty, Moulay el Hasan from then on is going to apply himself for the 20 years of a difficult reign to struggling against anarchy and internal disorder in a country threatened by the unceasingly more apparent ambitions of the European nations.

At the same time that he is trying to strengthen the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by providing his mehallas with cannon and modern guns, Moulay el Hasan tries to make the exercise of his authority easier by breaking up the large commands and multiplying the number of minor kaids. The disadvantage of this system, however, is to increase abuses at the same time and to make more frequent the rivalries among these innumerable chiefs; but most often the personal prestige of the sovereign suffices to keep the country in order and completely avoid rebellion.

From the beginning of his reign, Moulay el Hasan was obliged to intervene to stop the struggle between the amghar Mohammed n Ait Lahsen of Tagontaft on the Haut-Nefis and the kaid of the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, which had lasted for nearly 20 years. A large harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sent against the amghar in the mountains in 1875, after the death of the pasha of the Marrakech casbah, Brahim el Grawi, had been defeated, and, in spite of his success, the chief of the Nefis was offering to submit to the Sultan. Moulay el Hasan recognized his power and gave him the title of kaid. By thus creating a new command of slight extent in the Atlas, the Sultan remained faithful to his principle of increasing the number of chiefs in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

The attention of the ruler, however, was turned by preference toward the Anti-Atlas at the extreme boundary of the

/111 cont./

*175 Empire. The Christian powers, who knew the weakness of sherifian authority on the Atlantic confines of the Dra, had the ambition to establish themselves on the coast of the Noun or of Mauritania by founding commercial settlements there. Spain, especially, was trying to occupy a point on the coast of the Sbouya, Ifni, which a reconnaissance mission had /112/ identified arbitrarily with Santa Cruz de Mar Pequena, where the inhabitants of the Canaries had possessed an ephemeral establishment four centuries before; it was pressing the sherifian government to carry out the clause of the treaty concluded at Tétouan in 1860, which granted it fishing grounds in that region. At the same time an English trader, Mackensie, had founded a prosperous branch at Tarfaya near Cape Juby without any authorization, while another establishment arose at Areksis among the Aït Baʿ Amran, on the initiative of another Englishman, James Curtis. The latter had even made an agreement with the sheiks of the Aït Baʿ Amran and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt with a view toward establishing a port.

The objections addressed by the Sultan to Great Britain having had no effect, one might fear that the Far South was on the point of definitely shaking off the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even falling into the power of the Christians. Moulay el Hasan decided to re-establish sherifian power there and at the same time to destroy the political power of the religious leaders of the Tazerwalt (1).

[113]

1. Cf. especially Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, Paris, 1885, passim; Geranton, Expédition de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous /"Moulay el Hasan's Expedition into the Sous"/ (Revue de l'Afrique française. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, September, 1924).

An army of 40,000 men was assembled in the Sous plain and at Tiznit; but the considerable difficulties of reprovisioning in a land of limited resources did not permit advancing to Goulimin.

/112 cont./

*175 Nevertheless the notables from all the tribes, convoked at Tiznit, came to present themselves and were commissioned to oppose the conduct of the Christians, while recognizing, at least nominally, the sherifian power. Sidi Hosein alone abstained from coming and remained shut up in his fortress of Illigh, constructed on an inaccessible summit, and he contented himself with sending his son to represent him. Moreover, the size of the forces assembled by Moulay el Hasan did not permit a long stay in the country, because of the difficulties of reprovisioning. Before leaving the Sous, the Sultan gave the order to have the casbah of Tiznit rebuilt in a spot formerly occupied by the Makhzen /makhzan/, then set off toward the North with his army. The return by the route of the Haha, in a country without water, in the middle of summer, was very difficult.

The results of this first campaign were insignificant. The Sultan had scarcely left the country when the Howara and the /113/ Chtouka again made trouble in the plain of the Sous. The Christians had remained in place: Mackensie was even building a fortified house at Tarfaya on a little island, and Curtis was continuing his intrigues among the Sbouya.

In 1886 Moulay el Hasan decided to carry out a new expedition. This time he cleverly succeeded in winning over Sidi Hosein, who little by little became his adviser and gave him the moral support needed in order to obtain unreservedly the co-operation of the Igezzoulen. The sherifian army then reached Tiznit and Goulimin without difficulty, while Mackensie was abandoning Tarfaya. The title of kaid was given to numerous sheiks in all the plain of the Sous, and Sidi Hosein, who had unreservedly adopted the policy of the Sultan before his death, had as successor his son, Sidi Mohammed, named kaid of the Tazerwalt. This submission of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, however, marked the end of his political power and the disappearance of his prestige with the Berbères /Berbers/.

In all the Sous, only the Ida Ou Tanan refused to render homage to the sovereign. The sherifian mehalla, divided into several columns, reinforced by the various Sous tribes, then penetrated into the territory of these independent montagnards. For several

/113 cont./

175 weeks, as long as the contingents of the Makhzen /makhzan/ remained in the land, the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan recognized the authority of the Sultan. But immediately upon their departure the rebels put the kaid to death and burned his house.

Coming back from an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1891, the old ruler was induced to travel by way of the Telwet pass, where the whole army suffered from the cold. The clever welcome prepared for Moulay el Hasan by the kaid of the Glawa, Si el Madani, son of Mohammed Ibibat, made the fortune of the Telwet chiefs. They received the title of caliphates for the Tafilelt and above all obtained as gifts some guns and a cannon, which they were later to turn to their advantage most fortunately in the war of the tribes.

XVIII. The development of anarchy. The Protectorate. -- Death surprised Moulay el Hasan in the midst of his mehalla in the Gharb. That event gave the signal for the revolt of the populations of the South of Morocco against their kaids and the Makhzen /makhzan/. While most of the minor chiefs then shut themselves in their casbahs or sought refuge near marabouts' tombs, three kaids /114/ alone showed themselves capable of restoring order in their commands: ʿAbd el Malek Mtouggi, successor to the rivals of El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, and whose house of Bouaboud, solidly built, resisted tribal assault several times; Si Tayeb Gontafi, son of the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, for whom Moulay el Hasan had acknowledged the title of kaid in 1875; Si el Madani Glawi of Telwet, the fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon presented by the Sultan.

In the valley of the Sous, after three years of anarchy, order was re-established in 1897 by a harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the command of Tiznit and of the Chtouka entrusted by the grand vizier Ba Hmad to a kaid of the Haha, Saʿid Gellouli. The latter, in 1901, had as successor another chief of the same country, Ahmed Anflous Neknafi. Finally, Taroudant received a governor chosen from among the slaves of the Makhzen, the pasha Hoummo.

Upon the death of the vizier Ba Hmad in 1900, the three great chiefs of the Atlas seized the tribes of the Marrakech plain

/114 cont./

*175 and of the Haut-Sous /Upper Sous/, while the reign of the weak ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz was slipping away in Fez amid the intrigues of the Christian powers, and while the threat of the Rogui Bou Hamara against the towns of the North was making manifest to all the powerlessness of the Makhzen.

Soon events rushed forward, auguring the fatal crisis during which the Sherifian Empire was going to lose its independence. In 1907, at the time of the landing of French troops at Casablanca, the South of Morocco was separating from the provinces of the North: Marrakech was acclaiming as sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid, supported by the great kaid of the Glawa; at the same time Ma el ᶜAinin, a fanatical theologian from Mauritania, was preaching the holy war at Tiznit and, surrounded by his Saharan companions, was organizing for his benefit the siba in the Sous. The defeat of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, conquered by his brother Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid, has as a consequence the establishment of the new ruler and his grand vizier Si el Madani Glawi at Fez; but these changes stopped neither the conquest of the country of the Chawiya /Shawiya/ by France nor the development of anarchy in the north of Morocco. The massacre of the French troops at Fez was followed by the dismissal of the grand vizier El Madani, by the establishment of the Protectorate, and by the abdication of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid.

During these events the son of Ma el ᶜAinin, El Hiba, had himself proclaimed Sultan of the holy war at Tiznit among the Chtouka /115/ and the Aït Baᶜ Amran in 1909. Crossing the Atlas in 1912, with contingents from all the tribes, he clashed with Sidi Bou Otman in the Marrakech plain, at the Mangin column. Put to rout, the pretender fled into the South, while the kaids of the Atlas submitted to France.

Gradually driven from the Sous plains toward the Anti-Atlas, in the course of the following years El Hiba showed himself incapable, in spite of Germany's support during the war, of resisting the pacification of the Moroccan South, brought about thanks to the efforts of a patient policy. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Sous plain, on the confines of the Dra and of the Tafilelt, General

/115 cont./

*175 Lyautey succeeded in making peace prevail by utilizing all the resources that the tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ could offer in order to achieve the subjugation of the tribes. At the same time, at Marrakech and in the mountains, the authority of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, who had become auxiliaries of our military action in the South, directed by General de Lamothe, was consolidated. This circumstance was to remove the Sous for ten years from the administrative transformation that was going to alter the old organization of the Empire so profoundly.

Thus European penetration was surprising Morocco during the early years of the twentieth century, in the course of a crisis of anarchy that did not differ essentially in nature from the periods of disturbance that the far Maghreb had known in the course of its history.

During the whole duration of the Filalian dynasty, for more than two centuries, there had been seen succeeding one another, in an almost regular alternation, the great rulers capable of making relative order prevail in the provinces, Moulay Ismaʿil, Sidi Mohammed ben ʿAbdallah, Moulay ʿAbd er-Rahman, Moulay El Hasan; while the successors of these energetic sultans, Moulay ʿAbdallah, Moulay Sliman, Moulay ʿAbd el ʿAziz, had on the contrary shown themselves often incapable of stopping the spontaneous development of the "siba," always ready to break out on the occasion of dynastic crises.

Morocco, as we can observe it during the first years of our occupation, thus had remained like itself, and it was precisely the inability of its government to transform itself that was causing its fall at the time when the colonial expansion of the European peoples was imposing on the small states of /116/ Africa and the Orient the duty to be strong on pain of disappearing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this immobility of the empire of the Maghreb, the Filalian dynasty had asserted its domination in the South of Morocco during two centuries of effort with more resolution than the one that had preceded it: it had caused maraboutism and the brotherhoods to disappear from the Sous and had driven back to the summits of the Atlas or to the edge of the desert the

/116 cont./

*175 religious influences in Berbère /Berber/ country secretly hostile to the progress of the Sultan's power; henceforth no more than two opposing forces remained face to face: that of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and that of the tribes; two irreconcilable conceptions were colliding: the dream of a Mussulman Empire and that of Berbère /Berber/ anarchy. They are the ones that we are now going to see confronting each other, by studying here the phases of the political transformation of the province of the Sous, and it is their duel that, in various forms, will fill the lives of three generations whose agitated history we are going to study.

/117/

Book II
The Berbère /Berber/ Republics

000 /Page 118 is blank./

/119/

First Chapter
The Types of Political Organization

I. The great commands of the South of Morocco. -- II. The internal organization of the great commands. -- III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- V. The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ before the development of the power of the great chiefs. -- VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that of Berbérie /Barbary/.

No spectacle is more appropriate for directing the traveler's attention toward the little-known regions of the province of the Sous than the aspect presented by Marrakech /Marrakesh/ to her visitors in the course of the first hours of their stay. By a strange paradox this great city, the most populous of the native towns of North Africa, whose noisy and unconstrained life allows itself to be penetrated so easily, seems to us isolated behind the immense enclosure of ramparts that protect it in the luminous solitude of

/119 cont./

000 the great plain of the South; nevertheless, its very existence could not be explained without the contribution of activity that ceaselessly comes to it from the mountains and valleys of the Deren in the form of humble caravans loaded with the precious products of the Saharan oases.

Marrakech, the old fortress of the Almoravide Makhzen /makhzan/, is in our day no more than an immense market. In vain have the great Almohade and Saadian dynasties erected monuments there that are the most faultless and the most expressive of the thought of their century. It seems as though city life has not completely succeeded in becoming acclimated, amidst the olive trees and palm trees, on this soil fertilized by the waters coming down from the Berbère /Berber/ Atlas. The capital of the South, although living from the provinces that surround it, retains an artificial character. As a matter of fact, around the mosques and palace ruins you perceive only a disorderly mass of poor dwellings in which /120/ are crowded the garden workers, the artisans, the prostitutes, and above all the tribal people, kept in the city for a few days by their business or pleasure. Moreover, one barely finds there a few functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, foreigners for the most part, but nothing of that educated bourgeoisie of Tlemcen, Fez, Rabat, and Salé, which makes of the towns of the North veritable cities whose intellectual, religious, and material existence still preserves some of the traditions of Andalusia.

Besides, for thirty years, the weakening of the Sultan's authority in Marrakech made the predominance of the rural contributions over the urban elements still more apparent. The pashas of the town and of the casbah, formerly coming from the Fez court with their entourage of cadis and secretaries, their escort of blacks and horsemen from the gich /gish; Arab tribes settled around the towns/, have in our day disappeared to make room for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. In the middle of the crowd of artisans and tribal countrymen pass the kaids and sheiks from the Atlas, whose easy gait shows well enough that at present they find themselves at home in a city where they have their houses and gardens. Powerful automobiles transport the intimates and slaves

/120 cont./

000 of the great chiefs of the South, while in his palace the pasha El Hajj Thami Glawi, originally from the summits of the mountains, absolute master of the capital and its environs, offers sumptuous hospitality to his European visitors.

This simple picture, which a few hours' walk enables us to sketch, makes us divine the progress that the growing influence of the Berbère /Berber/ country has been able to make in a few years in this capital of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Not only is the economic activity of Marrakech linked with that of the vast mountainous territory whose boundary to the South of the great plain is marked by the barrier of the Atlas, but its very political life is today dominated by that of the Masmoudian tribes, which the Mérinide /Marinide/ and Saadian dynasties fought and feared for so long.

If we want to understand the social and political life of the South of Morocco, it is therefore not in the capital that one must try to discover its laws, but rather in the mysterious domain of the great chiefs, whose intrigues and rivalries still continue in our day, scarcely masked by the still-fragile façade of the new institutions improvised here by the Protectorate.

*631 I. The great commands of the South of Morocco. -- In this /121/ region of the commands of the South, which remained closed to European penetration for so long, let us imagine that we are setting out by small stages across the trails of the mountains of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in order to reach the valley of the Sous wadi and the first slopes of the Anti-Atlas. Horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/, faithful to their masters, accompany us; let us allow them to describe the situation of the country as it appears to the minds of the great chiefs and especially as they deem wise to show it to strangers (1).

1. In this description of the country, we are carrying ourselves back in thought to the period when the great commands had not yet undergone transformation as a consequence of the development of our political action, that is, before 1924.

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101]

2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt. [792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the [795] richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this 159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan 175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

/121 cont./

*631 159 (175)

succeeded in again extending his power further after the submission of the chiefs of the South to France. The death of that great policy, which took place in 1919, did not lead to the ruin of his work; his nephew, Si Hammo, received in his inheritance most of the mountain tribes; his young /122/ brother in particular, El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, was consequently able to play an important role in the pacification of Morocco. His military and political successes earned for him the highest distinctions. Through his cleverness in gaining the support of the highest authorities by multiplying sumptuous receptions, the pasha acquired the reputation of an all-powerful and magnificent leader, and he willingly appears to foreigners as the viceroy of the South of Morocco.

In the upper valley of the Nefis dwells the old Si Tayeb Gontafi, already famous in the reign of Moulay el Hasan for his courage, ambition, and immense wealth. Although his political fortune has not been as brilliant as that of the Telwet chiefs, from his medieval burg of Tagontaft or his picturesque dwelling of Talat n Yaqoub he governs five large mountain tribes in the very center of this country which in former times was the kingdom of the Almohades. Not long ago, after the death of the vizier Ba Hmad, regent of the young Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, Gontafi warred in the Sous plain and conquered part of the Anti-Atlas. Won over to France in 1912, he commanded the marches of Tiznit in the name of the Sultan for four years and held in check the last unsubjugated Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South.

Still more to the West we find, in the casbah of Bouaboud, ᶜAbd el Malek Tiggi, chief of the Mtougga. Like his rival of the Nefis and his Telwet competitor, he has command on the two versants of the great chain, but his possessions extend besides, toward the North, over several Arab tribes of the "Azaghar" of Marrakech (1).

1. Azaghar in Berbère /Berber/ has the meaning of plain, most often large plain. The small plains, particularly when they are cultivated, often take the name of Tagrogra.

/122 cont./

*631 159 Moreover, his influence is exerted well beyond the boundaries of his fief. Thanks to his cleverness, to his deep knowledge of all the intrigues, he makes himself heard by all the independent minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the region of the high summits. His friendships suffice for him to make security prevail on the trails of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Atlas. Finally, by means of his alliances with the Arabs of the plain of the North, old Mtouggi maintains valuable relations with the other Maᶜqil tribes remaining in the Sous and the Sahara. Wary, prudent, even crafty, master in the art of intrigue, he is adept at double dealing, but resolute also when it is necessary, /123/ most often pitiless; his name is feared and respected in all the tribes of the western Atlas.

*631 648 On the rough coast of the Ocean, the old confederation of the Haha, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for centuries, closely controlled at present by our "bureaux" /offices/, it, too, formerly knew the organization of the great commands. At the time of our conquest, two powerful lords were fiercely contesting for power there: Mohammed Anflous was governing the tribes of the North, and ᶜAbd er-Rahman Gellouli those of the South. Won over to France for a time, these two enemy chiefs became reconciled in order to betray us; defeated and put to flight by our troops, they had to make way for minor kaids without true strength, who at present hold all their authority from the investiture of the Sultan.

*631 159 These two great kaids of the Haha, who disappeared at the time of our arrival in the Moroccan South, had themselves shared the political legacy of the great chief that El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi was. The lowliest shepherd still knows his name and successes, and the poets have not ceased to sing his glory. Originating from the Ait Zelten, ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi had, as we said, led all his tribes in the name of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to the conquest of the Anti-Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 142.

/123 cont./

*631 Under his authority, the whole confederation then knew twenty
159 years of prosperity, and one then saw in the casbahs of the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten and of Amhach all the kaids and sheiks of the mountains and plains of the Sous coming to bring presents to the great victorious kaid. Ruined by the intrigues of the chiefs neighboring Bouaboud, El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi disappeared at one stroke, poisoned by order of the sultan Sidi Mohammed in 1868, after having long known a fortune similar to the one that the kaids of the Glawa have in our day.

Finally, in Taroudant, former capital of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, ten times ruined and ten times reconstructed, there resides a powerful Arab pasha, master of the tribes established around the town by the Sultans. Haida ou Mwis, who died in 1917 in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in a battle to the south of Tiznit, had long contained the rebel tribes of the Anti-Atlas, destroyed their fortresses nearest to the plain, and dispersed their turbulent councils of notables. The minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the mountains rendered him homage up to the /124/ desert. His son, heir to an extensive fief, firmly established over the tribes of the Sous valley, willingly accepts the title of caliphate /Fr. khalifat/ of the Sultan and tries to direct, as his father did, with less success, it is true, the politics of the Far South.

*631 Many other kaids named by the Sultan still live in the tribes of the Azaghar of Marrakech or of the Sous, but their personal influence is weak; they cling by instinct or by necessity to one or another of the masters of the mountains, who have been called the "lords of the Atlas." Everywhere, as a matter of fact, the three great kaids cross their intrigues; they try, by imposing an alliance upon the minor chiefs, to extend their power toward the South and to increase unceasingly the number of their tributary subjects.

In the Anti-Atlas, only the unsubjugated Igezzoulen, grouped in the region of the old kingdom of the Tazerwalt, where the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa formerly reigned, still concentrate their
[159] last efforts at resistance in their infertile mountains. Near the desert a ghost pretender, Merebbi Rebbo, lives at Kerdous; he is

/124 cont./

*631 159 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and the son of Ma el ᶜAïnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco organized in a uniform manner into great commands according to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --

*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids, which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/ limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions, whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the populations that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble [628] their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, in [721] order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even [152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

/125 cont./

*631 forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy
[152] that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their
*631 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain
712 hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work
[632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little
[343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas-
[251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects
[651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; fi-
[697] nally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ᶜAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 342 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the *634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

*631 /127 cont./
*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
[721] to be very violent" (1).
[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

/128 cont./

121 moment we understand that we shall be able to observe there
*631 habits and customs preserved at the price of millenary struggles
*634 and incessant effort; at the same time we should like to know what true relations the high valleys remaining free maintain with the mountain regions subject to the great chiefs; finally, we should like to know whether, in a past still rather near, numerous tribes bent under the yoke today did not know a life similar to the one that, thanks to a prodigious effort for isolation, has been perpetuated up to our day in the inaccessible parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

Let us suppose that favorable circumstances or some clever ruse permit us to escape for a moment from our usual companions, too assiduous in following us and directing our research; let us transport ourselves without them for a few instants to a high summit such as the Igdad, at the sources of the Nefis, from where one embraces an immense horizon of mountains and plains. It will be enough for us to question the Berbères /Berbers/ who surround us, coming from the villages in the high valleys of the vicinity, in order to discover other aspects of life that have remained hidden until now and that form a striking contrast with the ones that we have just perceived. At the same time, we shall try, thanks to the memories of the oldest of our new guides, to prolong in time this rapid inquiry and tie the present to a past that we conjecture to be so rich in important events. Perhaps we shall then be able, by comparing our personal observations with the picture of the domination of the great chiefs already sketched, to find again the diversity of Berbère /Berber/ institutions and to distinguish better the stages of a recent transformation that is still taking place before our eyes.

133 From the high summit to which we have just come, the whole great chain, from the sea that one conjectures in the distance to the mountains of the Glawa, appears to us easily, cut from the North to the South by the three great routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, of the Nefis, and of Telwet. Toward the North the mountains are tiered in becoming lower by successive degrees to reach the Azaghar of Marrakech indefinitely stretched out on the horizon.

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our
*631 companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without
619 hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try
619 to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted
[361] by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access,
[131] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./

*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
[361] around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
[131] some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the
[178] will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/130 cont./

*631 619 attachment proved by incessant revolts. Then, in the course of their "siba," one would see the councils of notables reappear, known by the name of "ineflas" /sic/ or "Ait Arbaᶜin," who resuscitated the old Berbère /Berber/ organization and, when necessary, united some of the Ida Ou Tanan with their free neighbors. Moreover, sometimes during the great periods of anarchy, [178] such as were produced upon the death of the Sultans and the appearance of pretenders in the various provinces of the Empire, control by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was so /131/ incomplete that in the course of the "siba" one would see the ancient traditions flower again at a single stroke over immense areas. In vain the presence of Arab groups dispersed among the Haha and in the Sous plain disturbed the Berbère /Berber/ peopling; in spite of the government extended from the plains by sheiks subject to the kaids for centuries, in the South the rebel movement won over the Ksima and Mesgina and extended by degrees across the Chtouka plain up to the boundary of the Anti-Atlas, which the sherifian policy had never actually approached. During this period of liberty, each tribe re-established its political council and restored, imitating it in its own way, the organization of the fractions of the Ida Ou Tanan; thus, until the arrival of the Sultan's harka, throughout this coastal region, the independent Berbérie /Barbary/ of the plain of the South was restored.

The tribes of the Tichka have still more originality than the Ida Ou Tanan. Never in the course of history, as we have seen, did the former Makhzen /makhzan/ really penetrate into this difficult region. From the minor kings of the Seksawa, who indeed seem to have personified the resistance to the Almohade and Mérinide dominations in the thirteenth century, up to the sheiks and preachers who, under the Saadians, revived on the contrary the memory of the Mahdi of Tinmellel in order to fight better against the power of the Sultans, an effort of obstinate resistance has kept the populations of the high valleys in isolation.

The spectacle that would await us, if we could leave our high observation-post for an instant to visit the territory of one of these tribes farthest away from the plains held by the Makhzen

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the ma-
[482] nure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor, young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
175 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
178 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Ait Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/133 cont./

175 Moreover, at that time domination by the Makhzen /makh-
*631 zan/ was exercised in a form very different from that which we observe at present. At the foot of the great chain, on the Dir of the North versant, in all the large villages that form natural centers of exchange between mountain and plain, were settled minor kaids entirely subject to the Sultan. Horsemen coming from Marrakech used to bring on every occasion the orders of the "Pasha of the casbah" to the minor chiefs of Agergour of the Ouzgita, of Amismiz and Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, of the "Agadir" of the Mzouda, and of Bouaboud of the Mtougga. In the tribes
175 located higher in the mountains, each canton had its sheik chosen
*631 from one of the old families of the villages and who represented
*634 the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Narrowly limited in his privileges, this sheik or "amghar" was often reduced to coming to terms with the council of old men and notables in order to make it accept the demands transmitted in the name of the Sultan. But
[651] the demands of the kaid were so light -- an annual tribute in silver and the "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ of a mule on the major feast days -- that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely felt the weight of the foreign authority.

On the south versant of the Atlas, north of Taroudant, the penetration was still less advanced, the kaids were replaced by simple sheiks, who maintained /134/ friendly relations with the small republics of the Dir and the summits.

Actually, in all the South of Morocco, the sultan's absolute authority stopped at the plains. By imperceptible transitions, while penetrating into the Atlas, one found the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weaker and weaker and the oligarchic institutions more and more developed. On the Dir or in the large valleys the sheiks governed, assisted by a council of notables. Farther on, it was the representatives of all the families, the "Alt Arbaʿin," who deliberated under the command of an "amghar" (1).

1. "Amghar" (pl. imgharen) Berb.: temporal leader who commands a tribe or a tribal fraction. In this region the "amghar" owes his power to

/134 cont./

175 *631 *634

/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

[178] [671] [652] [712] [343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631

The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
*634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the Aït ʿAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the traditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
[178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaʿin" and the "moqaddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 *634 [578] traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favorable occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 619 121 Without having the importance of the independent group of the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evolution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient [178] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and [174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 *634 619 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pastoralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ʿAbdallah, Aït Qalla, in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys. [669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re- [712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general *634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/136 cont./

*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aït arbaʿin" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the
175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At
*631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely
*634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aït Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among
[651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices
[127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the
[114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/137 cont./

114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" ap-
*634 peared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
642 authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, dis-
619 tricts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic re-
gime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some, [184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the west-
*63 ern Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
[619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
[178] Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
[621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom: they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
[578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
*631 method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

121 /140 cont./

128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,

177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent.

[726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was

*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-

648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/141 cont./

*631 648 Nevertheless, between these two opposed political regimes, -- the government of the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies and the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- intermediate forms were often born in the least accessible parts of the country in the mountains, the very ones that could, thanks to their distance, escape the too-brutal consequences of the furious struggle between two naturally hostile forces. One then saw emerge the minor chiefs who tried to assemble all the forces of the country remaining free, in order to pit them one last time against the feared domination of the Makhzen. Nearly always, it is true, these champions of independence betrayed the cause that they claimed to serve. Having become masters of tribes, they were able, at the favorable moment, to hurry along an evolution henceforth inevitable and made themselves agents of the central power.

*631 We can indicate the successive stages of the political evolution from then on.

[642] In all the regions screened by distance or difficulty of communications from the direct action of the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the democratic or oligarchic republican organization is here, as in all North Africa, the form of government spontaneously chosen by the Berbère /Berber/ communites; still the power of tradition is not so great that one does not see appear sometimes, by means of struggles of families, a still precarious and ephemeral personal power.

*634 When circumstances are favorable, the "amghar" who has succeeded in elevating himself above the notables of his small canton manages to consolidate what de Foucauld happily called "a despotic power." Most often it is by means of war that the chief thus rising increases his power, just as it is by the assassination of his rivals that he founded it. He soon succeeds in constituting in the middle of republican tribes a veritable little state that he governs as he pleases. Two roads then present themselves [648] to the victorious amghar; he can remain /142/ the champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence and extend further, by an adroit protectorate, his influence over the neighboring republics;

/142 cont./

*634 648 sometimes, on the other hand, circumstances counsel him, through prudence or ambition, to put his force at the service of the Sultan and to make himself the agent of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

In this last case, having become a kaid in his turn, the Berbère /Berber/ chief meets with the other chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/, who have set out from the foot of the mountains or important cols for the conquest of independent or autonomous tribes. Allies or enemies, there they are, henceforth involved in the same intrigues, whatever their origin might be; they argue in the Azaghar over possession of the rich tribes and vie at the "Dar el Makhzen" in order to obtain the favor of the Sultan and his court. Later they will grow still more important and try to direct sherifian policy for their profit.

*634 177 But at the same time, mixing with the Arab kaids of the plains, the Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains, sons of the independent amghars of the high valleys, will hasten to forget the recent usages of their tribes that they had kept and will apply themselves in every detail to living and thinking as is done in the cities by the high personages whose friendship they seek or whose position they covet. Thus they will enter still more completely into the tradition of the Empire. As a natural consequence of this spirit of imitation, the exercise of their power tends to become similar to that of the chiefs of regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for several centuries; the more so as the final ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions has already made the mountain tribes of the Masmouda, formerly so attached to their customs, almost identical in appearance to those of the Gharb /Rharb/ or of the Atlantic plains: disorganized mass of ruined cultivators, bent over their lands, who know their masters only in order to pay the tax to them, and whose sole hope is that of the next rebellion upon the death of the Sultan.

*[631] Doubtless the evolution whose broad features we are indicating here does not proceed everywhere according to the same regular progression; rapid conquests or, on the contrary, obstinate

/142 cont./

*634 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transforma-
*631 tion. The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intel-
177 ligence of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions, the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/ world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied,
*634 less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the
*631 oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all
177 made up in an identical way, the representation of the families
642 is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the command, is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment of personal power. Likewise, when the little states of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for the new master. These frequent differences between the small local constitutions have great importance: it is through them that is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality, of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover, of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*631 It remains no less certain that the great political-regime
178 transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve
177 toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary,
642 succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It is the existence of these general movements that justifies, in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Sraïr, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
121 land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
*631 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
648 the Sultan. The undertakings of ʿAbdallah ou Bihi in the middle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs, dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until /145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
*631 of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the internal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[578] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./

*631 121 [178] shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of centuries, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Morocco underwent several times. In a still more general way, the *631 121 171 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spectacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 121 178 642 *634 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover, thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

2: Montagne

101
102
131
133
631
619
648

MW11 Shluh MW11

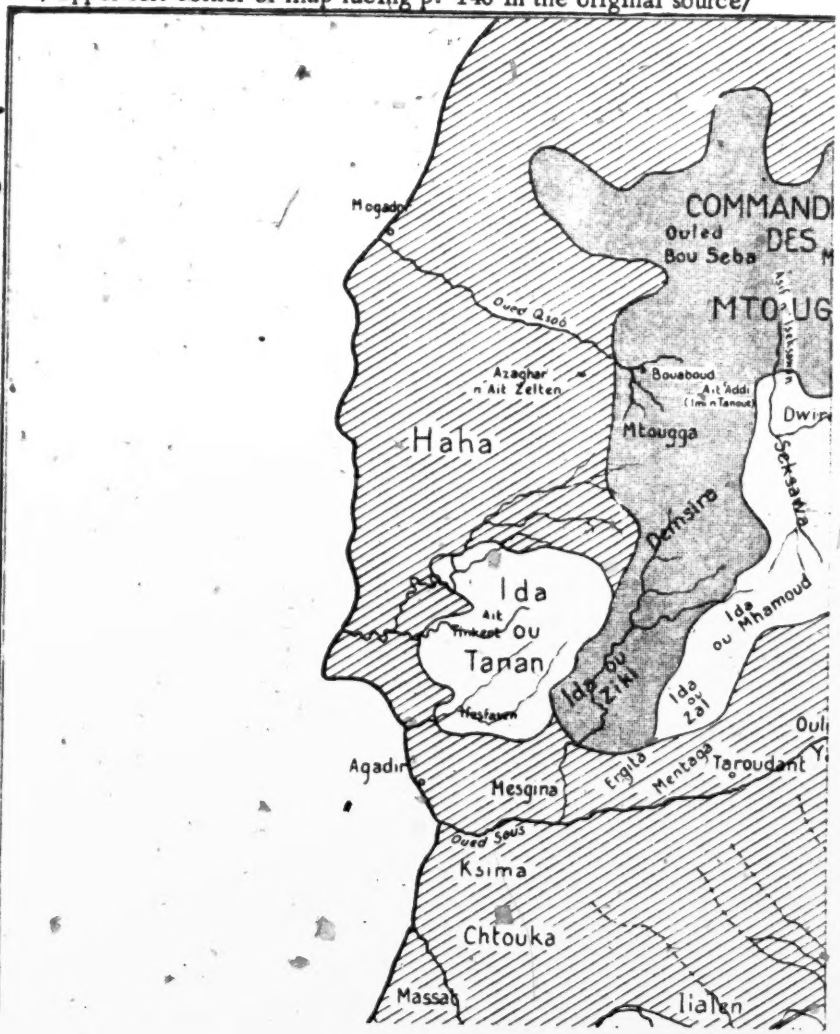
P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

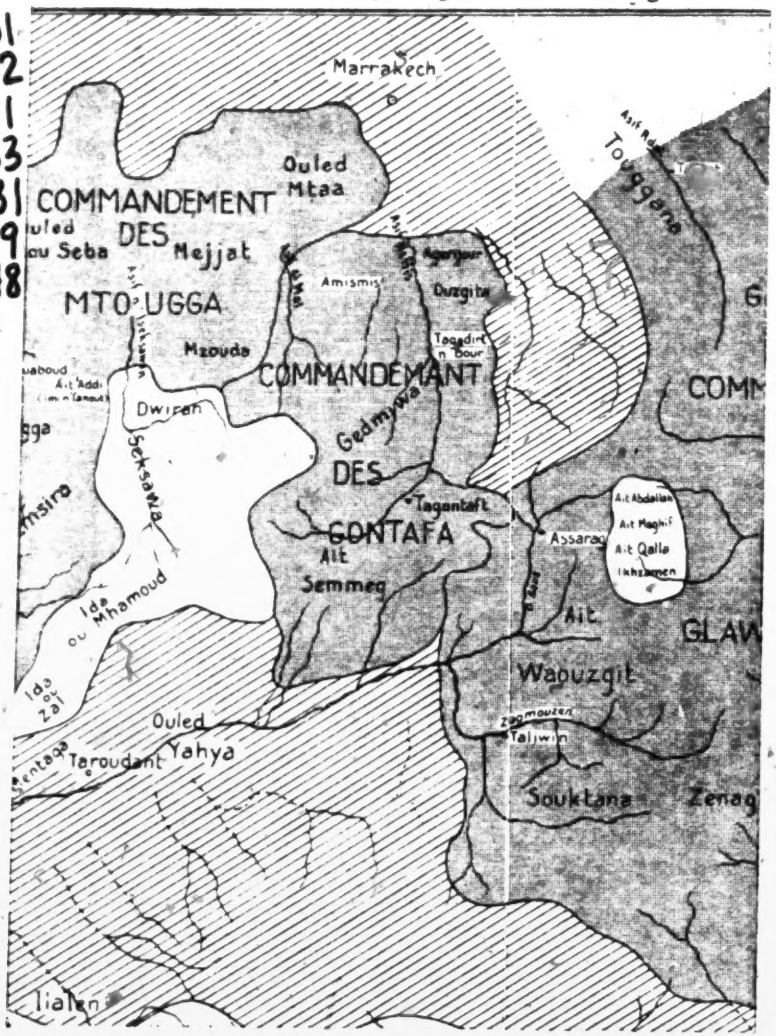
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

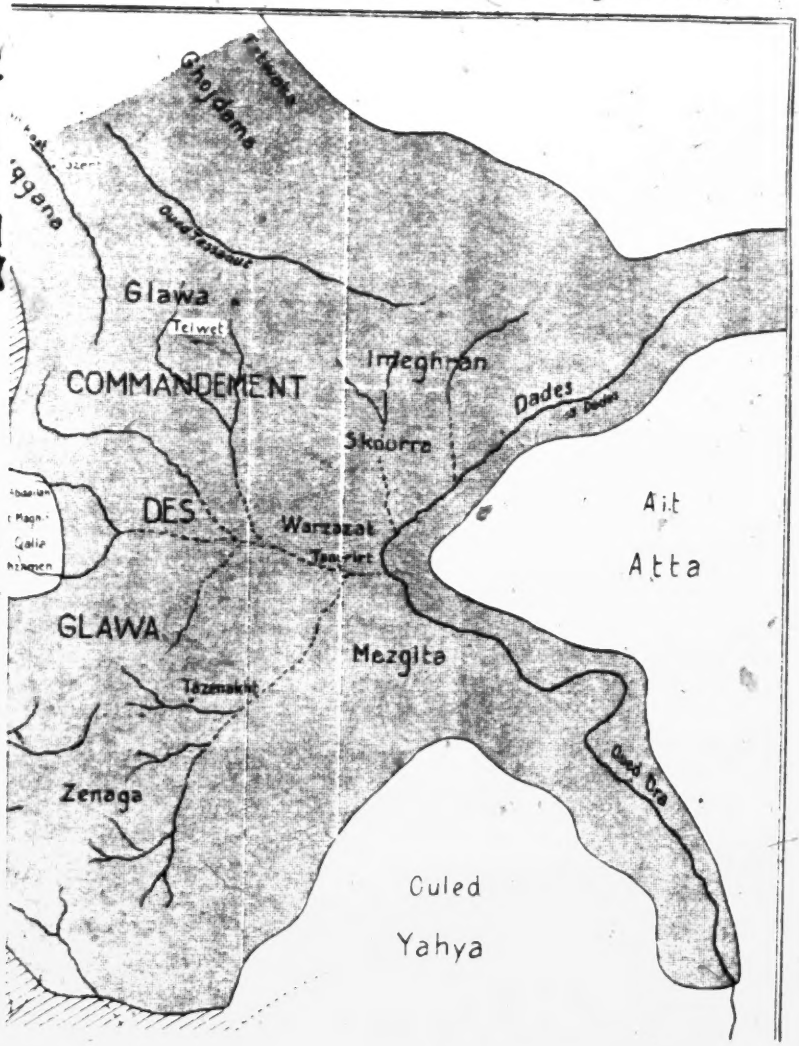
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

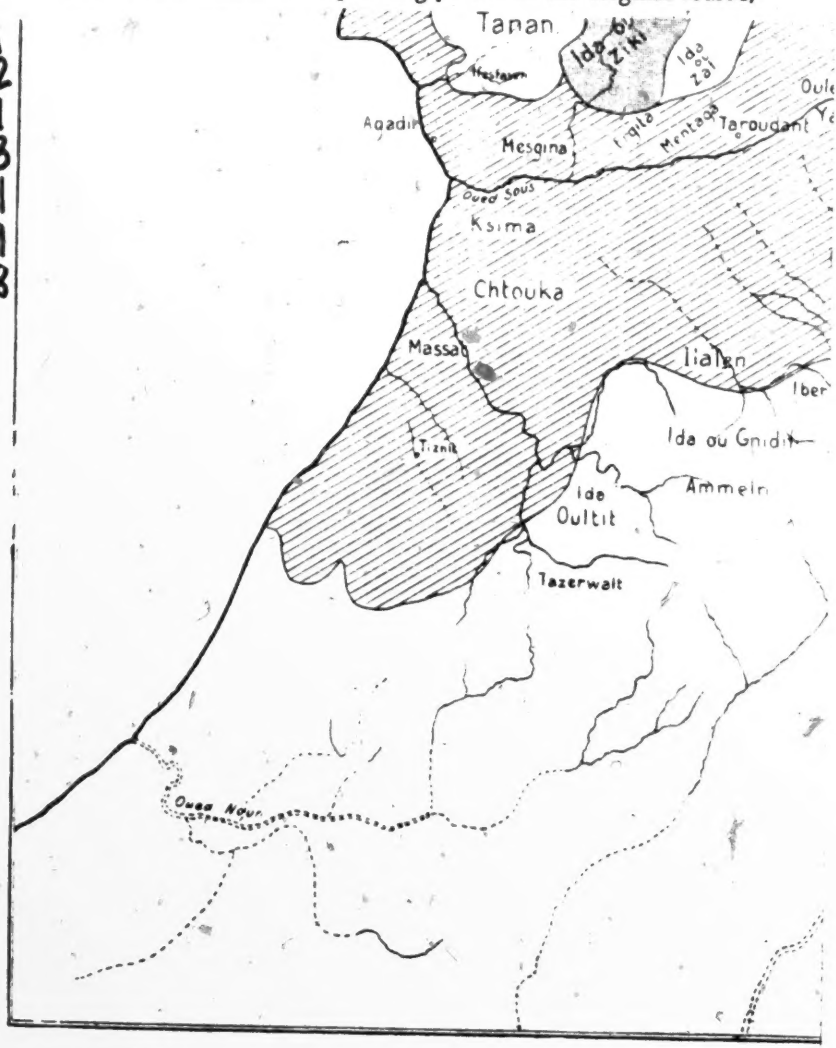
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

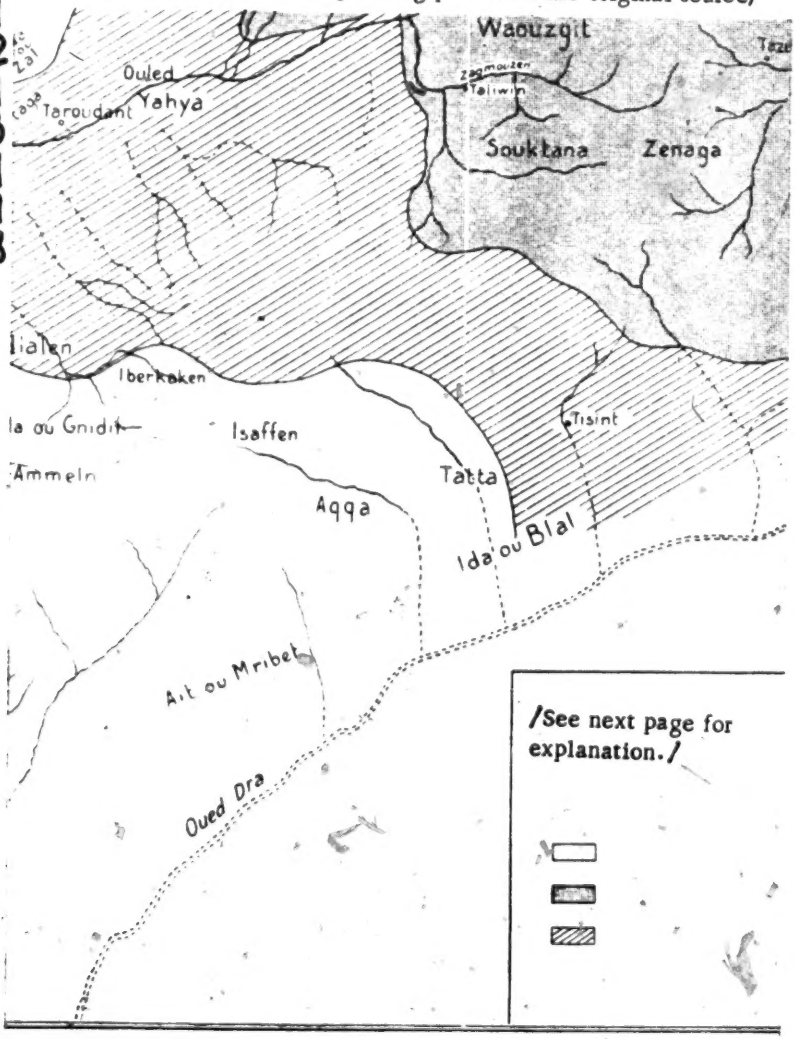
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

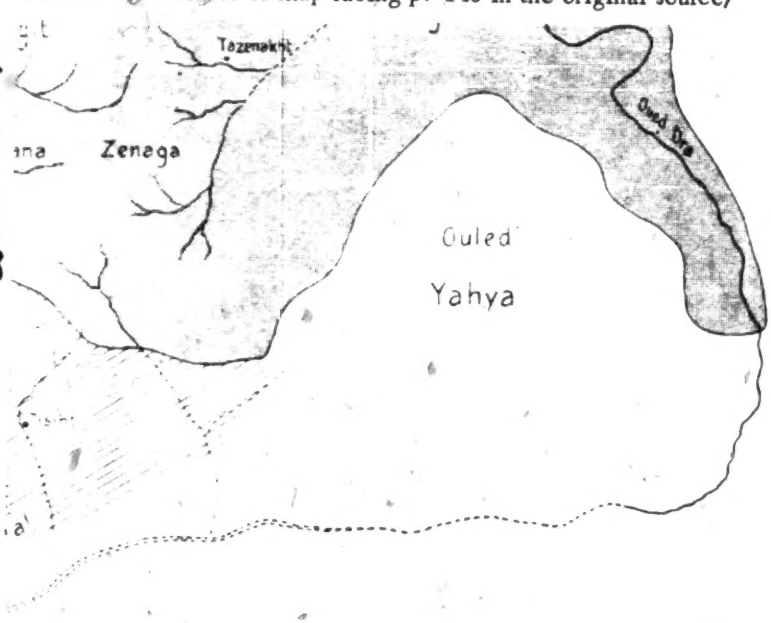
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/147/

Chapter II
The Small Berbère /Berber/ States: Canton, Tribe, Confederation

000 I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ʿarch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ States.

121 I. The social units. -- In order to distinguish the true nature of the political institutions of the Moroccan South, we had to seek, beyond appearances, the permanent reality constituted by the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the mountains. Behind the feudal façade recently put up by the masters of the Atlas, we perceived the resistance that the tribes, stubbornly attached to their democratic or oligarchic institutions, have for several generations set against the amghars and kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Before studying the play of the forces that led to the transformation of the country, it is necessary to examine the external aspect of the small social units of the Sous, to trace out their contours, and to determine the nature of the alliances that unite them in larger groups. Neglecting for the moment to consider the administrative divisions of our time, we shall put off until later the study of the great commands, of their organization and boundaries, and we shall try first of all to study the nature of the [124] parts that constitute them. This time again the inhabitants of the upper valleys remaining free, or else, in the regions

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1).
128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Alt Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Alt Zekri, Alt ᶜAtta (2).
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Alt Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Alt ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/150 cont./

121 128 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/151 cont./

621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units, formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
[103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n A'lt lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "mouda" (3)

114
613
621
632
113

3. From the Arabic "mouda", "place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" pos-
621 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

/152 cont./

*634 [184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^{c}," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^{c}" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

*634 166 609

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
609 of a neighboring fraction.

632 A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
four "mouda^c" that gather together in all the population of about
*634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like
those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred
hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural
geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its
"taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same
canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves
often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the
name given to the taqbilt (A'lt Lhasen, A'lt ^cAbdallah, A'lt Mousa)
tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are
the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are
studying here do not escape these population movements; it even
seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be
more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among
the A'lt Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled
in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the
neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the
plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one
finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

[619] [131] *634 184 174 178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
184
174
178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
174
[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

*631 /155 cont./
619 of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2).
184
[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

*631 One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif
619 of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same
184 state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

*634 In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the
184 plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

/156 cont./

*634 184 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages defended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and
[619] the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa
[133] have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of division in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 184 131 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^{c}," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 131 728 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division, which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 131 728 619 [173] Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group succeeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 619 184 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their dimensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/158 cont./

*634 Chaᶜib, the Aït Breher of the Demsira. There are some that
619 /159/ are still smaller, like the Aït Dris of the tribe of the Ida
184 Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid of the Seksawa. Finally, the Aït Mehand of the Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun of the Demsira, by their dimensions are no more than "moudaᶜ," but their institutions already give them most of the characteristics of true "taqbilt" (1).

*631
*634
619
184

1. By exception, in certain tribes of the Dir one finds territorial divisions smaller than the taqbilt as we have described it here. This is the case for the Aït Semmeg, divided into about 15 minuscule units whose territory scarcely exceeds that of a "moudaᶜ." Likewise the Mzouda are divided into ten "mia," each of which has only about 100 hearths. On the other hand, in certain regions peopled recently, such as the south of the Haha (tribes of the Aït ᶜAissi and of the Ida ou Bouzia), it happens that the tribe may be divided into several "khoms" whose villages are so entangled that it is no longer possible to trace their boundaries. Finally, an "afous" of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Id Mansour, has a territory divided into three parts separated from one another. These exceptions affect only an infinitesimal part of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and we can with good reason ignore them in an over-all description of the social structure.

*634 Thanks to the limited extent of its territory and the concern that its inhabitants manifest in defending the frontiers, the canton
*631 is a small state with great vitality. On the other hand, we shall
619 observe that the larger organisms -- the tribe and the confederation -- in the same region are much more difficult to define and

/159 cont./

*631 619 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe
*[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three
[184] and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

> 2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum-
*634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given
194 /160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Ait Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

/160 cont./

619 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we
174 have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be
*634 found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of
[616] alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

619
171

1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

/160 cont./

619
171

/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

(113)

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the Aït Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

619
174

But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

/161 cont./
619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).
174

2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- An-
616 other element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends
619 up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

/162 cont./

*634 616 619 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly balanced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^c" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 616 184 *634 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Ait Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
*634 "khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saʿīd Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aït Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aït Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

/164 cont./
619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

/165 cont./

*631 typical example; made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
175 distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence, attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
619 of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The diverse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ʿAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After
[728] a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

/166 cont./

*631
*634
619
175
131
[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aït /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631
619
175

But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*631 619 175 [178] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Ait ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to * [634] [616] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

*631 /168 cont./
[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619

[796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

2: Montagne--218 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

102
131
133
*631
619
*634

Tribes & fractions in the Haha & Ida ou Tanan Confederations
IDA ou ZEMZEM: tribe
Injafen: fraction (khoms or afous)
Scale 1/500,000
MOGADOR
AGADIR
IDA ou GOURD
IDA ou INEKNAFEN
AIT Azaghar ou ZELTEN
IDA ou ZEMZEM
WISSARN
IMGRAD
MTOUGGA
IDA ou GELLOUL
IDA ou BOUZIA
IDA ou KAZZO
AIT ou TGHOUMMA
AIT AISSI
AIT AMER
AIT IDA ou TINKERT
AIT IDA ou OUAZZOUN
TANAN
IFESFASEN
IUA ou ZIKI
Bousbout
Ait Wadil
Ait Zoujgel
Ait Baha
Ait Mehand
Ida ou Khlef
Ait Tlit
Ait Dudrar
Ait bou Sette
Ait Takoucht
Ibelas
Imouzkhain
Izmagen
Ait Daoud
Ait Masker
Ait Oumkarra
Ida ou Said
Ait Sero
Tamsoult
Ait Iggi Mhend
Ait Malol
Ait Wakkin
Ait Issougal
Imadon
Ait Bou Masseoud
Ait Wassig
Ait Yelmest
Ait Oubella
Ait Khmis
Ait Yous
Ait Ouggrass
Ait Isaiq
Ait Wourik
Ait Naser
Ait Wazahi
Ait Boughda
Ait Awerga
Ait Ouzeka
Ait Wanoubrin
Ait Ouzlo
Ait Idir
Ait Iferkha
Ait Ifni
Ait Bou Nisk
Imerrain
Ida ou Ouzelke
Ida ou Gergel
Ida ou Hellal
Ida ou Acha
Ida ou Amran
Ait Amar
Ait Ouggrass
Ait Khmis
Ait Ifelen
Ait Isaiq
Imsker
Ait Naser
Ait Wazahi
Ait Boughda
Ait Ouzeka
Ait Ouzlo
Ait Ouzlo
Ait Ouzlo

/169 cont./

*631 619 [796] [692] ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations, the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has sufficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the "taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated blows (1).

*631 *634 619

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

*631
*634
619

/169 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ one would have seen a new confederation rise, which could have taken the name of Ait Haddiyous and whose aspect would doubtless not have differed much from the group of the Ida Ou Tanan.

XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- /170/ It is easy for us to see at present the relative importance of the various social groups whose presence we observe in the Sous.

The confederations appear to us as true states only by exception or in short periods of their existence; they most often have no activity other than that of the weaker units that compose them. The tribes, too, for the most part, are only inert masses of separate cantons. It seems that the most important groups are customarily only geographic and historic cadres, within which the life of the smaller units that form them is organized to their liking, according to the particular convenience of each of them.

In a word, it is a small state of a few square kilometers that, in the eyes of the montagnard, is the true fatherland. Tribe, confederation have limits too vast for the play of his passions and ambitions. The profitable organization of a great command, the attraction of distant expeditions into the rich conquered plains of the North or the irrigated valleys of the South, the strength of the spirit of holy war or the love of independence, sometimes threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/, are necessary for the mind of the Berbère /Berber/ to rise for a moment to the idea of associations more extensive than those of the 20 families of his native country. He still keeps in his heart, in these grand circumstances, one feeling stronger than all the others: the love of [829] his "taqbilt" of origin, defined by its territory, its institutions, its alliances, and its internal hatreds. If there should occur a weakening of the bond that has united the mountain cantons for a time, the bloc breaks up anew, and each one again finds, without surprise as well as without regret, the narrow and familiar cadre of his valley.

/170 cont./

*634 XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- Thus the cell of the Berbère /Berber/ society of the Sous is, at least in our day, an elementary state larger than the village, smaller than the tribe, and we shall later see the importance of this minuscule unit confirmed in the course of our investigation of the circumstances in which the chiefs rise and grow.

*634 *631 171 But it is not only in this province of the Sous, where it has been possible for us to multiply our investigations, that one observes the role played in local life by these small cantons that absorb /171/ the greatest part of the political activity of the country. It is the same in the various parts of the north of Africa peopled with sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. Without trying here to redo the study of the social morphology of these regions, we believe it necessary to indicate in broad features how, under aspects sometimes a little different, the same cellular structure that we discover in the Moroccan South can be found among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the Moroccan North, in the Rif, and in Kabylie /Kabylia/; it will most often suffice for us to tell how certain of the observations already made by our predecessors agree exactly with the ones that we have been able to make in the Sous and the Anti-Atlas so that the profound unity of social structure of all Berbérie /Barbary/ may appear.

000 The land of the Jbala presents many analogies with the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; the one as well as the other border the plains held by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, and in both countries the mountain tribes apply themselves with all their strength to preserving their independence.

M. Michaux-Bellaire, who was studying this region in 1911, at the time when it was living in a state of complete liberty, distinguished, as we have done in the Moroccan South, several superposed organisms: the village, the "khoms," and the tribe (1).

1. Michaux Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives marocaines, Vol. XVII, p. 43.

[113]

/171 cont./

OOO The village corresponds in its numerical size -- about a hundred hearths on the average -- to the unit that we found under the name of "mouda^{c}" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; like it, it is administered by the assembly of all the men, the "jema^{c}a." Several villages, about five or six, form a "khoms" or fifth, whose government is ensured by a council of notables, in the proportion of two men per village; the "khoms" has the same territorial dimensions and a numerical strength hardly greater than the "taqbilt" or fraction of the Masmouda. Several "khoms" combine to form a tribe, "qbila," whose external policy generally thrusts itself upon the fractions that constitute it; this higher group manifests its activity in the course of general meetings, in serious circumstances, when all the notables gather in the presence of the warriors of the whole territory. But although the tribes have a more visible life here than in the Moroccan South and although they customarily totally enter into the war that /172/ pits the two great historic leagues of the Senhaja and the Ghomara against each other, the "khoms" nonetheless keeps great autonomy internally, and its vitality is more marked than that of the other, lower groups, such as villages and hamlets.

XIII. Importance of the "Khoms." -- One could not find better proof of this individuality of the "Khoms" than in the existence of a special badge. Each tribal fraction, says M. Michaux-Bellaire (1),

1. Michaux-Bellaire, loc. cit., pp. 74-77.

"has a flag (alam) that is carried by one of the inhabitants of the 'khoms' designated for that purpose, and who keeps the flag in his house. This flag is not like the banner of the brotherhoods or of the marabouts, a piece of cloth more or less rich and more or less embroidered, and of a color left to the whim of the donor. This is a real flag of a fixed color and one that does not change, so that each fraction is recognized from afar by the flag that is carried with it ... In combat the flag of each fraction accompanies

/172 cont./

000 the combatants and serves them as a rallying point ... What is rather worth noting is that the Djebala, in their struggles between tribes, try reciprocally to take possession of each other's flag, and the taking of one of these flags is considered as a triumph for those who succeeded in taking possession of the one of the enemy's party, and as a disgrace for the ones who allowed theirs to be taken. A fraction whose flag has been taken is mocked on this subject by the other Djebala. The flag taken from the enemy is brought back in triumph by the victorious fraction with the accompaniment of music, of tabbal /tabla, tambourine drum/ and ghaita. It is brought to the sheik's house and planted in a tree in front of this house, like a trophy. It generally happens that the enemies are reconciled by the mediation of the shorfa /shurfa/ influential in the tribes and that, among the clauses of the reconciliation, the redemption of the flag is stipulated with certain conditions."

Moreover, it should be noted that the alam of the "khoms" is different from the standard delivered to the kaid of the Arab tribes by the Sultan, which takes the name of "terrada." Therefore that is a local custom, deeply bound up with the political life of the country. The author of the study on the "Tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Mountain tribes of the Habt region/" concludes, /173/ in these words that we preserve here because they show among the Ghomara of the Djebel ideas and feelings similar to the ones that we have observed among their Masmouda brothers of the western Atlas: "The existence of a true flag peculiar to each tribal fraction in the Djebala, the point of honor attached to the defense of this flag, and the disgrace that there is in letting it be taken indeed indicate a kind of feeling of patriotism among the montagnards. The fact that this flag is not the one of a marabout or of a zaouia and that no religious idea seems to be connected with it denotes on the part of those who are capable of this attachment for the flag as emblem of the tribe or of the fraction of a tribe a feeling of affection for their soil and of solidarity of race beside religious solidarity and the superstitious veneration for the local marabouts, dead or

/173 cont./

000 living. Doubtless, this patriotism is very limited since it extends only to the small territory of a fraction of a tribe, but it is nonetheless the sign of a mentality that is not solely religious and it denotes a feeling of autonomy all the greater because the flags of the Djebala float above the combatants, not only in the struggles between tribes, but equally in their battles against the troops of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and because they then draw themselves up opposite the red flag of the Sultan."

XIV. Tribes and fractions among the Senhaja of Srair. -- The social life of the Rif, especially in the mountainous region of the Senhaja of Srair and on the coast between the Ouringa, western frontier of the Mtiwa, and the Ighzer Amqran, eastern limit of the Ait Temsaman, appears in the same aspects.

Around the summits of the Tidighin -- on which legend has it that Noah's ark stopped -- the conditions of existence present great analogies with those of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Same narrow and deep valleys, closed by gorges, same villages lost in the greenery of the walnut trees, same independent life sheltered from the influences of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

There again we see the villages, sometimes larger than in the country of the Masmouda, unite to form groups of about 200 households, which here again take the name of "khoms," and whose federation constitutes the tribe. The small tribes of the summits, such as the Beni Khennous, the Beni Bou Nsar, have /174/ only a single "khoms" and in their dimensions and their strength are identical to the independent "taqbilt" that we have found around the Tichka in the country of the Masmouda. Lower, toward the sea or the Wergha, the tribes almost all have four or five khoms, each of which maintains a distinct existence.

Sometimes it happens, as in the mountainous regions or the plains of the Sous, that a geographic cadre completely prepared by nature fixed the location of a small tribe and delimited a territory that surpasses, by its area and wealth, the importance of a khoms; but here again we then see the laws of the social life prevail over those of the material life. The division into two

/174 cont./

600 enemy parts comes to break the unity that the geography seemed to impose.

Thus, the rich valley of Taghzout, to the south of the Tidighin, seems destined to constitute a simple little state, with precise boundaries. The villages there take on, thanks to the fertility of the soil and the activity of the inhabitants, an unusual importance. Each of them, lost under the shade of immense walnut trees, forms with its mosque, its saints' tombs, its sacred woods in which the councils of notables deliberate, a center of peaceful activity. Renowned artisans come to give through their work an unexpected look of urban animation to this privileged corner of the mountains. But there, as at Massat, in the plain of the Sous, among the Ait Mzal of the Anti-Atlas, as well as in the Aghbar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the imperative necessity of dividing into fractions created two divisions; it is necessary to distinguish in this valley Taghzout n Dara and Taghzout n Ouarigha -- upper Taghzout and lower Taghzout, which form separate cantons. Certain "lower" hamlets were founded by inhabitants of the upper fraction, who, as long as peace reigns, maintain the relations that they like with their "brothers" from the other part of the valley. But when war breaks out, the blood ties no longer count. The obligations of each warrior are marked by the location of his house in the territory of the tribe. Then the fights are so furious that a few years ago one saw the blacksmiths of the country, famous throughout Morocco for their skill, fashioning crude cannons out of blocks of iron and hurling heavy stone cannon-balls on the enemy villages.

Likewise, the small plain of Targist, at the crossing of the routes of the Rif, in a frame of mountains, forms a natural center whose importance is increased because of the fertility of the soil. Here, /175/ it seems, there should be a town or at least a strong tribe united in the defense of the natural wealth of the country. But it happens that here again the geographical boundaries are too broadly drawn and the forces of dispersion have been more powerful than nature. In this minuscule state of 500 hearths, formed by 12 villages in a line at the foot of the mountains, one distinguishes

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni
619 Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still
634 looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. More- [792] over, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the develop-
578 ment of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to
634 measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe
619 is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above
619 the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Rzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

/176 cont./

631
619
[171]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

/177 cont./

000 At first sight, especially if one observes the state of the country since the conquest, it seems that the village, "taddert," is a unit comparable, by its institutions, with the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda. The common interests are referred to a "jema^{c}a." All men in a condition to bear arms belong by right to this assembly; in fact, only the family heads, "tomman," and the old men of good counsel, "^{c}oqqal," speak in it. The existence of a common treasury, the role of the "amin" or president, the manner in which the deliberations are held, make this small senate quite similar to the meetings of "Ait Arba^{c}in" or "Inflas" directed by the "moqaddem" in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

When the villages are too weak to constitute a numerous /178/ jema^{c}a, they assemble and form a "toufiq" /federation of hamlets/, so as to gather together forces equal to those of a normal "taddert." The analogy can then seem complete between this federation of small villages of the Djurjura and the group of hamlets that constitute an independent "taqbilt" in the western Atlas.

Nevertheless, if one is willing to examine with more attention the institutions of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ at the time of its independence, one sees that the "taddert" is rather comparable to the "mouda^{c}" of the Masmouda or to the village of the Jbala with a surplus of activity and internal life explicable by the existence of a denser population. It is, on the contrary, the "^{c}arch" that best represents the small autonomous state, master of its territory and of its policy, this canton whose so general existence we have observed in the preceding pages under the various names of "taqbilt," "afous," or "khoms" in the Sous and the north of Morocco. In truth, the jema^{c}a of the "^{c}arch," vanished today, was not made up in an invariable manner at all; each village was content to send two or three delegates to it, as was done for the "khoms" of the Jbala, but its jurisdictions were the same as those of the council of the "taqbilt" of the South of Morocco: watch over the security of the frontiers, maintain order, decide on war or peace. Often, harmony was maintained internally by setting the warriors against the weaker "^{c}arch" of the vicinity. If disturbances threatened, one did as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, restore

/178 cont./

000 good harmony by picking a fight with the traditional enemies outside (1).

1. La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Hanoteau and Letourneux, Paris, 1873, Vol. II, pp. 64-67.

The "ᶜarch," like the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda or the "khoms" of the Jbala, did not have absolutely invariable limits; sometimes villages detached themselves from it, groups became dismembered or federated separately; but by its relative stability this unit nevertheless constituted the most durable political grouping in Kabylie /Kabylia/. By invoking the modifications that certain "ᶜarch" of the Djurjura were able to undergo, there has sometimes been a desire to regard them as temporary federations, fragile associations concluded for a limited time, and to contrast to their claimed instability the strong constitution of the "taddert" (2).

2. Masqueray has already shown how the criticisms of Hanoteau and Letourneux on the importance of the "ᶜarch" should be reduced, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, p. 93.

But this way of looking at it is /179/ contradicted by the observations made in the first years of the conquest; the vitality of these small states, so similar to the ones of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, appears then to have been as great as that of the "taqbilt" and the "khoms" of the sedentary peoples of Morocco (1).

1. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, p. 40. The "ᶜarch" as a matter of fact completely enters into the composition of certain Kabyle soffs. Cf. p. 286 farther on.

/179 cont./

000 What could have contributed to making the idea of the preponderance of the village over the ᶜarch accepted is the rapid decline into which the ᶜarch quickly fell as a result of the submission of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ to France. This union of villages, this putting in common a territory whose defense was assured had interest only in a country often disturbed by war. Peace was to suffice to weaken the bond established among the "taddert" to constitute autonomous states. We see the same in Morocco, in the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the "khoms" of the Haha loses its importance little by little, and local life takes refuge in the narrower limits of the "mouda^{c}" (2).

[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Revue de l'Afrique française 1905; rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

The constitution in Kabylie /Kabylia/ of new administrative units under French domination, known under the name of douars and whose boundaries, sometimes arbitrary, broke the ancient cadre of the "ᶜarch," clearly contributed to it. Since, on the other hand, the Kabyle villages already had great activity, one easily has the explanation that the "taddert" may appear in our day after the effacement of the "ᶜarch," with its minuscule territory and its still active jemaᶜa, as the only natural social unit remaining alive in Kabyle country.

The alliance of several "ᶜarch" formed a "qebila," tribe or confederation. But the institutions of these larger groups became less and less precise, and the bonds that united their parts appeared only quite rarely, during important wars. One might repeat for these "qebila" of the Djurjura what the study of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Rif enabled us to say for the confederations. Even greater masses of populations were uniting, in urgent circumstances, but, in order to assemble them, the instinct for defense against the foreigner or the firm hand of a powerful chief

/179 cont./

was necessary. Peril or personal authority having disappeared, the Kabylie /Kabylia/ again became a dust of independent states, united only by traditional alliances /180/ or the confused memory of great events lived through together (1).

1. A close comparison between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the other regions peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remains difficult to make, however, because of the great population density of the Djurjura. By the institutions, the "ᶜarch" resembles the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda and the "khoms" of the Djebala, but its territory is twice as small and three times more populous. Likewise the "taddert" visibly has the numerical importance of a "taqbilt" of the Masmouda -- 200 to 400 hearths -- at the same time that it presents structural analogies with the "moudaᶜ," as is evident especially in the case of the "toufiq," federation of hamlets.

XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ states. -- From this long study of the nature of the social groups of the diverse regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ it is now possible for us to draw a conclusion whose importance will appear still more completely when we better understand the political evolution of the country. Under the various names of "taqbilt," "khoms," "ᶜarch," we have everywhere verified the existence of small cantons with minuscule territory, which are really like the cells from which all the Berbère states are formed. Sometimes isolated in the high mountains, most often associated with its neighbors to form a tribe or a confederation, this organism is the most alive, the most active, and often the most stable state that the populations of North Africa have been capable of creating. It is made up of still weaker groups, villages and hamlets, whose special interests it defends, while it itself requires of the parts that form it a feeling for the

/180 cont./

general interest. In fact, this elementary state best affirms its vitality in the defense of its territory. Tribes and confederations can break up and disappear, the elements of which they were the sum continue to exist; even when cantons become modified, lose some villages and absorb others, they remain by their dimensions and their forces similar to themselves. One might say that their internal life appears to use up almost completely the constructive power of the men whose social instincts are so imperious and so simple at the same time.

Thus on this very narrow stage we shall see performed most of the acts of the drama of Berbère /Berber/ political life: the rise and development of power, the struggle of the chiefs and the masses, the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the explosion of revolts. From then on it is easy to understand what limited conceptions can quicken the minds of the senates that govern the mountain republics and whose horizon stops at the crests that border their valleys. Nothing /181/ great can come out of this mosaic of little states as long as the frontiers have not been broken and the chiefs have not abolished the local constitutions for a time while creating little kingdoms by violence.

But this smallness of the elementary Berbère /Berber/ states, which is a cause of weakness and which suffices to explain by itself alone the immobility in which the old populations of North Africa dwell, suffices to ensure the defense of the whole; they set a redoubtable force of inertia against the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Established in Morocco on the mountain chains that with the Rif form the central and western Atlas, like an arc inside which is found the plain subject to the central power, they sometimes receive the shock of the Arab tribes and the armies of the Sultan. A few blocks of the Berbère /Berber/ wall -- the cantons of the Dir -- totter or are crushed, but the high mountain remains unscathed and scarcely feels the blows given. Strongly united by the cement of the alliances of leffs -- whose nature and role we shall soon see -- the little independent republics are in equilibrium with one another, jealously defend their territory at the same time that they preserve their traditions. Thus one can

/181 cont./

000 understand that the inhabitants of these minuscule states could watch with indifference, from the height of their observation posts of the summits, where they find a safe shelter, the powerful empires of the Sultans rise, grow, and disappear in the plain (1).

1. We have intentionally left outside the limits of this study the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Morocco who live in tents and are still not completely settled on the soil. One could, however, draw numerous analogies between their mode of internal fractioning and that of the sedentary groups.

Among the Igerwan of the South, the Aït Ndhir, Aït Mgild, the family group, corresponding to the "Ikhs" of the Atlas or to the "kharrouba" of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, takes the name of "rif." A group of "rif," which is called "douar" or "tigemmi," appears to us analogous to the "mouda^c" of the Atlas or to the Kabyle "taddart" /sic/; the "Ighs," which is made up of several "douar," seems to have approximately the size and the institutions of the Kabyle "^carch" (Cf. Bruno, "Notes sur le Statut coutumier des Berbères marocains /Notes on the Customary Law of the Moroccan Berbers/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 3, pp. 135-137).

Among the Zemmour, the families ("ikhs") unite to form an "asoun," which itself enters into the composition of the "fakhda," or fraction ("Les Zemmour," Captain Querleux, Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part II, p. 22).

Finally the Izayan of Oulmes are acquainted with: the "rif," family formed of one group of tents, the "asoun" constituted by several "rif," finally the "tighst" and the "ighs," subfraction or fraction.

In spite of these resemblances, it nevertheless does not appear to us possible to make, between

000 /181 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ these units and the ones found among the sedentary populations, comparisons rigorous enough to permit one to affirm identity of structure.

/182/

Chapter III
The Alliances of Tribes and of Cantons

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- V. The leffs during peace -- VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- XI. Political role of the leffs. -- XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs. -- XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- XV. The Soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- XVI. Kabylie has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

*634 616 171

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- Each of the little Berbère /Berber/ states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which lives within the narrow boundaries of its valley while following the tradition of the ancestors, comes out of its political isolation by entering into one of the two great alliances between which the mountains are divided. Secular bonds thus unite all the "taqbilt" according to particular rules impossible to uncover, but in a way so as to form two opposed parties of equal strength, capable of sustaining their members in peace and in war. Under the name of "leff" or "soff," analogous alliances have been observed, not only among the Berbère /Berber/ tribes having preserved their

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rbaᶜ," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "moudaᶜ" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Maᶜcho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Sekaawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/186 cont./

*634 616 491 361 "Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of equilibrium (1).

1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

*634 616 As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Ait Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

/187 cont./

*634 616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 627 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 571 [574] The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all
616 the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the
57 "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's
[574] allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek
support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the re-
[154] quest thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

*634 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to
616 correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same
726 "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Sekzawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 616 726 571 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^{c}" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 616 182 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 616 726 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Ait Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the

/189 cont./

*634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two frac-
726 tions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the coun-
try still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the
173 time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
*634 of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
616 at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of
726 Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaoui of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege, cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there. Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exterminated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collective fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the "Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the terri-
*634 tory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
616 fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitution and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right "to speak" in the assemblies.

*634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwon-
616 sekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa,
726 are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success, the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesmatert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Ait Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Ait Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 /193 cont./
619
131

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Ait Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that
619 the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and
131 of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and
648 that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/195 cont./

616 174 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

616 726

571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616]

1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of
[171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the
[616] territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose
[578] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/196 cont./

571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

/197 cont./

616 on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any
174 argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

[601]

1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "A'ltmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "A'ltmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

616 One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing
*634 to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of
174 the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hesperis, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

*634 616 578 174 619

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

175 *634 619

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Ait Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

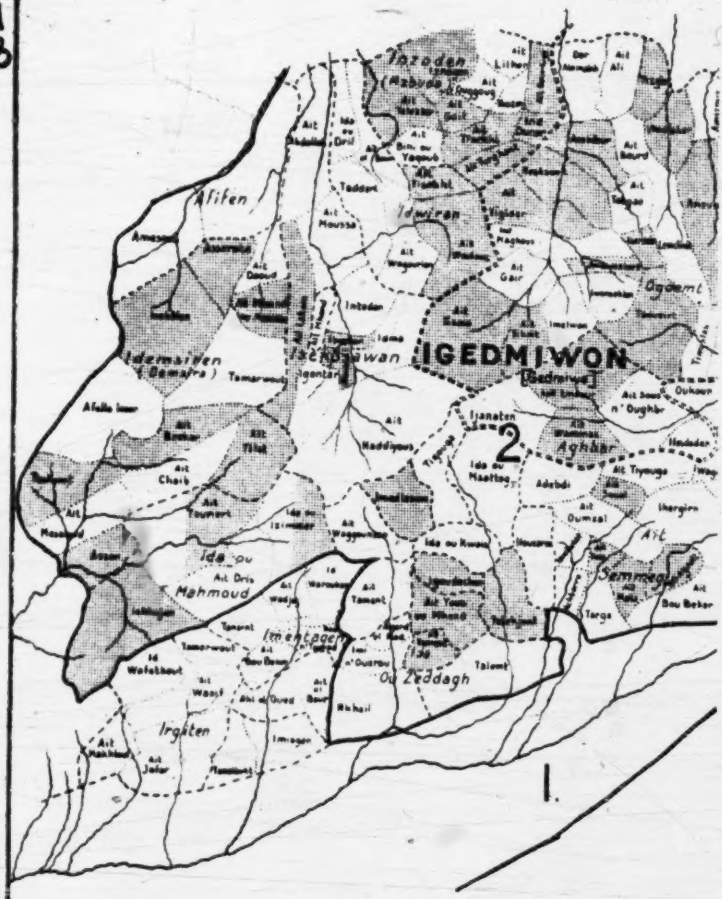
174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133



Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlaś, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shlub MW11

102
616
619
131
133

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1. Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs

Zone 2. Region of the leffs of the western Atlas — Ait Atman, Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis); Indghertit, Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa); Ait Fademt, Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika); Ait Zolit, Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)

Zone 3. Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua — Inemzel . . . . . ; Ait Iraten . . . . . .

Zone 4. Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas — Isouktan . . . . . ; Igezzoulen . . . . . .

Zone 5. Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit) — Ait Atman . . . . . ; Ait Tintlet . . . . . .

2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

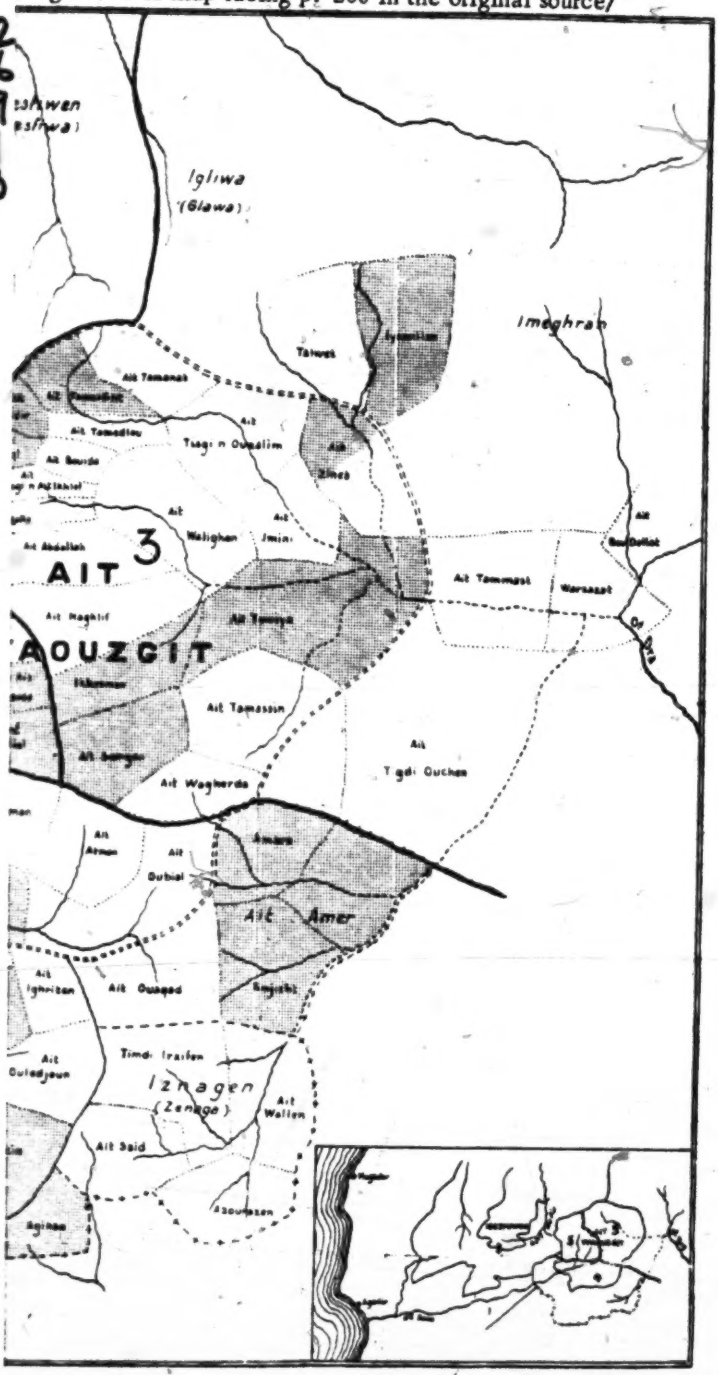
102
616
619
131
133

Imesfiwen
(Mesfiwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ouriks)
Ighighain
(Ighighen)
Ogdemt
Onein
Ait Sammegat
Ait Waouzg
Ait Tadhent
Id Willoun
Ait Stiman
Ait Waggas
Ait Hamid
Ait Yahya
Ait Abdelwirt
Imadidan
Tinfat
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Hamid
Ilaunan
Ounzin
Ighghadiyoun
Imghartiyn
Ait Haghir
Ait Abdellah
Ait Yamedlou
Ait Bourdo
Ait Qaila
Ait Igher
Ait Tadhent
Ait Wilal
Ait Ouladjoun
Ait Igherkan
Ait Ouzgit
Ait Ouzgit
Ait Ouzgit

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619 Ishwen
(Ishwa)
131
133



/201 cont./

616 with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).
114
*634
[113]

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Ct Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Ait Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential
616 aspects.
619 Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

101 616 619 The "Aoggwa" (1)

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the A'lt Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the A'lt Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 619 184 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the A'lt Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and A'lt Amer. In go- 616 619 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

2: Montagne--268 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

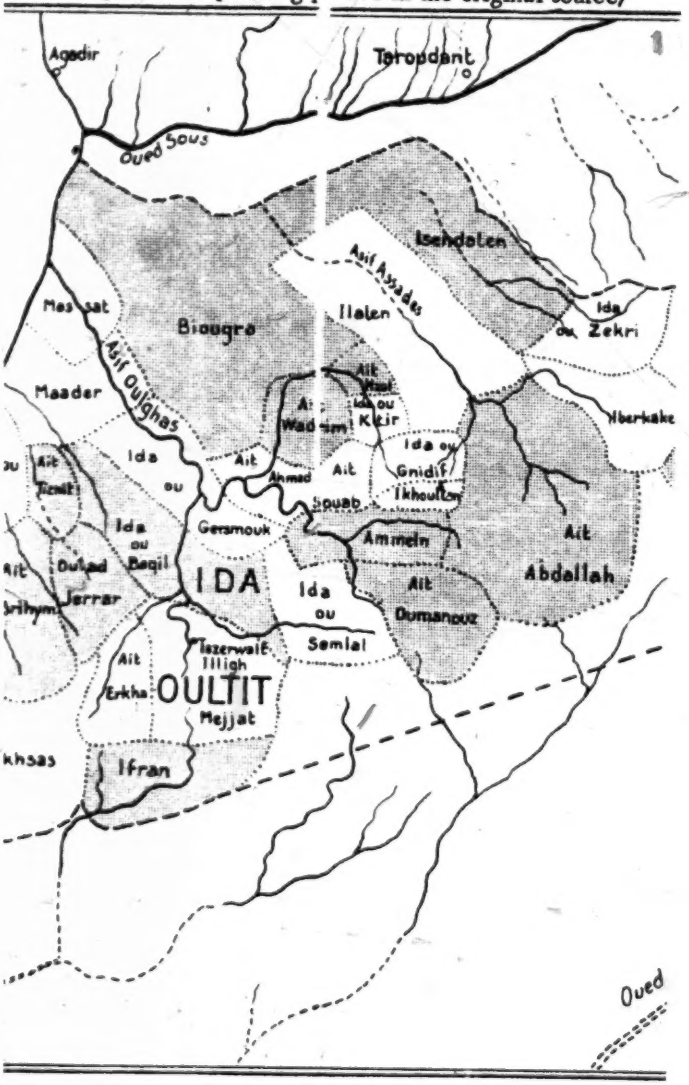
/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

2: Montagne--269 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

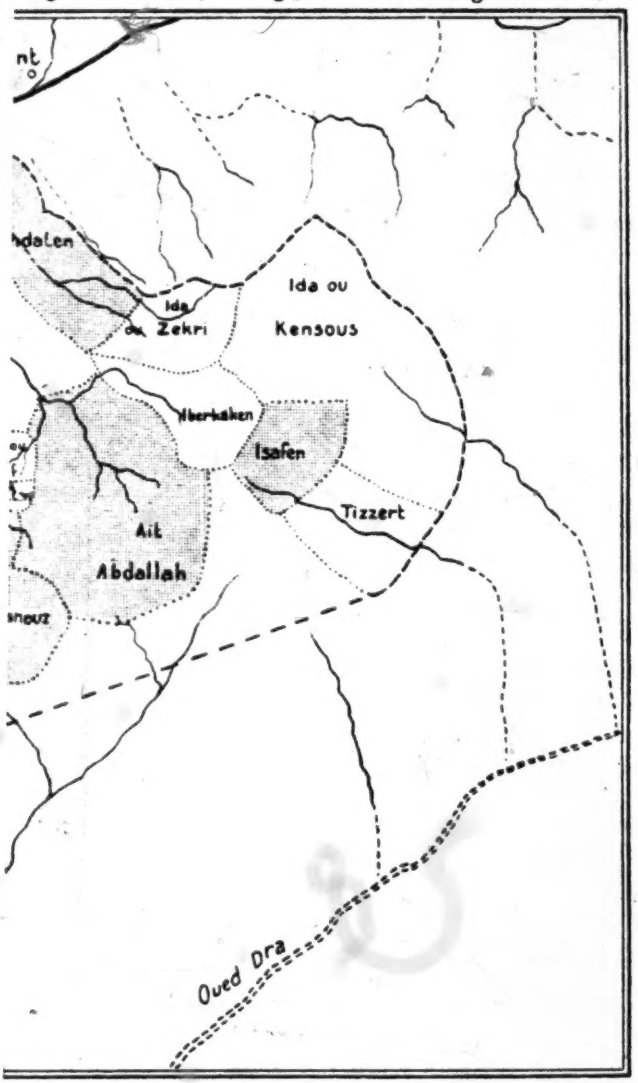
102
131
133
616
619



2: Montagne--270 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619



/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[173] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Ma'qil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

S
616
174
[167]
[648]

/205 cont./

produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R
616
171

XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/206 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "ᶜalam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "ᶜalam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

616
619
171

/206 cont./

616 can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish
619 (Jaïa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been
171 "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, loc. cit.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /207/ designated by birds (1),

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ᶜArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (the rats); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (the frogs); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (the carob tree); Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (pomegranate rind); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (the sound /Fr. le son, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (the bearers of bad luck); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (the bitterness); Aït Ousa : Id

/207 cont./

616
619
171

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Ait Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Ait Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Ait Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Ait Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Ait Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616
648
174

In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 131 ʿAlam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. [127] Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, [648] judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale $\frac{1}{800,000}$

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

/209 cont./

619 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to
131 Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

175 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Sen-
648 haja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

175 648 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ᶜalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 [174] It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

/210 cont./

619 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the
648 idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribu-
616 tion of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs.
648 The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

/211 cont./

000 XV. The soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- In the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura the single name of "soff" has designated either family alliances within villages or political leagues into which a confederation, a tribe, or independent "ᶜarch" enter in their totality. It is necessary, however, in the light of the observations made in western Berbérie /Barbary/, to separate these two institutions in order to understand better their nature and role.

Hanoteau and Letourneux have described for us the village "soffs," constituted at the mercy of circumstances and which seem to be, from /212/ their composition, as variable as the soffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or of the Rif (1).

1. La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 11-20.

The Kabyle changes sides frequently; the constitution of two soffs thus formed is only the form taken, at a given period, by the opposition of particular interests in a village. The obligation of mutual aid is moreover as rigorous for the members of the soff as in the more stable associations that we have described in the Moroccan Atlas under the name of leff. "Help your own, whether they are right or wrong," such is the motto of the members of the soff.

According to the different parts of the country, the soffs receive variable names: that of "the East" or of "the West," of the "middle" or of the "extremities," or borrow their name from the man most in view who directs them: "soff of El Hadj Boudjemaa" or of "Amer n Ait Amara." They succeed in uniting groups far from one another and thus go out of the cadre of the village or of the ᶜarch. When this institution still had all its strength, in the first years that followed the conquest, there existed in Kabylie /Kabylia/ four groups of two soffs, which shared the whole country. But each of them was isolated from the others, and one did not find the correspondence of alliances that characterizes, for example, the leffs of the Masmouda of the Moroccan Atlas.

/212 cont./

000 XVI. The Kabylie /Kabylia/ has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- On the other hand, the Kabylie /Kabylia/ has known, up until the end of the eighteenth century, on the evidence of Hanoteau, two large alliances of a different nature, known by the name of "soff Oufella" and "soff Bou adda" -- upper soff and lower soff -- which appear to us to merit, in our terminology, the name of "leffs." Of an ancient origin, in any case prior to the sixteenth century, they united between them all the populations of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, most often by large tribes, but also by weaker units, especially in the mountainous regions of the Igawaoun and the Igouchdal. In this case it was a matter of territorial alliances and not, as in the other soffs, associations of persons. The appearance of the political checkerboard constituted by the elements of the two sides was then quite similar to the one that we have studied in the Jbel and the Rif in the country of the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara."

/213/ In the minds of the Kabyles, the origin of these two leagues should be sought in the fight that broke out one day between two enemy brothers, so that the "leffs" thus formed in the whole country would have been only the expansion of a soff of one village. It may be, as the legend indicates, that two rival families long ago played an important role in the opposition of the parties. But the similarity of the institutions of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ with those of the rest of Berbérie /Barbary/ spurs us on to look beyond the natural opposition of family groups for the cause of so general a political state.

Hanoteau had indeed noted that the two large leffs of old did not prevent the simultaneous existence of internal soffs, but that "the latter were much less disposed than in our time to wage war, each feeling the necessity of a close union against the enemy from outside" (1).

1. Hanoteau and Letourneux, ibid., Vol. II, p. 17.

/213 cont./

000 The observations made from the first years of the conquest by Captain Devaux (2),

2. Devaux, Les Keballes du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, Paris, 1859, pp. 39-40.

and whose value and interest Hanoteau had called in question, come to give light on the nature of an institution whose aspects are now familiar to us. When the memory of struggles of tribes was still very much alive in this mountain region where, from the information of Hanoteau himself, the two leffs appear to us to intersect and penetrate each other more, one could still discern the existence of a chessboard of fractions similar to the one of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. In the valley of Boughni, the units of each party were isolated "ᶜarch" that opposed one another with a surprising regularity, in the manner of the "taqbilt" of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal of the Masmouda. Hanoteau estimated à priori that such a balanced arrangement of the parties was impossible to imagine because it supposed on the part of the tribes "over-all views and ideas of general policy well above the reach of the Kabyle mind." From having observed over vast areas in the western Atlas a distribution of the two leffs in the very form in which Devaux verified it in the high valleys of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, we see the weakness of this objection. It is therefore necessary to restore to Devaux's observations all their value. Nevertheless it remains difficult to understand that the example of the valley of the Boughni has remained unique in the descriptions that the first investigators of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ have left us. /214/ In order to explain that silence, it may suffice to invoke the already late date of Hanoteau's studies made ten years after the conquest and especially the insufficiency of research conducted at that time on the politics of the tribes and the historical account of their struggles. On the other hand, it may be that the complexity of the alliances of soffs and their development in the nineteeth century masked the institution of the two

/214 cont./

000 large leffs, already stricken with decline for a hundred years, according to the tradition collected by Hanoteau (1).

1. Masqueray had indeed seen the importance of the observations of Devaux, who was describing a political state analogous to the one that he had personally found in the Aurès (Formation des cités /Formation of Cities/, p. 168). We do not wish to repeat here the aspects of this "damier en peuplade" /checkerboard of peoples/ constituted by the tribes of the Aurès, where the "soffs" appear so close to the leffs that we have studied among the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco. Indeed, it may be that the respective opposition of the tribes is explained in a different way in the Aurès, peopled by seminomads imperfectly settled there, where the conquest of the soil is still unfinished. Nevertheless, the example of the Aurès, where the equilibrium of the two parties seems to have been established without taking account of the geographic or ethnic divisions, comes to be added to the preceding ones in order to show the general characteristics of the institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

However that may be, the diagram of the political distribution of the "ᶜarch" of the Boughni, established by Devaux, together with the information from the authors of the investigation of the institutions of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ suffice for us to affirm the existence of a state of organization in this country similar to that of the other regions peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. We are justified in thinking that the Djurdjura, like the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, long ago formed a kind of immense chessboard in two colors on which the tribes performed interminable combats, while observing the same rules as in the country of the Masmouda, up to the time when, for unknown reasons, in a

/214 cont./

000 period rather close to us, it would seem, the struggles of families, private vengeances outweighed the leff spirit, weakened these territorial alliances and made them disappear, to the profit of more fragile associations.

XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs. -- Perhaps we may be allowed, at the end of this long study, to try to establish a comparison among the various aspects of the institution of the leffs that we have studied in the large regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/.

On the one hand, one can first of all observe that in the mountainous massifs where there are tribes settled for long centuries without having suffered the shock of great masses of invaders, like the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Djurdjura, an /215/ almost perfect state of equilibrium is established among the smallest independent political units. On the other hand, where the opposition of the races and the coming of new tribes arriving in great numbers transform the conditions of existence of the former occupants, as in the Anti-Atlas before the thirteenth century or the Rif about the eleventh, one ascertains that entire confederations or large tribes clash and fight for political preponderance and possession of the best lands; at this stage, during the period that follows the invasions, the leffs seem to us then to be ethnic divisions, whereas in the stabilized regions they are no more than simple political divisions.

Between these two extreme aspects, the current example of the Jbala and of the Rif perhaps offers us a state of transition. In fact, we see the fractioning of the two hostile masses take place little by little, while the idea of race disappears little by little to make way for that of party.

One might then imagine that the Anti-Atlas, the Rif, then the Atlas of the Masmouda and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ in the last century would represent successive aspects of the same institution.

At the beginning of an invasion, such as that of the Igezzoulen, for example, upon their arrival in the Anti-Atlas in compact

/215 cont./

OOO masses, the newcomers would begin, in clashing with the former occupants, to instigate the decomposition of adverse groups by integrating them through alliances; tribes such as the Aoggwa or the Isouktan would give their name to the league of the autochthons and instigate in the same way defections among the invaders; little by little the fractioning would go on in such a way as to realize a balance of small tribes, such as is seen in our day in the Atlantic plain of the Sous or of the eastern Anti-Atlas.

The Ghomara and Senhaja, as we can observe them at present and whose state was, it seems, in the eleventh century, similar to that of the Igezzoulen and Aoggwa of our time, would offer us the second stage of the transformation; already we see, as a matter of fact, social units of slight importance enter into the alliance, and the memory of the race war falls into oblivion.

It would be necessary to regard as the sign of a still more advanced state of the disintegration of two groups the present-day constitution of the leffs of the Masmouda, into which simple fractions enter, /216/ while the names taken by the leffs themselves are those of former fractions of tribes remarkable for their valor or their magical talents. It is in this state of morcellation that the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurdjura would thus have been found at the time of the two soffs Bouadda and Oufella, in that bygone period that the investigations of Hanoteau and the observations of Devaux avouched.

Is it necessary to go further and regard the later development of the Kabyle soffs within the villages as the ultimate end of this division into unceasingly weaker units, an eternal tendency common to all Berbère /Berber/ societies? It may be, however, that the war of families within the village or the tribe is a social phenomenon of a different order. Indeed, while the development of the institution of the leffs, pushed to the extreme limit of political fractioning, appears bound to end in the preservation of the elementary groups, such as the "khoms," the "taqbilt," and the "ᶜarch," it seems, on the contrary, that the opposition of the families in the form of soff struggles comes quite quickly, at least among the sedentary peoples of Morocco, to break up the

/216 cont./

000 unity of the fractions, such as appears in the most anarchical regions of the Rif.

Whatever may be the value of the hypothesis that we are proposing in order to account for the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, a comparison of the various aspects of this institution suffices to show how it is bound up with the most general conditions of the material, social, and political life of the tribes. When one studies the existence of these little elementary societies, one is struck both by the tyranny exerted on the individual by the group and by the powerlessness of the latter to make anarchy disappear from its bosom. The leffs materialize and project on the soil, one might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berbère /Berber/ life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord.

/217/

Chapter IV

The Republican Organization; the Political Institutions

I. The institutions of the Mouda^{c}. -- II. The council of the canton. -- III. The inflas; their magical origin. -- IV. The moqaddem. -- V. The distribution of the fines. -- VI. The councils of cantons or of tribes without moqaddem. -- VII. The justice circuits. -- VIII. The internal and external wars. -- IX. The festivities and the dances. -- X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Jbala, of the Branès. -- XI. The Riffian anarchy.-- XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 121 [171] We have shown the particular importance of the small social unit that, under the various names of "taqbilt" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "khoms" in the Anti-Atlas and the Rif, "^{c}arch" in the Djurdjura, is the true fatherland for the independent Berbère /Berber/. Indeed, it is within these narrow limits of a state to which we have given the name of canton that the simple and patriarchal institutions of the oligarchic republics, in which the inhabitants of the high valleys have delighted for long centuries, have developed.

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^c" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^c."

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/220 cont./

632
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact repre- [613] sented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each ham- [621] let may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various [556] families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is un-
[178] known. In our time the Ait Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the
western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the rep-
[174] resentatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per
fraction, were designated this way (3).

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the
802 western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their move-
174 ment, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south ver-
184 sant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Ait Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 184 /222 cont./
replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 174 789 [113] Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2).

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and [184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the *[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in [619] the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3).

[113] 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
174 intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
789 the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
184 consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*631 so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
619 things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Ait ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 789 174 178 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the *634 789 184 [174 178] number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoʿa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

/223 cont./

*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is [666] [613] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 692 554 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[613] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

*634 554 /225 cont./
firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small states. [613] In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaʿin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/226 cont./

*634
184

the moqaddem, jealously watched by the influential notables, are reduced.

The political constitutions of all these small states are far from identical; in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ certain cantons name their moqaddem under conditions that differ greatly from those that we have indicated. Thus, the Aït Chaᶜib, in the tribe of the Demsira, who put up a furious resistance against the domination of the kaids of the Mtougga, proceed in the following manner. At the beginning of the year, the "taqbilt" gathers 100 armed men in a religious sanctuary. Fifteen daggers are handed to the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" whose turn for command has arrived. The latter then designate the moqaddem, who says a prayer and in turn names the Aït Arbaᶜin for the year, at the rate of two per "moudaᶜ." In this fraction one also sees the moqaddem gather together in serious cases, not only the Aït Arbaᶜin in office, but all the notables. Moreover, his powers are more extensive than elsewhere; the Aït Arbaᶜin are at his orders, and he is their chief rather than their agent. Doubtless the moqaddem's power and authority, which make him a sort of military leader, facilitated the energetic attitude of defense that the Aït Chaᶜib kept with regard to their Mtougga enemies (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (Étude inédite sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished study on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

At Thinghir in the Todgha, the head of the assembly, named for one year and who takes the name of "amghar," is chosen by his predecessor. In the presence of all the warriors the new amghar in turn designates those who will assist him in the government: "I want So-and-So, son of So-and-So, of Such-and-Such family, to be with me in order to help me concerning the settlement of village disputes" (3).

3. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 126.

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 681 652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 [651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/228 cont./

*634
184
178

VI. The councils of fractions or of tribes without moqaddem. -- The ancient constitution of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the region of the Tichka and of the mountain Gedmiwa, always assumed the presence of the moqaddem. In our day, even in the regions remaining independent, this elected head has often been replaced by an "amghar," who keeps supreme power as long as he is strong enough to impose his authority on the rival families. But in the other mountainous regions of the South of Morocco, the public mind has remained more hostile to the appearance of personal power. One tribe of the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Aït Ouaᶜzzoun, knows neither moqaddem nor amghar; likewise, most of the cantons of the Aït Waouzgit, before the conquest of the Glawa, had only a small senate and Aït Arbaᶜin without a president. Finally, among the independent tribes of the western Anti-Atlas, small councils of notables -- six per fraction in general -- administer the "khoms," without having a designated leader. Sometimes there, it is true, an influential notable exercises, thanks to his energy, true authority; but by his feigned modesty in the councils he tries to avoid the appearance of command. In the assembly he is only one "anflous" amidst his brothers, and if people consent to give him the title of "moqaddem," he bears it without ostentation, carefully guarding against appearing to direct the deliberations, whose outcome he has dictated in advance in secret talks with his creatures (2).

2. The tribes of the foot of the western Anti-Atlas or of the irrigated oases of the plains /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ possessed, however, before the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, moqaddems similar to those of the Haut-Atlas -- at Tiznit and among the Ida ou Gersmouk, for example. The "ᶜorf" of the Ida ou Gersmouk collected by M. Ben Daoud begins with the following proclamation: "Know

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to 619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that 184 the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 184 178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten A'lt Arba^{c}in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named deliberate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1), [625]

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of A'lt Arba^{c}in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the A'lt Arba^{c}in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^{c}a" of the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^{c}a" goes first of all among the A'lt Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are summoned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot [695] [681]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

/232 cont./

*634 648 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional [431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

[571] [782]

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle [illegible]ese festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /B[illegible]er/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/235 cont./

796 53 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 571 796 182 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 796 571 616 182 619 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike festivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" figure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/236 cont./

000 Makhzen /makhzan/, has not been studied thus far among the sedentary peoples of Morocco under conditions that enable us to establish quite precise comparisons with the Sous and the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. At least here, by recalling what we know of the institutions of the tribes of the Central Atlas and of the north of Morocco, we can show how the same principles of political organization assert themselves everywhere with surprising uniformity.

In the qsour /fortified places/ of the Haut-Guir, whose internal life has not heretofore been made the subject of detailed monographs, we again find familiar rules in reading the compendiums of customary law (1).

1. Nehlil, "Azrefs des tribus et Qsour du Haut-Guir /Azrefs of the tribes and Qsour of the Haut-Guir/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 77 and sqq.

Each family is represented in the bosom of the council by notables who, under the various names of "mzarig," "reffad," "oukkal," "hamil," correspond to the A'lt Arbaᶜin and to the Inflas of the Moroccan South. They undertake first of all to impose upon their brothers the decisions of the council. A president, who takes the title of "sheik," is designated by these "mzarig"; we often see him take this office only if the notables agree with him, accept his intervention, and with him give up to the anger of God those who will refuse to execute the judgments that he will pronounce. Like the "moqaddem" of the Masmouda, the sheik of the Haut-Guir is in principle closely watched by the assembly. He must keep an exact accounting of expenses and receipts; he imposes fines according to the rule, and if he lightens the penalty without the authorization of the "reffad," he is punished in turn. He may not travel without the assent of the council, or leave the session in the course of the deliberations. His departure is accepted only if he has been duly replaced by a new sheik. Like the moqaddem, finally, he has power to collect fines, to ordain and prohibit, and,

/236 cont./

000 by reason of the higher functions entrusted to him by the council, the "ᶜorf" punishes with high fines those who threaten or contradict him. Sometimes there exists a superior sheik above the sheiks of the various qsour, who considers the presidents of the little cities as his "respondents."

Among the Jbala, the village "jemaᶜa," identical, it seems, with those of the "moudaᶜ" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, include all the men /237/ able to bear arms; these are not political assemblies, they administer only the common patrimony and watch to see that the good order of everyday life is not disturbed. As for the council of the "khoms," made up of two notables per village, presided over by a "sheik," it certainly appears to have all the attributes of our councils of "Aït Arbaᶜin" and of "inflas" of the fractions of the South of Morocco. When the entire tribe assembles, it does not constitute a council analogous to the one that represents the "khoms." This meeting, moreover, is held only in the most serious cases in order to decide war or peace, resistance to the Makhzen /makhzan/, revolt or submission; it resembles a mobilization of all the forces of the country more than a political consultation.

In the region of the Habt, the funds of the village "jemaᶜa" constitute important reserves administered in common, not only for the maintenance of the mosques as in the tribes of the South, but also for the purchase of munitions intended for war and the assistance of inhabitants reduced to poverty. This institution appears to have taken a development in the local life analogous to that of the agadirs among the populations of the Anti-Atlas and of the Sirwa. On the other hand, the management of this fund becomes, like that of the "taqbilt" treasury in the Haut-Atlas, the essential and permanent preoccupation of the assemblies of notables (1).

1. M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 43-44, 174-178.

/237 cont./

Thus we see the Wadras tribe, rebelling against the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and coming back for several years to the former customs, name a sheik supervised by the notables; this sheik is particularly charged with administering the common treasury, enlarged by the fines, the taxes, and the revenue from the collective property. The notables, on the other hand, jealously keep their prerogatives for the administration of the pious establishments (2).

2. Biarnay, "Un cas de régression vers la coutume berbère chez une tribu arabisée /A case of regression toward the Berber custom in an Arabized tribe/, "Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 220.

When the tribes of the north of Taza succeed, in a period of revolt, in resuscitating for a time their former traditional organization, they adopt a political regime similar to that of the Moroccan South. Among the Branès (3),

3. Trenga, "Les Branès /The Branès/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the council of notables, /238/ designated by the "jemaᶜa," is charged with watching over the safety of the territory, good administration, and the execution of the decisions made in common. This council, known by the name of "Bou ᵓlarba," elects a moqaddem. The meetings of the "Bou ᵓlarba" are nearly always public; the men present may take part in the discussions, if they are known as people of good counsel, and sometimes their opinions are retained (1).

1. Analogous institutions would still be found among the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, established under the

/238 cont./

ooo /footnote 1 continued/ tent. Among the Izayan of Oulmès, each fraction possesses an amghar, president of the jemᶜa, assisted by respondents, "Imasain," who represent each of the groupings and see to the execution of the orders given. The amghar has purely honorific functions; he collects fines and benefits from corvées to plow his lands (Abès, "Izayan d'Oulmès," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 270-271).

Among the Igerwan, Aït Ndir, Aït Mgild, it is the tribe and not the fraction that possesses a chief, the "amghar n touga." He is assisted by respondents responsible for all that goes on in each of the ikhs. The "amasai" of the "ikhs" puts at the head of each of the "douar" or "tigomma" of his "ikhs" another respondent who in turn designates "imasain" placed at the head of each "rif."

The "amghar n touga," "the chief by the handful of grass," merits this name because at the time of the election each one present throws a handful of grass on the one elected (Bruno, "Statut coutumier des Berbères Marocains /Customary Law of the Moroccan Berbers/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 136). This term corresponds exactly with that of "chikh /sheik/ errbiᶜa," by which are designated, among the Arab tribes of the Gharb, the war chiefs named to fight against the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the time of siba.

Let us put side by side the custom of throwing a handful of grass on the one elected and the practice noted in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 125) of putting a wisp of basil on the amghar's head in order to choose him and to point him out to the people. This custom appears to be common to the largest part of the seminomadic tribes of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, the central Atlas, and the Saghro.

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 [171] It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

/239 cont./

621 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisa-
613 tion sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and
614 Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11.
114 Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse
171 origins there. On the other hand, the bond of
blood exists among the households of the same
Riffian jemaᶜa.

621 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and be-
613 comes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq"
heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and
respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers"
621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they
628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring
613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of exter-
726 mination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the
vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of
the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite
country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence
of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each
peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, fol-
lowing the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an
amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of
the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to
blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the
following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in
regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for
vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women
and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having
sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a
murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were
carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if
the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and mar-
riage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the
"tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the
fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a
solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring
tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes,
large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several
thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The
"amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the
small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living
grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^c" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary
law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are
punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one
third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
642 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by fam-
ilies infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians
to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
182 the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of
money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim
at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or
Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

/241 cont./

overpopulation of a relatively fertile country, establish a great difference in the numerical importance of their forces. By the number of hearths that compose them, the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, like the "khoms" of the Igezzoulen, are placed halfway between the "taddart" and the "ᶜarch" of the Zwawa of Kabylie /Kabylia/. From this it naturally results that we find in the Atlas, mingled in the bosom of the council of the inflas and of the A'lt Arbaᶜin, powers divided in the Djurjura between the "jemaᶜa" of the big villages and the assembly of the "ᶜarch."

The "jemaᶜa" of the Kabyle villages is, as one knows, directed by an /242/ amin, who designates or recognizes the "temman," the representatives of each of the large families of which the village is made up (1).

1. In Kabylie /Kabylia/ the name "kharrouba" is given to the patriarchal and agnatic family that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ call "ikhs."

With the "temman" are most often seated respected old men known for their sagacity, the "oqqal." The other warriors remain near the council, to which they belong by right, if not in fact. The assembly is held in public, and its decisions, which bear on all that interests local life in economic, civil, criminal matters, are immediately announced. But the democratic form of the constitution is more apparent than real: only the notables are entitled to speak and the general meetings often have as their purpose "to inform the people of a decision rather than to submit it to them"; the acts of the legislative "jemaᶜa" end up "as a promulgation rather than as a plebiscite" (2).

2. Masqueray, Formation des cités /Formation of cities/, p. 82; Hanoteau and Letourneux, Vol. II, p. 33.

The "inflas" and the "A'lt Arbaᶜin" of the Moroccan South, representatives of each of the families of the "khoms" or the

/242 cont./

"taqbilt," perhaps make up a more exclusive council with a composition determined better, an oligarchy more jealous of its rights than the assembly of the Kabyle "temman." But the differences are often purely formal, and besides here or there the spirit of the little constitutions of the "taqbilt" varies according to region and also perhaps according to epoch. However that may be, the "imeslain," the "ifqiren" of good augury and of good counsel of the south versant of the Atlas correspond exactly to the "oqqal" of the Djurjura; the amin has functions analogous to those of the moqàddem, and the only difference is that the first exercises his magistrature without a time limit whereas the second is named for one year. Again we see in certain villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/ the choice of the amin made by turn in each of the "kharrouba"; most often he is designated by consultation of the family heads and by mutual concessions; moreover, it is the same sometimes among the Masmouda in the valleys of the Tichka.

One can observe that the activity of the Kabyle village jema^{c}a is often greater than that of the Aït arba^{c}in in the cantons of the Moroccan Atlas; the development of a customary law remaining more alive, the greater density of the population doubtless suffice to explain the differences. But the "taqbilt" council of the Masmouda recovers its importance by directing, /243/ in conformity with the obligations of the alliances, the external policy of the country. It then becomes similar to what was formerly the council of the "^{c}arch," it too made up of two or three notables per village, which in individual meetings used to decide the destinies of the little Berbère /Berber/ state.

By its internal organization and its numerical strength, the Kabyle "^{c}arch" perhaps represents an effort of social synthesis superior to that of the "taqbilt" or of the "khoms" of the South of Morocco in the same way that the "taddart" is already more than a "mouda^{c}" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

1. Cf. above, Ch. II, p. 230.

/243 cont./

000 The formation of confederations directed by an amin, established above the "amin" of the "ʿarch," as these latter were above the heads of villages, attests to a still higher degree of improvement of the political constitutions, although in the Djurjura these higher edifices never had the importance and stability of the elementary organisms.

In spite of these differences, which doubtless are related above all to the growth in volume of the simplest societies on a more fertile land, the same spirit animates the political constitutions of these two regions so far apart. Here, as there, it is the same internal life in the tribes and the fractions. A thousand traits mentioned by the observers of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ are found again among the Masmouda: the rich notables are the veritable masters of the canton or village, in spite of the democratic constitutions; their influence is exerted secretly on the moqaddem or the amin of modest circumstances whom they have had the cleverness to have accepted by the people. Adroit policies can refashion unity, when discord is dangerously prolonged, by secretly provoking an external war against the leff enemies. In these small republics, egalitarian in appearance, in reality often delivered over to the richest men, we see appearing in the Sous as in the Djurjura the taste for honors, the concern for ceremonial, while identical ambitions and passions agitate families and set them against one another.

A trait common to these village constitutions is that they suffice to absorb all the political activity of the men. Through them, a balance is naturally established among all the notables, thanks to the surveillance that they exercise upon one /244/ another with an anxious jealousy. The members of these little senates, thus obsessed by the concern for dividing equally among them the profits and expenses and foiling the threatening projects of the ambitious ones, cannot rise to the idea of the public good or conceive principles that would permit them to found true states.

Even when alliances succeed for a time in uniting several cantons for the safeguarding of their interests and the protection of

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

/245/

Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.

VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda^{c}," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

609 /245 cont./
574
[344]
[485]

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert. Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners. Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

*[634]
[162]
609
37
556
563
[672]
[464]
609
641
563

When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jemaʿa of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

609
166
*634
563

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as mem-
794 bers of the Mussulman community, but the community, for
431 them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and
171 they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaᶜa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confedera-
171 tions have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./

423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ [571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet [578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still [203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, [554] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing [625] policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaʿa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/250 cont./

443 Bouzia in the Haha tribe, the "Had" of the Ait Mzal in the Anti-Atlas, or still more often at the foot of the mountains, such as, for example, the markets of Amismiz and of Tisgin of the
443 Gedmiwa. Sometimes surrounded by a contiguous wall, these
366 markets possess several hundred shops formed out of alveoli of earth and dry stone, covered with branches, divided into quarters or "rahba." One finds in their enclosure cafés, which are often unpleasant places, sometimes permanent storehouses for storing commodities, always a mosque in which people go to
443 swear an oath if some dispute arises. These markets, frequented by all the tribes of the vicinity, sometimes at two days' distance, often gather together several thousand Berbères /Berbers/. It then becomes necessary to watch particularly to protect the transactions by special regulations.

443 It is a great disgrace for the inhabitants of a country not to
625 be able to repress energetically the thefts that might be com-
685 mitted in their souq /sook/ or on the roads leading to it; so all the little codes of customary law of the tribes of the South of Morocco are devoted to long paragraphs enumerating the considerable fines that punish the thieves and route cutters who would try to practice their trade at the market or its outskirts. Incessant surveillance is exercised by the tribal authorities, so that the guilty may be immediately apprehended and condemned. There is reason to fear, as a matter of fact, that there may break out at the market an altercation whose appearance could be the signal for a panic. Sometimes similar incidents are created on purpose by the thieves in order to "break up" the souq and to enable them, by means of the disorder, to pillage valuable merchandise.

For all these reasons, it is rare that an assembly of notables suffices to make the "horma," the good name of the market, respected. /251/ Certain tribes nevertheless succeed in protecting their souqs, and then reap large profits from them (1).

1. Cf. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 128-134: the development of the market of Tinghir (Todgha) permits leasing the rights

/251 cont./

443
625
685

/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443
634
554
692
685

443
*634
792
784

It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203
R
[681]

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
443
171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
[114]

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqhilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

/253 cont./

*634
343
192

/footnote 2 continued/ Ou Tanan; of casbah of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the kaid in the plain of the Sous and on the Dir of the Atlas. On the Saharan versant of the Anti-Atlas, it designates a small chamber for provisions placed in a corner tower of the house (Amanouz tribe). It is also used generally throughout the Sous with the meaning of solidly constructed wall.

The same word reappears as toponym in the western Rif in the form "Ajdir," near Alhucémas and in the north of the Gzennaya; one also finds Agadir, quarter of the town of Ouezzan, Agadir, quarter of Tlemcen (Marçais, Les Monuments de Tlemcen /The Monuments of Tlemcen/, p. 132); in Kabylie /Kabylia/ it signifies rock, sheer wall, inaccessible spot (Huyghe, Dict. Kabyle-fr. /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, 2nd ed., p. 17). The word appears to be of Punic origin (Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, I, 319).

Among the Ait Waouzgit, the Souktana of the Sous, the Glawa, the collective storehouse takes the name of igherm (pl. igherman); "tighremt" (pl. tighermatin) is a fortified house. "Igherm" designates in the western Atlas (Aghbar) a cultivated terrace supported by a dry-stone wall, and among the Haha a low dry-stone wall to protect the riflemen in combat. /The following paragraph is on the next page in the original source./

Finally, among most of the transhumant Berbère /Berber/ populations of central Morocco, the name of Ighrem is given to the permanent habitation, to the house serving as storehouse for provisions and as enclosure for the large livestock.

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs 184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Ga'ir and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
[182] Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

343 712 182 671 571

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.
The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
[578] ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, [434] [681] [652] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^c," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343 114 /footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343 178 But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343 172 In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343 175 726 In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/260 cont./

343 712 *634 726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[175] *[631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead; it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Haji 'Abdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/261 cont./

343 712 178 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 712 174 178 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/." Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/262 cont./

121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2),

2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still know who the Aït Arbaʿin were, who at each siba revived the former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas," the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate and by the economic transformation that has been taking place for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life. The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when /263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

/263 cont./

178 More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in
184 the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the
limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by
*[631] assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a
veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the
Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where
imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs,
and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly
existed.

178 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic.
177 If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to
rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of
Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to
destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons
dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, [726] the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecog-
[726] nizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

/Page 266 is blank./

000 /267/

Book III
The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

/Page 268 is blank./

/269/

First Chapter
The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of 642 the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At *634 other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the 198

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Ait Arbaʿin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines.

[652] The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
*634 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
578 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
661 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
726 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had succeeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
[616] In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat, these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation, was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him, following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ᶜAli Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the warriors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

175 /274 cont./
*634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata," which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[486] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar everywhere in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
661 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
721 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
57 augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arbaᶜin"
*634 of his "moudaᶜ." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
*634 family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
616 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
726 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
616 Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
726 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his canton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

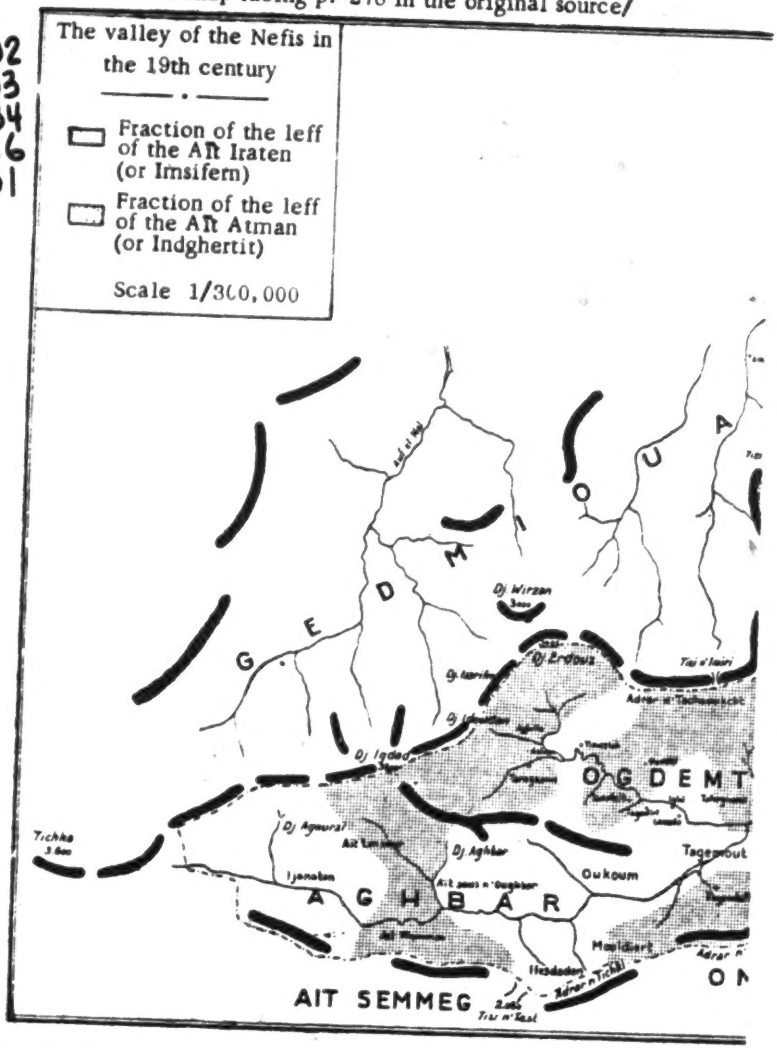
175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
726 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

2: Montagne--369 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
133
*634
616
131



2: Montagne--370 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
616

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains, in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./

175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/281 cont./

175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the A'It arba^{c}in come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the A'It arba^{c}in, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the A'It arba^{c}in among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "mouda^{c}" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and A'It Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/281 cont./

*634 642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

*634 697 671 /283 cont./ for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Ait Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Ait Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Ait Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/284 cont./

*634 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy
616 leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of
726 the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among them-
178 selves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to
[651] the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules
*634 of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit
616

/285 cont./

*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/286 cont./

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
*634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
[648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
[712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries, and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the "Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/287 cont./

175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
*634 Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs, intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

[177] But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20 years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
*634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15 years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913, the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors, by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him, ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

/288 cont./

175 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had
*634 to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/
[170] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it
[171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the
[184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 619 [648] /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradition attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different

*634 619 178 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 619 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime, a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to

*634 619 578 [613] whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal ambitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase. When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in importance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time

[554] that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/289 cont./

*634 613 682 [697] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 613

*634 616 [578] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/290 cont./

*634 [616] actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts necessary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When [178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up [726] the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true, [642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 642 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/291 cont./

*634 642 notable charged with representing his brothers. The tribal council even deliberates sometimes in public; but the decision has been prepared in the amghar's house and the tribe conforms to it exactly. The distribution of the profits of justice, of which the notables collect no more than a very small part, shows that all authority is concentrated in the hands of Bou Naga.

*634 *631 [642] But even in this case the concern for preserving the appearance of an assembly, whose presence itself is obligatory when the entire confederation reunites with Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli or at the souq /sook/ el Arbaᶜ of Imouzzer, suffices to show how, in spite of everything, personal power here remains limited by the recollection of the fundamental institutions of the country of the Ida Ou Tanan. If, by a marvel of continuity, the minor amghars of the Aït Tinkert have been able, thanks to family alliances, to the existence of a very powerful clan, to succeed in obtaining and keeping the command of the whole tribe for a century, they have at any rate remained locked within the natural cadre /292/ that this third of the great confederation formed. Even so, they are still subordinate to what the independent Berbères /Berbers/ call jokingly the "Makhzen of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli." Thus, in [619] spite of their power, they remain, like the leff-chief amghars of [671] the Seksawa, subject to the laws of the tribes (1).

1. For some years, the progress of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has manifested itself among the Ida Ou Tanan by a new development of personal power, thanks to the encouragement and external support given to the boldest clan chiefs. ᶜAli Ou Naser, amghar of the Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi ᶜAchao of Isk n Tghazout, and other party chiefs have subjugated by force the chiefs of the neighboring "afous." The artificial character of this movement has undoubtedly further accentuated the latent antagonism between the régime of the Aït arbaᶜin and that of the independent amghars.

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 179 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAlt Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
792 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live
578 side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

634 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free
792 political life of the mountain populations, and even when a
182 family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the
619 nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in
648 the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The
[614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the [171] [681] [434] moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./

175 721 634 648 669 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 554 182 578 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains precarious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true [721] [648] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces, will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/297 cont./

000 the opposite party. If he succeeds in making this conquest, in which his influence and cleverness have more importance than his warlike spirit, he becomes the head of the "ᶜarch" and the equal of the minor amghars of the Sous. Nevertheless, it is very rare for the Kabyle amghar to succeed, thanks to successful wars, to protection cleverly given and expenditures liberally granted in order to increase his prestige, to the command of a "qebila," of a true tribe. This is because the organic division of the whole Djurjura village into two soffs, whose alliances extend far, to within the "ᶜarch" of the neighboring tribes, creates an often insurmountable resistance to the new leader. The presence of an amghar promoted to supreme command is a weakness here rather than a strength, because he remains enslaved to the tyrannical alliance of his soff; in no village will he be accepted without reserve, and the confederated "ᶜarch" placed under his authority will risk being paralyzed by internal dissensions when they have to give battle to external enemies. One will understand without difficulty that here again the maraboutic power, screened by a fortunate privilege from the struggle of the soffs, can then grow important and assert itself more easily than that of the temporal chiefs (1).

1. Comp. A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 93 and sqq., on the appearance of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes.

/298/ Besides, it might be that in the past the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura had institutions more favorable to the development of the power of temporal chiefs.

In a country so attached to republican institutions, the establishment of large commands, like that of the family of the ᶜAbd es Semed in the fourteenth century, that of the kings of Kouko in the sixteenth century, at the time of the French conquest can perhaps be explained more easily if we accept the

/298 cont./

000 hypothesis of a situation formerly less anarchic, of a fractioning into territorial leffs made up of fractions or small tribes -- which would then have formed a political chessboard analogous to the one of the Atlas of the Masmouda (1).

1. Masqueray, Formation des Cités /Formation of Cities/, p. 117 and sqq.

However that may be, in Kabylie /Kabylia/, as in the north of Morocco, two causes come to limit narrowly the undertakings of the amghars: one, of internal order, is the extension of private wars, the furious struggle of the great families, which dissociates the tribes and cantons; the other is the ambition of the marabouts, of the religious leaders who utilize the credulity of the Berbères /Berbers/ and whose role, moreover, is to maintain a profitable anarchy, thanks to which they play their role of natural arbitrators.

It happens that in our time, in the south of Morocco, the independent mountain republics have succeeded in avoiding the development of anarchy in the country and in maintaining the institution of the leffs. At the same time the maraboutic principalities, powerful in the Sous until the seventeenth century, have almost entirely disappeared, and the religious influences are no longer exerted except from the depths of the zaouias lost on the edge of the Sahara; those are circumstances favorable to the development of the power of temporal chiefs, so we see the amghars utilize them in the western Atlas and rise little by little to the command of veritable states.

Whether the situation of the country comes to favor their ambitions or to reduce them promptly to nothingness, the temporal leaders consequently appear in all the regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ under identical conditions. Many ambitious men desire to obtain power in the thousands of little independent mountain republics. Only a small number succeed in conquering and /299/ dominating; rarer still are the ones who will succeed in commanding a tribe and who will finally place themselves in a lasting way above the mass of subjects. The road is long and hard by which

/299 cont./

OOO the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

/300/

Chapter II
The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the A'lt Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

*634 616 554 571 The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "A'lt
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.

*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "A'lt Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "A'lt Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "A'lt Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the A'lt Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "A'lt Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "A'lt Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "A'lt Iraten" and "A'lt Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "A'lt Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the A'lt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "A'lt
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "A'lt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the A'lt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

175 /304 cont./
159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the A'lt Semmeg and
of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.
*634 The leff of the "A'lt Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "A'lt Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "A'lt Zolit,"
the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him.
The refugee then fled to the A'lt Oumzal, in the fraction of the
amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the
fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.
726 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formida[illegible]harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[729] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Pumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./

175 159 *634 726 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 159 *634 [625] [602] Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 159 *634 616 578 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator, relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.

The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ʿAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
726 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
616 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

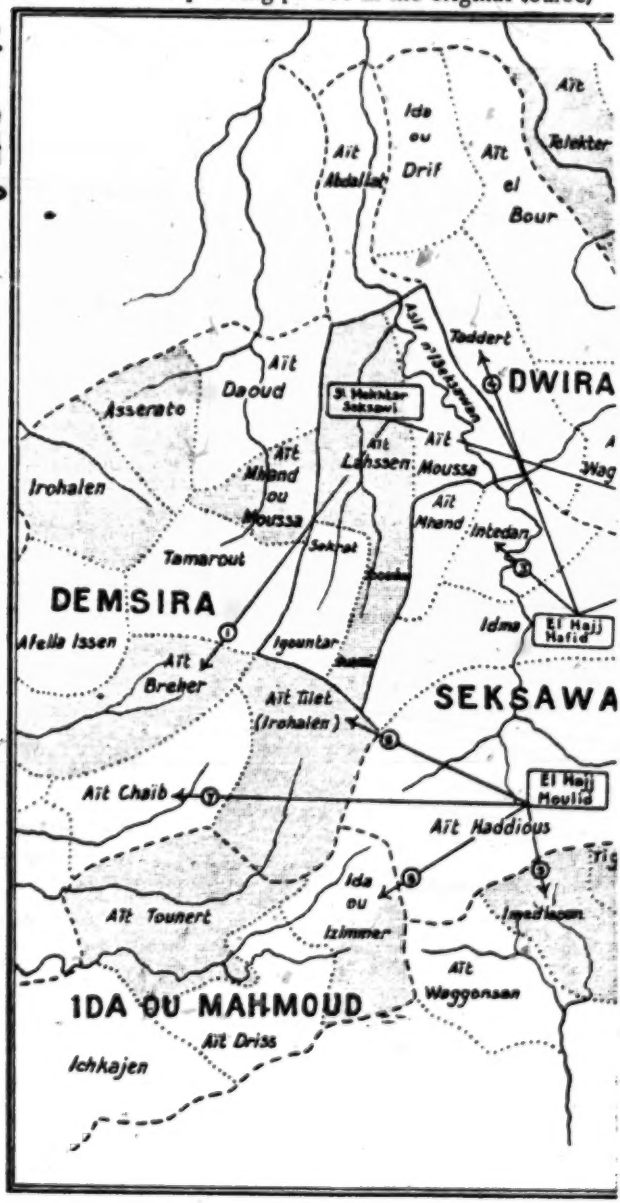
175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

2: Montagne--406 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

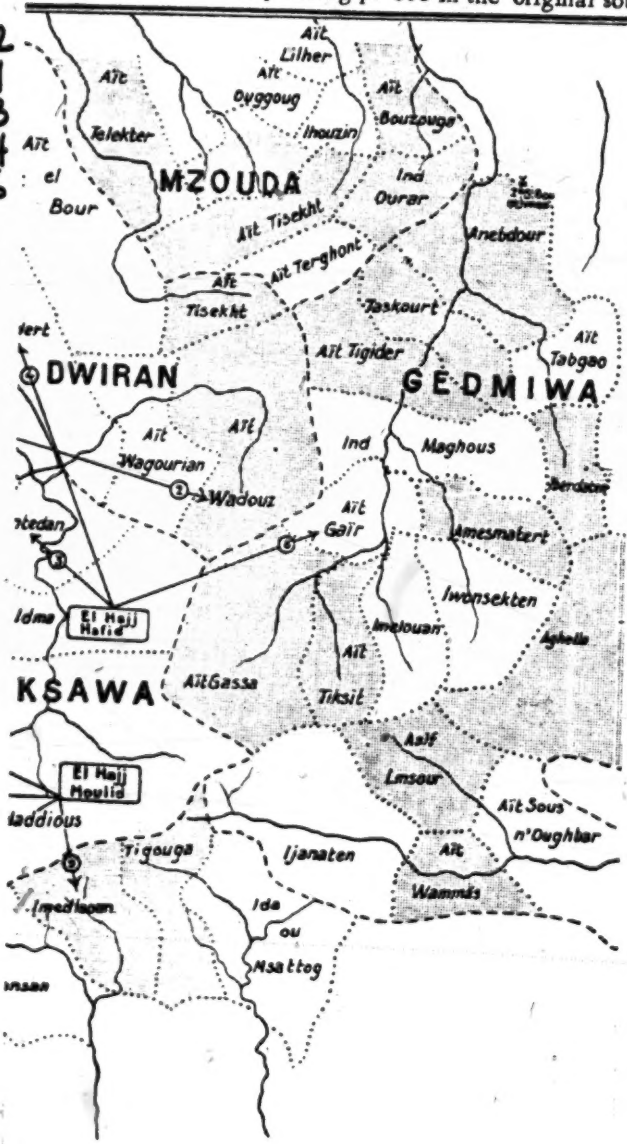
102
131
133
*634
616



2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

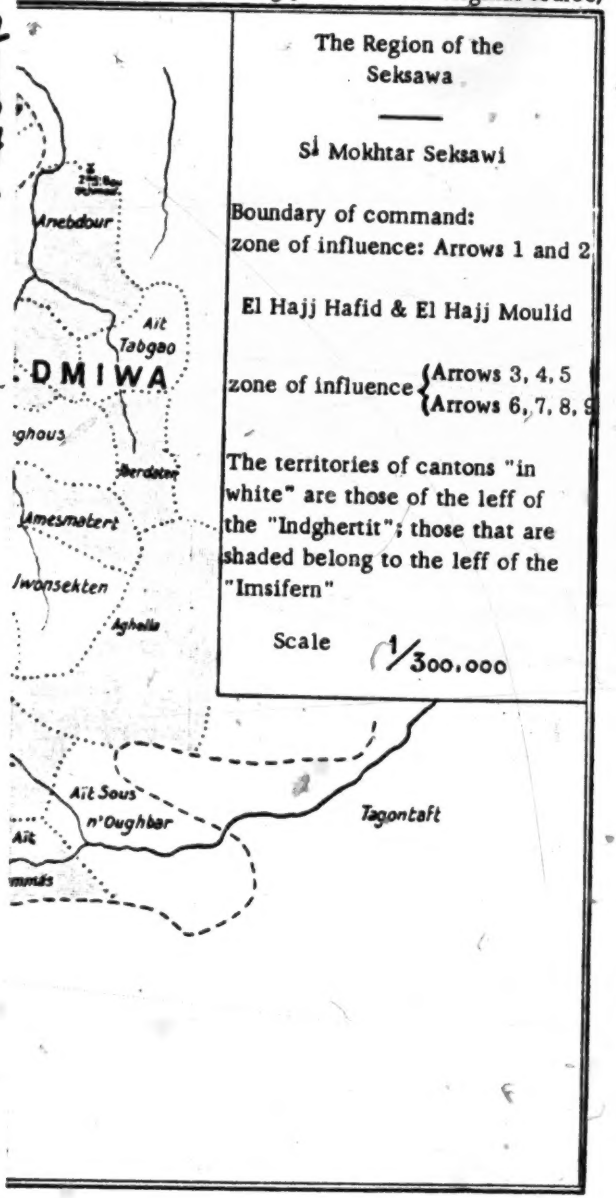
102
131
133
*634
616



2: Montagne--408 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
616



/309 cont./

175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going
616 back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/310 cont./

*634 616 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

175 *634 616 726 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqaddems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ʿAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

* [631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./

175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Ait el Baza to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Ma', the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ʿAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ʿAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "tabbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ʿOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
*631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. [616] In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, [648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/317 cont./

*634 *631 648 remains constrained to enter the service of the great kaid nearby or of the caliphates of the Sultan; this was done by El Hajj Hafid of the Idma and by the heads of the family of the Aït Bacha of Taberbourt, in the tribe of the Aït /318/ Semmeg, who went into the service of the Gontafi; and the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont, who rallied to the pasha of Taroudant, to the Mtouggi, and to the Gontafi (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 371.

*634 616 For the amghar to succeed in freeing himself and fully using his liberty, he must, on the contrary, succeed in dominating at the same time the two leffs of the mountains, whether he incorporates the enemy cantons into his command by main strength or whether his independent attitude toward the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the parts of the country remaining mistresses of their fate makes him the defender of liberty. Moreover, he often attains this goal only imperfectly, whatever may be the energy or cleverness displayed. Sometimes the amghar stays bound, in spite of his efforts, to his first alliances; his domination is exercised successfully, thanks to his strength, on the fractions of the adverse leff, but it lacks solidity and disappears as soon as he weakens; soon no more than his own leff, diminished by defeats or political mistakes, remains to him; such was the situation of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Qaid ʿAli, at Adasil of the Ind Maghous, and of his successors named kaids by the Sultan. But other chiefs, such as El Hajj Moulid of the Aït Haddiyous, develop easily in the midst of political divisions for which they become the arbitrators. Nevertheless their resources still remain insufficient to permit them to escape all the traditional rules. The strongest, like Si Mokhtar Seksawi and the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, are the ones who take over the fractions of the enemy leff, after having killed the hostile amghars and confiscating their property; they put the inhabitants to flight and build their houses in these lands of conquest, which become what we have sometimes called their "fiefs." By these means they acquire possession of

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 [648] Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./

*634 152 648 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assemblies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance, he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi *[631] cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 616 178 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar manages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he succeeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc- *634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon *631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient 616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have 178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an im-
182 portant role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

*631 /321 cont./
121 trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will
182 carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs
[651] of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from
[486] travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them.
[485] It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

*634 It is true that the possession of a major route of communica-
*631 tion, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley,
121 obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain,
182 give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/322 cont./

*631 121 182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 554 [1178] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 178 791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

(113)

2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to
[692] make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] into paradise.
[541]

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/325 cont./

*634 648 178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III
The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./

121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
175 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs. Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.

175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
[648] conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment; they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

/328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but
[648] uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
175 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*631 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
*634 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
159 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
616 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an
726 amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./

175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
616 the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
726 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

/329 cont./

175 In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
*634 taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the
Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra
in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords,
who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain
/Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese
of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above,
p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves
as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah,
patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère
/Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala,
fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233
(cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods
in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin,
"Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI,
p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt
trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took
back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority
that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed
of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa
"khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also
called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

175 /330 cont./ The favor of the Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
[648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader, charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
*631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
[648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Actually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben Yli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
578 the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
*631 the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*634 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
[712] enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ʿAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
175 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
*631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
*631 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
726 reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even suc-
[669] ceeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and
named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal,
supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally for-
tune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the
Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids
of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards
ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by
the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to
take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed
toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/333 cont./

175 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the
*631 Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el
726 Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar
*631 Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as
648 well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the
*631 kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of
*631 the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi,
648 Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

/334 cont./

175 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on
*631 guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is
648 resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1);

> 1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

121 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the
*631 Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
*631 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*634 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
726 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
648 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
726 "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./

175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
*63 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
*634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the su-
726 premacy of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends toward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa
[669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expeditions for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain fortress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his conquests (1902).

175 ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left vacant by the kaid in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the plain and the Dir revert to ᶜAbd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appropriates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids -- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid Saᶜid of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country. A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
[712] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
*631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
578 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd
el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the
minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek
Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side
to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he
in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his
enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless
loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el
ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi,
chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El
Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Mar-
rakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el
Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the
"Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he
amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his ele-
vated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marra-
kech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all
the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz.
His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs
and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-
Khaldun/.

/339 cont./

175 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself
*631 the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the
726 minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

175 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of
*631 the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez
648 during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani,
726 followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

175 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/
*631 the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have
648 had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/340 cont./

175 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the
*631 Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c,
648 Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa,
619 Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal, Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

*[634] 1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of ^cAbd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remaining at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/ formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./

175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
[466] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
[333] A'it Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being subject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the
557

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/347 cont./

*631 *634 554 Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 557 595 X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would
imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to
bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that
power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so
much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of to-
day came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still
be observed in the more distant territories that have been succes-
sively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various com-
mands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and be-
cause this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu
in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the
great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be
called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get
entangled with the government of the Empire through their
intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the
rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the
tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[[75] In the short period during which the large commands were
constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the
efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over
the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs,
sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original
territory.

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes. Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the establishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
*631 action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
178 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later, all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
* 634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 *634 619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^cho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^cAbdallah Ou Bihi,

/353 cont./

175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
926 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living.
[616] Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
726 Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
175 mation of the tribes.
642
669 The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/356 cont./

*631 /footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The
*634 kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou
178 Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the
616 leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of
*634 the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 398.

multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient
616 notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

/357 cont./

178 616 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends. Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

[578] Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rival-
* [634] ries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the
* [631] struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
[648] by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the
* 631 whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs
* 634 of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the At-
* 631 las really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become
178 absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 174 171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated [648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

/359 cont./

*631 174 171 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 565 174 171 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 174 171 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism, said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/360 cont./

*631 174 171 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).

1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 174 171 423 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves, [567] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the [566] villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 *634 174 171 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself; the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

*631 175 648

/363 cont./

*631 175 648 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

/365/

000

Chapter IV
Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 178 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/365 cont./

121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/366 cont./

all in order to constitute a permanent reserve of money, of arms and munitions, of victuals, and of provisions of all kinds, assembled in large chambers in the shelter of the ramparts. Behind these walls that surround the casbahs of the towns are sheltered, in all parts of the Empire, the Sultan's forces ready to intervene against rebels (1).

1. The term makhzen /makhzan/ is very ancient. The Almoravides, the Almohades already knew it and vulgarized the usage of it in all North Africa. One notes the name of Bab el Makhzen at Marrakech in the beginning of the twelfth century. Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, El Beidaq, p. 58.

But it is not especially the material organization that characterizes the supreme power in the eyes of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes, it is the presence of a king, of an "agellid," despotic sovereign who for centuries derives his authority from his sherifian origin.

The "agellid," in the poor oral literature of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco, is most often described in the most naïve aspects, and always surrounded by the halo of wealth, of "baraka," or sometimes even of magic power. In addition, people in the tribes do not imagine in any precise manner the conditions in which a ruler can live in the depths of his palaces of the Gharb or Marrakech, where he leads an existence so remote from that of the poor peasants of the Atlas. Moreover, when he appears to the eyes of the montagnards who have descended into the plains for a moment or when /367/ he is seen amidst his army on an expedition to the confines of the Empire, he is surrounded with a luxury that grandly strikes the senses. The outward signs of respect that are shown him are no less imposing, especially when he rides on horseback in the shade of the parasol (mdell), which is the true badge of royalty in all of Morocco (1).

1. There is no sultan without a parasol, and when Sidi ʿAli, grandson of Sidi Ahmed ou

000 /367 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Mousa, had himself proclaimed in the Sous in the seventeenth century, he was careful not to forget the traditional "mdell" that his descendants, driven out by Moulay Rechid, carried along in their flight to the confines of the Sahara.

At the end of the nineteenth century when Moulay el Hasan led his second victorious expedition as far as the Tazerwalt, he received from the son of Sidi Hachem in homage and as evidence of his definitive submission the precious sunshade under which the "agellid" of the Sous had formerly been sheltered.

By his origin and power the Sultan is truly, even for the most independent montagnards, a man above the common people and in a class apart. In the reign of good sultans, everybody knows that the harvests are abundant and livestock-breeding prospers. As has been seen in the course of the nineteenth century in several circumstances, even when he has been defeated and his troops put to flight, his person most often remains sacred (2).

2. Moulay Sliman, put to rout among the Ait Oumalou, the Beni Mgild, scoffed at the Cherradi Zaouia and in the course of the revolt of the Oudayas is not personally molested, but, on the contrary, received with consideration, while all his companions are killed or robbed and stripped bare ("Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, IX, p. 193, and X, 52, 82, 145). Compare the reception given to the shorfa in the tribes of the North of Morocco, considered as porte-bonheur, but excluded from political life (Le Glay, La Mort du Rogui /The Death of the Rogui [rogui, one who aspires to overthrow the sultan]/, pp. 24-25, 186, 199).

000 /367 cont./

Finally, there is another aspect of the sultan's power that the Berbères /Berbers/ fear; each knows the terrible effectiveness of his curse. The sherifian "sokhta" pronounced against a tribe is similar to the excommunication of the Middle Ages. It authorizes first of all general pillage of the goods of the ones cursed, for all the nearby tribes strong enough to do it. Moreover, it makes the land infertile and produces famine. One saw this clearly after the destruction of Mogador, which earned for the Haha, guilty of pillaging the town, six years of famine and tribulations without number, the memory of which has been preserved throughout the land (3).

3. Compare Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives Marocaines, XVII, pp. 36-37.

It is the sultan's sherifian origin that furnishes him this dangerous power; even if he were the son of a black or Circassian slave, or of a Christian captive, as has very often happened in the course of history, he keeps all his prestige because of his paternal ancestors.

/368/ Whatever may be the deep impression produced on the Berbères /Berbers/ by the sherifian court, the sultan of Morocco in the nineteenth century does not live in the midst of a court used to a refined etiquette as is seen in the States of the East. The organization of the State and of the central power is extremely rudimentary, and the caprices of the sovereign most often take the place of government rules. A vizier, a "hajib," a sort of director of the palace, some secretaries with poorly defined occupations, and above all numerous "ashab" or companions often fill, by the chance of the master's favor, the various domestic or political functions; that is all the personnel who can intervene in the course of the life of the tribes. Whenever an important affair requires traveling by an envoy of the sultan, it suffices to designate one of the "msakhrin," especially charged

000 /368 cont./
with executing commissions on behalf of the master. The "msakhrin" are recruited both from among the Arabs of the "gich" /gish/, the slaves, and also sometimes from among the sons of the tribal kaids, whose interests hold them at the sherifian court. For two centuries it has especially been the "gich," constituted by the mass of the Arab tribes settled around the towns, that forms the group of families from which most of the court functionaries are chosen (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, IX, p. 239.

Besides, the essential utility of the "gich" is to furnish the sultan, in all circumstances, a mass of combatants, most often mounted, necessary for each of the police expeditions or the protection of the trips of the ruler.

II. The sherifian army. -- It is known that in most of the wars waged on their territory the sultans of the last two dynasties almost never assembled a very large number of warriors. The great battle of El Mkhazen in 1578 had been waged by the Saadians with 5,000 men from the gich of the Haouz of Marrakech and 10,000 Berbères /Berbers/ from the Sous. In the eighteenth century, 10,000 to 12,000 men sufficed for Moulay ᶜAbdallah in most cases (2).

2. Lévi-Provençal, Historiens des Chorfa /Historians of the Shorfa/, p. 175; Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 251.

Moulay el Hasan himself usually contented himself with 25,000 guns, counting the tribal contingents raised for the occasion (3).

3. Erckman, Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 298.

It was only during the last expeditions at the end of the nineteenth

/368 cont./

OOO century -- that of the Sous, for example -- that one /369/ saw a larger number of warriors brought together, assembled and provisioned at the price of the greatest difficulties, however.

The small number of the effective forces engaged in all circumstances in internal expeditions is easily explained by the character of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, the absence of united coalitions, and the difficulty of transport and provisioning in regions without roads and often difficult.

Nevertheless, in order to make their authority respected, the sultans were constrained to organize their military forces either by depending on the tribes of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/, after the example of the Almohades, or by utilizing the services of deported and transplanted Arab or Berbère tribes, or else, finally, by specially constituting a black army reserved for the exclusive disposal of the Makhzen /makhzan/. One or the other of the formulas prevailed according to the period; palace revolts, uprisings of pretenders supported by one of these three forces, the insufficiency of the Treasury's resources obliged the sultans to change their military policy and seek the services of those who appeared, according to the circumstances, least dangerous.

Strong power, like that of Moulay Ismaᶜil, could utilize a powerful black army without too much trouble. It is known that in this sultan's reign numerous casbahs were constructed throughout the Empire, and we find traces of most of them at the foot of the Atlas along the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and in the very plain of the Sous (1).

1. Tahanout, Amismiz, Kasba Amejjout (Imi n Tanout), Qehira, Tizi Maᶜcho in the Dir or in the mountains; Khandeq el Wed, Bou Riqi, and Chichawa in the plains.

They received a permanent detachment of slaves from the Makhzen /makhzan/. These blacks, whose number climbed to nearly 100,000, collected taxes, lived on the proceeds of the tithe paid in kind in these fortresses, and made relative security prevail on the

/369 cont./
000 routes of the Empire (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives marocaines, IX, p. 262.

But the difficulties created for the Makhzen by these mercenaries were eventually such that the sultan Moulay ʿAbdallah had the greatest number of them put to death as soon as he could; his son Sidi Mohammed at one time wanted to try to reassemble them, but the emptiness of the treasury and revolts also obliged him to disperse them (3).

3. Chénier, Recherches historiques /Historical Investigations/, Vol. III, pp. 424, 437, 488, 489; "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, pp. 313-332.

/370/ In former times the Almohades and Mérinides had been able to attract into their capitals Christian mercenaries as well as Turkish renegades and Persians. The support that they gave to the ruler was all the more loyal because they were without strong ties in the country (1).

1. Cf. concerning the Almohade "Ghozz" of Egyptian origin, El Marrakchi /Histoire des Almohades/, Fagnan trans., p. 251, and concerning the "Djond," ibid., p. 298. Concerning the Christian troops, P. de Cenival, "L'Église chrétienne de Marrakech /The Christian Church of Marrakech/," Hespéris, 1927, pp. 73-83.

But after Morocco closed itself to the West and feared Turkish influence, these elements disappeared. The Saadian or Filalian sultans were then most often constrained to call on Arab tribes, whose devotion was less certain and who many times caused the fall of those who used them.

/370 cont./

000 In the history of the South the most important Arab groups who intervened in the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ are the Oulad Mot'a under the Saadians, dispersed, however, by Ahmed el Mansour, at present neighbors of the Gedmiwa; the Menabha, settled both to the west of Marrakech and to the east of Taroudant; the Chebbanat, instruments of the fall of the last of the Saadians and deported in various directions; finally the Chararda, made up of various elements, Zirara, Chebbanat, Oulad Dlim, Tekna, Ida ou Blal, whose last uprisings near Marrakech disturbed the reigns of Moulay Sliman and Moulay 'Abd er Rahman (2).

2. [illegible]tiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. [illegible]. 86.

These "gich" tribes, forming a kind of military colony distributed around Marrakech, were exempt from the tax and owned their lands by permanent or precarious title. Moreover, they received monthly subsidies, but in all circumstances had to furnish contingents raised by a simple notice from the sultan's representative, who was settled in the casbah of the capital of the South with the title of pasha. Organized into "thousands," "hundreds," or smaller fractions, commanded by military kaids, they took part in all the expeditions necessitated by the re-establishment of order and the recovering of taxes. These Arabs' ties of alliance with their Ma'qil brothers of the Sahara were not without importance for governing the country. Besides, since the sultans repeatedly chose wives among these Arab tribes, their descendants could in numerous circumstances find useful support among their uncles of the desert. The sultan Moulay /371/ 'Abdallah, driven from power several times by rebelling blacks, proved the benefit of this alliance, consistent with the most ancient principles of the Semitic tradition (1).

1. Georges Marçais, Arabes en Berbérie /Arabs in Barbary/, p. 706.

*631 648 In the same way, the chiefs of the Atlas, among the Haha and the Mtougga, could sometimes, thanks to family unions, call on the

/371 cont./

*631 648 co-operation of the Howara or of the Arab fractions integrated into the Berbère /Berber/ confederation of the Chtouka, and bring the intervention of the Arab tribes into the quarrels of the Berbère tribes of the mountains.

We have mentioned elsewhere the role played by the Arab kaids of the tribes settled to the east of Marrakech in governing the tribes of the South: Rehamna and Segharna were often, until the reign of Moulay el Hasan, in charge of ensuring, on behalf of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the collection of the taxes and carrying out the police circuits on the Saharan versant of the Atlas and in the Dadès and the Haut-Dra (2).

2. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Book III, Ch. III.

648 619 On the whole, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes proved to be more obstinate about entering the sultan's service in a body. True, we have seen them give all their support to the Saadian shorfa in the Sous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in their capacity as "moujahidin," enemies of the Portuguese, that these shorfa could appeal to the independent tribes of the Anti-Atlas. As soon as their power had taken on the air of royalty and they began to follow the constant rules of the Makhzen in their government, the Berbère /Berber/ contingents of the Anti-Atlas scattered, and the Saadians, doubtless against their will, had to call on the turbulent Arab tribes of the plain of the Haouz. In the same way the Masmouda ranged themselves for a time at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the maraboutic domination of Abou Zakaria, grandson of Sidi Saïd Ou ʿAbd en Naïm, but also abandoned him when he tried to take supreme power in Marrakech.

Among the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the South only the Haha seem to have contributed, especially during the nineteenth century, toward extending and strengthening the sultan's

/371 cont./

648 domination in the Sous plain and over the Dir of the Anti-Atlas
619 (3).

3. It may be that the Skoura, the Mesgita, and the Aït Seddrat, totally or partially Arabized at present, however, formerly played in the Haut-Dra a role analogous to that of the Haha. These tribes are considered in the country as having had former relations with the Makhzen /makhzan/.

648 /372/ Finally, in most of its military expeditions the Makhzen used at all times, in addition to the "gich" and "ᶜabid," numerous contingents raised on the spot while passing through the subject tribes. This occasional military service, known in the country by the name of "naiba," was rendered especially by the Haha and the populations of the plains.

000 The organization of sherifian troops on the march has often been described; it is known that a representative of the sultan, generally chosen from among his relatives, is the supreme chief of the "mehalla" and is assisted by a kaid who holds all military authority.

When the sultan himself leads the column, he carries in his train, on the backs of mules, the gold ingots that constitute his treasury, as well as his archives and his most valuable possessions. He might indeed fear that a revolt would strip him of them if he left them behind in one of the towns of his Empire (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 274; Cour, Établissement des Chorfa /Establishment of the Shorfa/, pp. 5 and 92.

III. "The tax circuits." -- The principal use of the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to permit proceeding at any time to collect the tax. It is certainly by that function that the central

/372 cont./

000 government is best known to the Berbères /Berbers/, and the "harka" or the "mehalla" of the sultan generally interferes with the tribes only to fill up the emptiness of the Treasury.

It is known that the tax problem is one of the most serious that the Mussulman State has to solve. Religious law has carefully fixed the nature of the various contributions. The "zekkat" and the "ᶜachour" are the only legal taxes that can be demanded of Mussulman tribes. The "kharaj," land tax on the conquered lands, has always been regarded as an exaction by the Berbères /Berbers/, who claim to have embraced Islam voluntarily (2).

2. Van den Berg, Principes de droit musulman /Principles of Mussulman Law/, pp. 243-244; Doutté, "Les causes de la chute d'un sultan /The Causes of a Sultan's Downfall/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1909, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 222.

The very destination of the contributions has been arranged by the commentators, so that the sultan has the greatest difficulties in providing maintenance for his army, which has no resources other than part of the booty taken from the enemy and the taxes imposed on Jews and Christians. Barely to be pointed out are the little Kharejite /Kharijite/ states, which succeeded in adapting to these imperative rules by /373/ preserving a rough life comparable to that of the ancient times of the Prophet.

For two centuries the establishment of market rights (meks), toll charges at river crossings or at the entrance to the towns, supplementary taxes on fabrics and precious objects have been the subject of impassioned discussions by jurists, who have always criticized these illegal contributions, excusable only because of the harshness of the times and the impoverishment of the sherifian

/373 cont./
000 treasury (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 279, Vol. X, pp. 97-98.

Chénier was already pointing out, in the reign of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah, the ruinous state of the empire's finances and the constant depreciation of the currency. The opening of Morocco to European commerce precipitated, in the course of the nineteenth century, a financial crisis that has been one of the most active causes of the collapse of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (2).

2. The consequences of this situation made themselves felt in a manner particularly painful for the populations of the Sous.

This aspect of the organization of the State had particular importance for the life of the tribes; in all circumstances and especially for three generations the sultan had to require of the subject tribes not only the zekkat and the ᶜachour, but also extraordinary impositions limited only by the strength of the resistance that the populations of the "bled makhzen" could offer. The usual intermediaries, kaids and sheiks, for their part, further increased the value and the number of these "frida." The half-subdued tribes contented themselves with paying their quota at the time of the quite regular passage of the sherifian "mehalla." Furthermore they estimated the sum they had to pay by taking into account the distance separating their territory from the itinerary followed by the sultan's forces. If revolts, weakness of power, or some other cause suspended the collection of the taxes for a few years, they were totaled up on the following circuit, which was then carried out with considerable forces in order to obtain the maximum of the sums claimed by the Treasury.

The execution of these tax circuits, which permitted supporting the great of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the "gich" tribes, was followed according to rules well known by the tribes.

/373 cont./

000 Local resistance was overcome either by the effective occupation of villages, pillage, destruction of houses, search for silos, and the /374/ capture of flocks, or by exciting the zeal of the nearby tribes, enemies of the refractory groups and who were thus interested in the profitable collection of the taxes. In all circumstances, the taking of hostages facilitated the definitive settlement of disputes, and the passage of the "mehalla" to a neighboring tribe was obtained after submission and mutual concessions over the sums claimed and offered.

In the subjugated tribes we find settled in the vicinity of the houses of chiefs small groups of Jews who in an indirect manner contribute toward facilitating the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Mixed up in the recovering of the taxes, because they are always ready to advance, sometimes with the money of the kaid himself, the sums claimed from the peasants in the sultan's name, these Jews have played a role, obscure but sometimes important, in the internal life of the tribes. Grouped especially at the foot of the Atlas, at the point where at the same time political action is exercised and where economic transactions multiply, they are often the index of the recent penetration of the Makhzen (1).

1. Other Jews' quarters exist, sometimes in the high mountains in the Atlas (Tifnout, Glawa), but especially in the Anti-Atlas. It may be that there we find ourselves in the presence of the degenerate remains of ancient Judaized Berbère /Berber/ populations. Local traditions often show that these groups were much more numerous in the past and that conversions to Islam obtained by main strength made them disappear.

648 IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- It is easy to find in the detailed account of the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the South of Morocco in the course of the last century the

/374 cont./

648 application of general principles of the policy with regard to the tribes, which have not ceased to be respected since the time of the Saadians.

The first of these practical rules is mistrust with regard to the Berbères /Berbers/ who inhabit the inaccessible districts: "Beware especially," said Ahmed el Mansour to his son, "of enrolling among the fusiliers the mountain people, who think only of eating well and getting rich; one should not take any at all, for, understand it well, by acting thus it is as if you wanted them not to pay you any more taxes, either now or later" (2).

2. Nezoht el Hadi, Houdas trans., p. 288.

Mohammed Echcheikh el Asghar also had this word sent to Mohammed Ben Echcherif at Sidjilmassa: "Never attack the Berbères /Berbers/ in their mountains; wait until you find an easier way to reach them" (3).

3. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

/375/ There remain then for subjugating the tribes the combatants raised in the plains of the Sous, the Dra, or the Azaghar of Marrakech. Most are Arabs whose loyalty is doubtful, and it is necessary, when they are false, to penetrate into their territory "with troops who loot everything and kill mercilessly"; but in spite of their inconstancy they still form the solidest rampart of the dynasty. "Bind to you," said a ruler," the heart of the Arabs, know what they are capable of, and then you will know confidently what you can expect from each tribe" (1).

1. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

The two poles of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous are the casbah of Marrakech and that of Taroudant. This latter town, however, too often threatened by uprisings and far out of the way from the middle of Berbère /Berber/ country,

/375 cont./

648 cannot be a point of support adequate for facilitating important undertakings. It appears as an active center only at long intervals, in periods of calm, and its importance is second by far to the capital of the Haouz. It is therefore above all in the activity of the pashas of the casbah of Marrakech, exercised over the tribes of the north of the Atlas, that it is possible to find the best examples of the politics of the Makhzen.

648 *631 Keeping the country in relative order, maintaining the tribes and their chiefs in a state of weakness, so that the collection of the tax may be as easy as possible, such is the essential preoccupation of these governors. They carefully watch the kaids named by the sultan in the tribes of the Dir, maintain their divisions, and set them against one another so that they cannot dangerously enlarge their command. They see to it that their casbahs are constructed in places easy to reach and fear letting sheiks too far away in the interior of the great chain take power (2).

2. Cf. above, Book III, Ch. II, p. 415.

If they sometimes act contrary to this rule, as Brahim el Grawi did with respect to the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, it is in order, it seems, to chop up commands that appear too large to them. In the reign of Sidi Mohammed, the Gedmiwa of the Dir are subject to three minor kaids. Upon the death of the great kaid of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the confederation is immediately split up into three parts, and /376/ later Moulay el Hasan established there five chiefs closely watched by "oumana" (1).

1. Moulay el Hasan feared the development of the kaids' power in the tribes, after the example given by El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi.

"All the Sultan's efforts," says Eckmann, "lead toward substituting in the Berbère /Berber/ tribes the authority of the kaid for that of the jemaᶜa, and in the Arab tribes toward replacing natural groupings by artificial groupings, in such

/376 cont./

648
*631

/footnote 1 continued/ a way as to increase the yield of the taxes and to triumph more easily over local resistances. For this purpose he substituted for the 18 major commands that formerly existed (for the whole Empire) a considerable number of small groups -- about 330 -- at the head of each of which is found a kaid. The new kaids are inconsequential personages who cannot dream of resisting the orders that they receive; the cohesion of the tribes is destroyed, and the taxes come in more easily. But unfortunately it happens that the country thus oppressed by a crowd of kaids and their confederates is marching toward certain ruin." Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122.

Finally, since in all circumstances the fiction of the Makhzen /makhzan/ must be safeguarded up to within the unsubdued high mountains, the title of kaid is even given to notables without true authority, who accept the risk of protecting the cause of the Makhzen by their own means in the high valleys. Such in the reign of Moulay el Hasan were Mohammed ou Mansour of the Seksawa, named among the Aït Haddiyous, and the ephemeral Bou L'achrat among the Ida Ou Tanan (2).

2. Cf. above.

Sherifian policy moreover knows how to utilize local circumstances admirably, and when commands are too split up, it progressively unites them. Then we see the sultan's representatives act with admirable patience: first of all, the authority of the most reliable amghars is confirmed, generally by giving them the title of kaid, then they are set against one another, while later losing no opportunity to get rid of the defeated ones and to

/376 cont./

648 organize a single command (3).

*631

3. Cf. "La Tribu de Massat /The Massat Tribe/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 392. With respect to the marabouts themselves, the sultan knows how to give proof of great cleverness and to utilize all their moral influence to strengthen his operations in the tribes. Moulay el Hasan's relations with the sherif of the Tazerwalt in the course of the second Sous expedition can be given as one of the best examples of the flexibility of a political operation entirely crowned with success. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Géranton, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, p. 192.

Often, in the regions controlled best by the Sultan, the kaids' authority is limited by that of the "oumana," for although the tribal chiefs merit the name of "honest servants" in sherifian literature, the sultans have never hesitated to set down very freely the thefts and exactions that most of them committed (4).

[631]

4. On the occasion of a famine, loans of money had been granted to the populations by Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben ʿAbdallah. Writing afterward to his people that he was giving up recovering his advances, this sovereign said, "I have not given you this money with the intention of reclaiming it from you, I have told you that it was a loan solely in order that it would not be secured by your sheiks and your notables for themselves, which they would have done if they had known that it was a gift on my part." "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 333.

648 /377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from
*631 among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collec-
651 tion of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648 V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What
619 characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively re-
177 duced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed
*634 in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner
*631 different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda^{c}" or of "jema^{c}a," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

648
619
177
*634
*631

/377 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last; in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

/378 cont./

648 619 177 * [634] * [631] [113] [651]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] [113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623] [632]

/378 cont./

648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).
619
177
[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*63 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fraction-
[616] ing contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[342] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1).

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
901 tation only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
*631 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
912 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
159 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
*631 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
571 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
574 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
431 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/383 cont./

*631 648 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 648 829 619 661 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid himself who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the transformation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 648 661

* 631 * 634 602 661 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 661 602 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin, while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

/384 cont./

*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. [662] Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

565 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

/385 cont./

648 619 669 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until the strongest or cleverest has won. [175] The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 648 669 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/386 cont./

175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
*631 by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
175 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
648 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
669 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
*631 and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double stages, sought refuge with Si ᶜAisa ben ᶜOmar, the powerful kaid of the ᶜAbda, and from there reached their country in secret. Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi, succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the difficulties of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at grips with Bou Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long months of effort.

178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
669 and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
*631 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transfor-
*634 mation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its "siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as formerly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

/387 cont./

178 of Aït Arba^c in and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
*634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
648 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
669 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
178 to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are re-
[616] peated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids re-
appear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arba^c in are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.
669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït 'Aïsi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Iâa Ou Zikki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants. Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
648 the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
671 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/389 cont./

177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
648 the same time the part of the "chra^c" /shar^c/ grows unceasingly:
671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
177 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes,
648 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
671 the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba^cin, falls into the hands of
* 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of
* 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that
[681] take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least
[693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader: but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berberie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid: the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/393/

000

Conclusion
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

121 171 I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- In the various regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, as we have seen in the course of this long study, the same social institutions rule the Masmouda, sequestered in the depths of the remote valleys of the Deren, the inhabitants of the market towns and hamlets that rise on the parched plateaus of the Anti-Atlas, the Jbala and the Riffians in their harsh mountains with peaks crowned with cedars, as well as the Kabyles of Algeria whose villages occupy the summits of the Djurjura like eagles' nests.

In all these regions, separated from one another by immense spaces, men live while obeying the same laws in spite of their diversity of origin and notwithstanding the variety of the conditions of material existence. That they have kept their millenary traditions they owe to the isolation of their territories. The present-day evidence of their institutions has a historic value; they give us the picture of what the Maghreb might have been if the Arab invasions in the East and the formation of the great Empires in the West had not ruined the minuscule states in which the Berbères /Berbers/ like to conceal their activity.

121 * 634 571 171 [642] Two primordial tendencies determine the political life of the Berbères /Berbers/: in the first place they feel repugnance toward the constitution of a state of some size, they spontaneously organize themselves everywhere into small units whose dimensions do not exceed those of a mere /394/ canton and which are the veritable fatherland for the sedentary peoples; in the second place, by a kind of instinctive genius, the Berbères /Berbers/ form systems of balanced alliances that permit the small autonomous

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the boundaries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
578 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^c^cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
* 634 a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great Kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
128 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
* 631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*631 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
926 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
* 634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
* 634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*634 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of
*631 the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said, within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*634 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbère /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagoustaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /Ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

/401 cont./

Maghreb the Fatimides /Fatimids/ paved the way for the conquest of Ifriqiya, Sicily, Egypt, and Syria in the tenth century. They too, proceeded "from the inside to the outside." We see them first of all join together, thanks to an active religious preaching, the forces, scattered until then, of the tribes of the Koutama and make out of them the reservoir of energy from which they will countlessly draw; after the conquest of the towns of Ifriqiya, these rude peasants will moreover become, like the Almohade Berbères /Berbers/ of the Nefis, the true masters of the country and will receive "as recompense for their services, sums of money, beautiful slaves, and important commands"; later, it is again by carrying with him into Egypt the nation of the Koutama, organized into tribes, that El Moezz will found his eastern Empire (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 225; Vol. II, p. 511 and sqq.; E.-F. Gautier, Les Siècles obscurs du Maghreb /The Obscure Centuries of the Maghreb/, pp. 308-330. M. Gautier points out rightly that the Berbère /Berber/ States of the upper Middle Ages were often founded by foreigners: Idris, Obeid Allah, ᶜAbd el Moumen, Roustem (p. 312). But it is necessary to note that these leaders were always adopted by a group; the agreement of enemy soffs was obtained more easily in their name; their quality as foreigners thus facilitated their beginnings, and later they followed Berbère /Berber/ tradition by utilizing the forces of the tribes that accepted them as masters.

We must doubtless give up forever learning how, in the heart of the country of the sedentary Senhaja of Algeria, the minor kings of Achir and of the Qala in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the rival lords of Kouko and Beni Abbès in the sixteenth century, succeeded in founding their kingdoms among tribes still in our

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates 631 from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of 669 Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
66a revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
/403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes
648 his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

R
175 /403 cont./
63! mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are in-
171 spired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like it-
*631 self. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly de-
554 voted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all cir-
182 cumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
171 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their mem-
*631 ory, as do all the companions from their village associated with
554 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
182 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
578 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
*[634] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his
[616] canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

/406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
121 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
171 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
578 house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despot-
ism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the charac-
teristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouïas and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the marabouts principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

792 /408 cont./
795 to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain,
*631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.
171 In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these marabouts states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Talbi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi 'Ali Ambarouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792 The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
795 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families,
*631 thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the
182 fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force: the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their samias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the pensions, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance: it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger [578] branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity [178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
*631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
648 brotherhood of the Derqawa: in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the dwells
171 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries between the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the development of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
792 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
795 efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
*631 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
648 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less servile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that of the representatives of the Sultan.

Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
178 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
792 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
795 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
*631 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regrage of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wimadon among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary populations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peaceful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constructions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
*631 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
648 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
17 in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 578 669 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

792 The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law 671 ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks 693 that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*634 343 712 652 466 653 At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

423 166 Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

735 When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

/413 cont./

*631 648 17 [735] of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent populations, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty, calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty, while the more disturbed government of the independent republics alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institutions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions. The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal government of ancient times.

*631 648 17 153 [669]

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

/414 cont./

648 laws -- above all, our habits of mind thus led us to establish complete identity between the far Maghreb and the Empire. In truth, this confusion was justified to a certain degree only for the region of the towns and plains, in the whole extent of the "bled el Makhzen"; consequently, as long as our efforts were exerted within the former boundaries in which the tribes had entirely forgotten their past institutions and had even yielded to the practices of the Mussulman monarchy, no doubt arose as to the value of our fiction. Even more, its accuracy could seem proven when a leader of genius had understood that by acquiring the political heritage of sherifian prestige, based on memories of the last military expeditions of the Sultans in the Sous and the Tafilelt, it would be easier to defeat the pretenders and the leaders of holy war, springing up from all sides on the frontiers of the subject country; it was permissible to believe for a time that the successes obtained with so much cleverness and effort justified the intentions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to set up a State without internal frontiers, in the bosom of which all the subjects were to live without local institutions, guided by the single law of Islam, under the authority of absolute chiefs, according to the example of the monarchies of the East.

/415/ Certainly it had not escaped the Résident Général of France in Morocco from our first contact with the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ that the Berbère pastoralists of central Morocco had customs different from those of the Arabs of the plains; in 1914, laws fortunately sanctioned the institutions and the law of these tribes; soon in these regions one even saw the kaids that we had imposed accept the judicial authority of the councils of notables, thus indicating the humble situation of the Makhzen in a country where the assemblies of family heads had remained all-powerful. Everywhere, even in the parts of the country where in the course of the conquest we met powerful temporal leaders -- like those of the Zayan -- the abuses of the sherifian government had up to then remained unknown; respect for the Berbère /Berber/ traditions was asserting itself with undeniable vitality.

/415 cont./

648 But also at the same time the Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ and Zénètes of central Morocco, who had stayed outside the Empire up to this time, were not ceasing to offer furious resistance to our advance; the harsh conquest of the Beni Warain in 1923, that of the Aït Seghrouchen and of the Marmoucha in 1926 were showing the obstinate will of the independent communities to defend their liberty; at the time that we are terminating this study, the large confederations of the Aït Sokhman, of the Aït Seri, Aït Yahya, Aït Yafelman, and Aït Moghrad, settled on the two versants of the Atlas, are assembling their forces, multiplying their attacks in the subject plains, and putting the confines of the "bled el Makhzen" in peril one last time; thus they are indicating their will to remain as long as possible outside the Empire, whose life moreover they are disturbing profoundly.

Among the sedentary peoples of the south of Morocco, with whose life we have tried to become acquainted, events that have taken place for five years, while we were proceeding with our investigations in the tribes, show plainly how much the nature of the institutions differs from those that the presence of the great kaids left us to imagine at the beginning; they enable us to understand the profound tendencies of this region whose existence had been changed by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and which was shutting itself up in a bleak passivity crossed by revolts.

Successively, the disappearance of the small states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi, the constant weakening of the prestige of the Glawa /416/ at the confines of the Sahara, the effort of the Berbères /Berbers/ remaining free at the limit of the commands to treat with France without intermediaries indeed made manifest the fragility of a political edifice whose feudal aspect had already been imprudently outlined by writers fond of exoticism. At the same time, the submission of the last dissident tribes of the western Atlas, in the region of the Tichka and of the Ida Ou Tanan, which we have so often studied in order to understand the nature of the traditional institutions of the Sous, gave us new proof of the effort of the montagnards to escape the grasp of the great chiefs whose domination they feared with good reason.

/416 cont./

648 In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being
[178] held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ᶜAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more
177 peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life
166 that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of
*634 that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
171 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

/417 cont./

000 By recalling here the existence of the internal forces that still dominate the life of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes and survive conquest and submission to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, we have wished to contribute toward indicating the direction in which the efforts of France in the future can render less harsh the condition of a people who have often tried, by unconscious steps, in the course /418/ of a restless history, to realize the contradictory dream of prosperity in anarchy or power in violence and oppression.

To be sure, among these hidden energies, which always remain ready to manifest themselves in the mountain communities, some are capable only of destroying and cannot henceforth find a place in a new order: they are the ones that make an appeal to the dreams of warlike independence and dissension and liberate in an instant the passions shut up in hearts for some years of an imposed peace. These forces belong to the past and their unleashing is excused if one thinks of the memories of poverty that are connected with the domination of the former Makhzen. Other tendencies, on the contrary, orient the life of these primitives toward a better future: the spirit of association, so highly developed and so flexible that it could permit the founding of economic institutions as perfect as the large agadirs of the Sous; the most lasting attachment to the ties of brotherhood capable of uniting the voluntary emigrants with one another, far as they are from their canton of origin.

It is certainly by this fidelity to the mysterious ideas of leff or of tribe that the Berbères /Berbers/ are best distinguished from the cultivators of the plains of the "bled el Makhzen," so prompt to abandon their soil because they are no longer attached to it by ancient traditions. In vain in our day do the roads begin to penetrate to the center of the most inaccessible regions of the Atlas; in the cars and rapid trains that cross the Maghreb, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ take along with them the ineradicable and constant memory of their house, their land, their brothers, and

/418 cont./

000 their enemies; everywhere they reconstitute this tribe and this canton within which is shut up all their life and their ideal.

The nostalgic song with which they then, at a distance, like to lull the sadness of their exile brings to us, as far as the cities of the North, the secret of their strength and weakness: in that phrase indefinitely repeated, which is the echo of the Berbère /Berber/ choruses in the mountains, their soul is exposed; it evokes the harsh life of the Atlas, which the poets know how to adorn with a smile, the charm of freedom, the simplicity of a narrow existence, imprisoned by immutable traditions, which stubbornly impose on men the same acts in the same places.

Having no fatherland other than their group of villages, no laws other /419/ than their customs, the Berbères /Berbers/ remain insensitive to the pride of belonging to the Empire. With [648] respect to that Makhzen, whose authority formerly brought them only ruin, they bear witness only to a conventional fidelity inspired by fear; it is from France that they await in silence, with a patience already uneasy at times, recognition of their simple aspirations of justice and a better life.

Perhaps it is not foolhardy to hope that a day will come when the mountain tribes, whose territory outlines large natural regions on the border of the former "bled el Makhzen," will be able, thanks to our support, to free themselves to a certain extent from the too-narrow bonds in which the sherifian tradition today encloses them. In those provinces far away from the towns, for which the history of the country suffices to trace the boundaries quite accurately, the Berbères /Berbers/ will become aware with more force, under an administrative regime adapted to their existence, of the very durable bonds that connect them to their soil.

Such a reform would answer the wish of the populations who manifest, by muffled appeals, their desire to escape the economic

/419 cont./

000 and social leveling of the subjugated plains, or bear witness, by a furious resistance to our advance, to their attachment to their secular customs. At the same time for the far Maghreb it would be a pledge of internal peace and a guarantee of prosperity.

Already, as a matter of fact, at the spectacle of the political evolution of Islam, so rapid in other countries, the city youth of the capitals of the old Empire feels invincibly attracted by dangerous novelties. Nowhere, undoubtedly, so much as in North Africa would the sudden conflict of the most modern ideas and of primitive life have as a consequence a renewal of the peoples' disorder and poverty.

Only an appeal to the powers of preservation of Berberie /Barbary/, which have remained sovereign in a large part of Morocco, will in the future permit attenuating the collision of the habitudes of the past and the illusions of the future. This country will find only in respect for its customs, in attachment to its local modes of speaking, in love of its traditions, the strength to resist the vertigo into which the modernized Empires of the East already find themselves swept along on the uncertain and perilous path of the struggle of nations. /Page 420 is blank./

2: Montagne--539 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

Works and Monographs Utilized

113

A. Bernard. — *Les confins algéro-marocains*, Paris, 1911.
M. Ben Daoud. — Recueil du droit coutumier de Massat. *Hesperis*, 1924.
M. Ben Daoud. — Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du Sud-Marocain. *Hesperis*, 1927.
M. Ben Daoud. — *'Orf de l'Agadir de Tamellokt* (en préparation).
G.-S. Colin. — Confédération des Senhaja de Sreir (Tribu des Ktama), *Archives D. A. I.* (1) (avril 1926).
G.-S. Colin. — Histoire politique des Senhaja de Sreir, *Archives D. A. I.* (avril 1926).
G. S. Colin. — *Notes sur les Ghomara* (Étude en préparation).
E. Doutté. — Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905 (Renseignements Coloniaux).
J. Dumaine. — Les éléments du problème du Rif, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, supplément 2 *bis*, 1926.
A. Ghirelli. — *Monografia de la Cabila de Beni Tuzin*. Madrid, 1923.
E. Geranton. — Les expéditions de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, 1924 (Renseignements Coloniaux, n° 9).
Cdt Justinard. — Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbère. *Hesperis*, 1925.
Cdt Justinard. — Notes d'histoire du Sous au xixe siècle. *Hesperis*, 1925-1926.
Lt Labonne. — Notice sur les Glaoua, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1913.
F. de la Chapelle. — Note sommaire de renseignements sur les tribus du grand Atlas et du Dir dépendant du Caïd Mtouggi, *Archives D. A. I.*, avril 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Le Grand Atlas du Mtouggi. Notes historiques, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Les tribus des Nfifa et des Hassein, *Archives D. A. I.* juillet 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Les Douiran, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Les Seksaoua, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Les Demsira, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Les Ida ou Mahmoud, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.
F. de la Chapelle. — Si Mokhtar Seksawi. *Hesperis*, 1928.
F. de la Chapelle. — Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1928.
F. de la Chapelle. — Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, Renseignements Coloniaux, octobre 1927.
Ch. de Foucauld. — *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris, 1888.
E. Levi Provençal. — Les influences religieuses au Rif et chez les Jbala, *Archives D. A. I.*, février 1926.
Cdt Maillet. — Notes sur les tribus du commandement de Si Hammo Glaoui, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1918.

(1) Direction des Affaires Indigènes.

2: Montagne--540 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/422/

113

Cne Malval. — Les tribus dissidentes de l'annexe de Tiznit, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

Cne Malval. — Note historique sur l'annexe de Tiznit, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

R. Montagne. — Le régime juridique des tribus du Sud-Marocain. *Hesperis*, 1924.

R. Montagne. — Une tribu berbère du Sud-Marocain, Massat, *Hesperis*, 1924.

R. Montagne. — Notes historiques sur les Haha, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1925.

R. Montagne. — Note historique sur la tribu des Gedmiwa, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. Montagne. — Note historique sur la tribu des Ouzgita, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. Montagne. — Notice provisoire sur l'Ogdemt, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. Montagne. — Note sur Tisguine, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. Montagne. — Note sur la haute vallée de l'Asif el Mal, *Archives D. A I.*, janvier 1925.

R. Montagne. — L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas. *Hesperis*, 1927.

R. Montagne. — La tribu des Mzouda, *Archives D. A. I.*, avril 1925.

R. Montagne. — Note sur les Aït Waouzgit (région du Sirwa), *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1925.

R. Montagne. — La formation du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft, *Memorial H. Basset.* Paris, 1929, p. 169.

R. Montagne. — Les Aït Semmeg, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1925.

R. Montagne. — Quelques aspects de la transformation politique du Rif, *Archives D. A. I.*, octobre 1925.

R. Montagne. — Le Makhzen d'Abd el Kerim et les Beni Ouriaghel, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1925.

R. Montagne. — Les tribus des Boni Itteft, Beni Bou Frah et Mestassa, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. Montagne. — La tribu des Boqqoya, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. Montagne. — La tribu des Beni Ouriaghel, *Archives D. A. I.*, janvier 1926.

R. Montagne. — La tribu de Targuist, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1925.

R. Montagne. — La Confédération des Senhaja de Srair, *Archives D. A. I.*, janvier 1926.

R. Montagne. — Note sur les marabouts et chorfa du Rif et des Jbala, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

R. Montagne et P. Pennès. — Carte provisoire du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. Montagne et P. Pennès. — Les Ida Ou Tanan, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1926.

R. Montagne. — Organisation des tribus berbères indépendantes. Les Ida ou Tanan, *Revue des Etudes islamiques*, 1927.

R. Montagne. — Notice provisoire sur les Ammeln, Ida ou Ktir, Ida ou Gnidif, Ammanouz, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1928.

E. Michaux-Bellaire. — Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt, *Archives marocaines*, t. XVII.

Usach et Rackow. — *Sitte und Recht in Nord Afrika* (Ida ou Zikki, Ida ou Zal, Todgha), Stuttgart, 1923.

The citations from the Kitab el Ibar of Ibn Khaldoun have been taken from the French translation by M. G. de Slane (Histoire des Berbères), Paris.

000

/i/

Index of Toponyms.
of Names of Social Groups and Institutions

/The numbers refer to the page numbers of the original source, which are given in slashes in the translation./

A

Achir, 401.
Adad Medni, 21.
Adasil, 190, 310, 313, 318, 319, 321.
Adebdi, 279, 2.
Adouz, 192.
Adrar Meqqorn, 20.
Adrar n Tasaft, 277.
Adrar Waklim, 20.
Afella Issen, 353.
Afella Wasif (Ait Mzal), 163.
Afoughal, 35, 89, 410.
Ajous, 155.
Agadir (Ighir), 18, 21, 22, 83, 86, 90, 103, 134, 253.
Agadir n Jorf, 86, 99.
Agadir n Gouj, 342.
Agadir n Waddar, 303.
Agellid, 323.
Agergour, 126, 133, 275, 276, 277, 301, 336.
Aggonsan, cf. Ait Waggonsan.
Aghbalou (Massat), 162.
Aghbar (Gedmiwa), 12, 18, 134, 162, 186, 191, 223, 231, 276, 308, 336.
Aghmat, 28, 38, 58, 59, 60, 74.
Aglagal, 91.
Aglou, 21, 139.
Agrao, 62, 175.
Agsel, 156.
Ahansal, 411.
Ahel Sahel, 99.
Ahlaf, 33.
Ait Amer (Anti-Atlas), 19, 137, 202, 292, 330.
Ait Amer (Haha), 35, 130, 222.
Ait 'Abdallah (Anti-Atlas), 20.
Ait 'Abdallah (Beni Ouriaghel), 239.
Ait 'Abdallah (Seksawa), 135, 158, 278.
Ait 'Abdallah (Sirwa), 136.
Ait 'Addi, 126.
Ait 'Aissi (Haha), 35, 47, 74, 130, 155, 159, 388.
Ait Aougga (Seksawa), 158.
Ait Arba'in, 130, 221.
Ait Atman (Ieff), 185, 195, 276, 282, 301, 305, 316, 328, 330, 344.
Ait Atman (Sirwa), 264, 350.
Ait 'Atta, 8, 14, 149, 168.
Ait Ba'amran, 16, 19, 112, 114.
Ait Bou Yahya, 41.
Ait Breher, 158, 355.
Ait Brihim, 202.
Ait Cha'ib, 158, 226.
Ait Daoud (Demsira), 354.
Ait Daoud (Ida Ou Bouzia), 87, 410.
Ait Dris, 159.
Ait Fadomt (Ieff), 185, 195, 199, 330.
Ait Fenser, 202.
Ait Gair, 127, 227, 254, 278, 314, 315, 356.
Ait Gassa, 314.
Ait Haddido, 168.
Ait Haddiyous, 40, 135, 158, 160 169, 192, 220, 282, 312, 315, 318, 340, 355, 356.
Ait Hamid, 202.
Ait Ihklef (Ieff), 195.
Ait Imini, 350.
Ait Iraten (Ieff), 185, 195, 276, 282, 305, 316, 330, 346, 350.
Ait Lhasen, 135, 158, 273.
Ait Lemsour, 154.
Ait Maghlif, 136, 258.
Ait Mesa'oud, 353.
Ait Mgild, 181, 238.
Ait Mhand Ou Mousa, 355.
Ait Mehand (Seksawa), 158, 159, 281.
Ait Mimoun, 336.
Ait Moghrad, 168, 415.
Ait Mousa (Seksawa), 158, 278, 309.
Ait Mousi, 18.
Ait Mrait, 207.
Ait Mzal, 15, 47, 64, 163, 201, 202, 203, 204, 229.
Ait Ndhir, 181, 238.
Ait Ouazhgi, 290.

2: Montagne--542 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

Ait Ou'azzoun, 130, 149, 169, 228, 229, 231, 289.
Ait Oubial, 350.
Ait Oughgoummi, 207.
Ait Oughir, 126.
Ait Ou Hamden, 350.
Ait Oulma, 230.
Ait Oumalou, 367.
Ait Ou Mribet, 138.
Ait Oumzal, 282.
Ait Ousa, 207.
Ait Qalla, 136, 258.
Ait Qasem, 239.
Ait Qodni, 195.
Ait Seddrat, 34, 341, 371.
Ait Seghrouchen, 415.
Ait Semmeg (Anti-Atlas), 35, 336.
Ait Semmeg (Haut-Atlas), 12, 35, 134, 159, 198, 284, 304, 340, 349.
Ait Seri, 415.
Ait Shaq (Seksawa), 158.
Ait Sokhman, 168, 415.
Ait Soual, 279.
Ait Swab, 156.
Ait Tabgao, 313, 378.
Ait Tadrart, 258, 302, 316, 350.
Ait Tagmout, 207.
Ait Tamedlou, 165.
Ait Tammast, 330.
Ait Tamment, 93.
Ait Tawiya, 350, 351, 352.
Ait Tigdi Ouchchen, 350.
Ait Tigidar, 189, 192, 231, 254, 260, 378.
Ait Tigouga, 249, 279.
Ait Tikiwit, 207.
Ait Tiksit, 192, 314, 356.
Ait Tilet, 355.
Ait Tinkert, 130, 169, 289, 291.
Ait Tinmellel, 62, 63, 64.
Ait Tintlet (leff), 195, 315.
Ait Tiyout, 207.
Ait Tisgi, 207.
Ait Tmighat, 207.
Ait Tounert, 161, 180, 226, 282, 312.
Ait Tskawin, 235.
Ait Tzeggout (leff), 185, 199.
Ait Wadouz, 309.
Ait Wadrim, 156, 229.
Ait Waggonsan, 193, 223, 279, 356.
Ait Wagrou, 207.
Ait Waliad, 156.
Ait Wanoukrim, 130, 230, 292.
Ait Wanzig, 230.
Ait Waouzgit, 14, 19, 30, 64, 67, 121, 129, 136, 155, 165, 166, 195, 205, 225, 228, 254, 259, 284, 285, 305, 351 et sqq, 336, 340, 341, 350, 351, 352.
Ait Wartassa, 350.
Ait Wasif Nfis, 70, 133, 185, 232, 340.
Ait Wasif (Ouzgita), 377.
Ait Wasif (Seksawa), 158.
Ait Wignan, 156.
Ait Yafelman, 8, 415.
Ait Yahya, 415.
Ait Yalmazdog, 199.
Ait Yighaz, 64, 67.
Ait Zelten, 74, 381.
Ait Zineb, 330, 335, 350.
Ait Zolit (leff), 185, 193, 194, 195, 199, 280, 357.
Afoughal, 85.
Ajdir, 253, 296, 402.
Akhsas, 201.
Algesiras, 73.
Alhucemas, 241, 295, 402.
Alquel, 89.
Amanouz, 15.
Amasin (Ikhozamen), 40, 264.
Ameskroud, 90, 92.
Amesmatert, 190, 310, 314.
Amesnez, 377.
Amezghouni (Asif), 276, 277.
Amghar, 134.
Amhach, 123, 381.
Amismiz, 12, 38, 39, 46, 126, 133, 250, 261, 313, 314, 328, 337, 369.
Ammeln, 20, 138, 161, 202, 204, 205, 417.
Amzwar (cf. *Mezwar*).
Anebdour, 302, 378.
Anfa, 83, 86.
Angad, 211.
Anmalouz, 156.
Annerni, 313.
Anoual, 296, 402.
Anougal, 259, 313.
Aoggwa (leff), 195, 202, 203, 205, 215.
Aoullous, 317, 319.
Aqqa, 13, 15, 37, 86, 101, 137, 138, 163.
Areksis, 112.
Arghen, 30, 63, 64, 70, 201, 277, 302, 401.
Arousiyn, 340.
Artatein, 276.
Asif el Bour, 377.
Asif el Mal, 18, 88, 186, 189, 259, 260, 308, 313, 378.
Asif n Igezzoulen, 380.
Asif n Qahira, 259.
Asif Nefis, 186, 259, 260, 378.
Asif n Saghour, 156.
Asif n Tinkert, 328.

2: Montagne--543 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

000 Asles (Jbel), 74.
Assades, 168.
Assaïs (Ait Tigidar), 189, 231.
Assaka, 109.
Assaka n Ait Ou Hamdan, 351.
Assarag, 126, 264, 351.
Assen, 353.
Asserato, 353.
Atbej, 31.
Aureba, 210.
Awines, 158, 273.
Azaghar, 122.
Azaghar n Ait Zelten, 123, 380.
Azemmour, 69.
Azilal (Sirwa), 198, 285, 350, 351.
Azrar, 202.
Azzeg, 12.

'A

'Abda, 386.
'Abid, 103.
'Ain Hajer.
'Alla, 276, 277.
'Amarnat, 33.
'Amma, 45.
'Arch, 177.
'Arib, 34.
'Aziza (Laila), 49, 235, 251, 314.

B

Bab Chari', 67.
Badès, 209, 241.
Bani, 8, 13, 15, 20, 41, 204.
Banou Masifra, 199.
Ben Takemous, 92.
Beni Ahmed (Jbala), 206.
Beni Amret, 295.
Beni 'Abd el Wad, 69.
Beni Bou Frah, 176, 295.
Beni Bou Nsar, 173.
Beni Bouzra, 176.
Beni Gmil, 176, 240, 295, 367.
Beni Gorfet, 211.
Beni Goumi, 74.
Beni Grir, 177.
Beni Hasan, 28, 208, 210.
Beni Ider, 211.
Beni Ifran, 29, 60.
Beni Itteft, 176, 294.
Beni Jabir, 31.
Beni Khaled, 177.
Beni Khennous, 173.
Beni Merin, 28, 69.
Beni Mesdwi, 252.
Beni Messara, 208.
Beni Oumghar, 87.
Beni Ouriagel, 209.
Beni Ouriaghel, 175, 211, 252, 296, 402.
Beni Rzin, 177.
Beni Selman, 177.
Beni Snassen, 211.
Beni Touzin, 175, 402.
Beni Waraïn, 415.
Beni Zedjel, 177.
Beni Zerwal, 207, 208, 294, 408.
Beni Ziyat 177.
Beni Zouli, 194, 199.
Berada, 93.
Berghwata, 27, 29, 30, 31, 58, 208, 323.
Bibaoun, 74, 129.
Bigoudin, 74.
Biougra, 107.
Boqqoya, 175, 176, 210, 295, 402.
Borkou, 25.
Botres, 26.
Bouaboud, 114, 122, 133, 227, 332, 346.
Boughni, 213.
Bou Hamara, 295.
Bou l 'Ajlat, 12, 39.
Bou Regreg, 26.
Bou Riqi, 111, 369, 386.
Bou Roumman, 86.
Bou Taradin, 308, 346.
Bou Zougga, 126.
Brahim du Kik (Moulay), 49, 51.
Branès, 26, 207, 210, 221, 237.

C

Casablanca, 114.
Canaries (Iles), 22.
Cantin (cap), 25, 57.
Canton (taqbilt), 152, 180.
Carthage, 25.
Chadilya, 91.
Cherarda, 370.
Chawiya, 338, 378.
Chebbanat, 32, 76, 80, 97, 101, 370.
Cherradi (Zaouia), 106.
Chichawa, 85, 369.
Chinguit, 101.
Chtouka, 16, 18, 30, 33, 39, 42, 96, 99, 106, 109, 113, 114, 156, 165, 202, 205, 252, 277, 337, 371.
Confédération, 164.
Ghyadma, 75, 85.

2: Montagne--544 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

000

D

Dadès, 8, 13, 14, 25, 30, 41, 99, 108, 121, 144, 194, 330, 332, 340, 341, 371.
Dar Akimah, 192.
Darat, 57.
Dariens, 57.
Debiha, 292.
Demnat, 9, 12, 15, 30, 110, 330, 339.
Demsira, 30, 71, 85, 90, 91, 134, 135, 154, 161, 185, 193, 309, 332, 333, 337, 340, 353, 354, 355.
Deren, 11, 12.
Dila, 97, 99, 408.
Dir, 12.
Djochem (Cf. Jochem).
Dnasa, 12, 378.
Dou Ighris, 377.
Doukkala, 27, 30, 66, 106, 208.
Dou Taourirt, 350.
Dra, 24, 25, 41, 68, 73, 99, 108, 111, 121.
Dwi Hasan, 32, 73, 80.
Dwi Menia, 168.
Dwiran, 39, 134, 162, 192, 337.

E

Erdouz, 18, 313.
Ergita, 30, 135, 193, 223, 357.
Espagnols, 100.
Ethiopiens, 25, 27, 57.

F

Feija, 108, 110, 316.
Ferkla, 25, 332.
Ferqelma (col), 288.
Fes, 85, 90.
Fetwaka, 194, 341.
Fidoust, 20.
Freja, 89.
Frouga, 92, 337, 340.

G

Gedmiwa, 39, 62, 63, 67, 70, 72, 77, 129, 135, 155, 165, 185, 192, 223, 228, 338, 340, 352, 375, 399.
Genfisa, 30, 62, 63, 70, 129, 155, 161, 167, 169, 199, 312.
Getules Autololes, 57.
Gezzoula, cf. Igezzoulen.
Gharb, 11, 67, 113, 142, 238, 386.
Ghassasa, 209, 210.
Gheghaia, 185, 304.
Ghezawa, 208.
Ghighaya, 17, 70.
Ghojdama, 194, 341.
Ghomara, 28, 29, 58, 172, 176, 208, 209, 215, 295, 323, 402.
Ghomara (lef des Jbala), 304.
Ghozz, 64.
Glawa, 17, 30, 46, 113, 114, 131, 305, 341.
Gokten, 276.
Goulimin, 13, 14, 46, 105, 109.
Gouz, 59.
Guanches, 22.
Guir (cap), 18, 21.
Gzennaya, 295.

H

Habt, 97, 172, 206, 237, 348.
Hadid (Jbel), 84.
Had des Ait Mzal (El), 250.
Haha, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 27, 32, 35, 38, 42, 46, 67, 72, 73, 74, 76, 84, 85, 89, 92, 95, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 108, 110, 112, 123, 155, 159, 165, 166, 193, 194, 200, 221, 252, 259, 367, 377, 378.
Hammam (Jbel), 295.
Haratan, 25, 45.
Haret, 31, 32, 76, 83.
Hargha (cf. Arghen).
Harjan, 86.
Haut Dra, 8, 14, 15, 25, 73, 195, 371.
Haut Ghis, 252.
Haut Guir, 235, 236.
Hazen (El), 202.
Heskoura (Cf. Skoura).
Hilaliens, 31.
Hintata, 30, 62, 63, 64, 66, 70, 72, 78, 88, 166.
Hollandais, 99.
Howara, 33, 86, 112, 194, 339, 371.

I

Iberdaten, 313, 378.
Iberouten, 130, 230.
Iberqaqen, 138, 201.
Ibouban (Seksawa), 158.
Ibouneharen, 239.
Ichkajen, 282.
Ichouken, 294.
Ida Ou Baqil, 417.
Ida Ou Blal (Marrakech), 304, 370.

2: Montagne--545 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shish MW11

000 Ida Ou Blal (Sahara), 138.
Ida Ou Bouzia, 35, 87, 130, 155, 159, 380, 410.
Ida Ou Finis, 64, 207.
Ida Ou Gelloul, 337, 380.
Ida Ou Gersmouk, 229.
Ida Ou Gnidif, 12, 15, 138, 169, 204, 229, 417.
Ida Ou Gourd, 381.
Ida Ou Gwailal, 12, 20.
Ida Ou Izimmer, 59, 311, 312, 355.
Ida Ou Kensous, 12, 15, 96, 201, 207.
Ida Ou Ktir, 163, 202.
Ida Ou Kwals, 356.
Ida Ou Limit, 64.
Ida Oultit, 12, 20, 138, 201.
Ida Ou Martiyn, 207.
Ida Ou Merzoug, 332, 361.
Ida Ou Mhamoud, 30, 40, 85, 135, 154, 161, 191, 193, 227, 254, 282, 340.
Ida Ou Msattog, 12, 154, 156, 193, 279.
Ida Ou Mout, 162.
Ida Ou Nadif, 30, 64, 201.
Ida Ou Nifi, 378.
Ida Ou Semlal, 16, 58.
Ida Ou Tanan, 14, 19, 94, 106, 109, 113, 127, 129, 144, 154, 155, 159, 165, 168, 185, 193, 200, 221, 223, 229, 230, 258, 288, 290, 291, 380.
Ida Ou Tghoumma, 130.
Ida Ou Zal, 193, 279, 287, 340, 357.
Ida Ou Zeddagh (leff), 185, 192, 193, 194, 195, 280, 356, 357.
Ida Ou Zeddagh (tribu), 12, 198.
Ida Ou Zeddout, 30, 64.
Ida Ou Zekri, 30, 64, 201.
Ida Ou Ziki, 126, 333, 337, 340, 352, 357, 388.
Idma, 135, 158, 275, 278, 315, 355.
Id Mansour (Ida Ou Tanan), 159.
Id Mansour (Talemt), 279.
Id Nouh, 186.
Ifesfasen, 169, 229, 288.
Ifni (Côte Atlantique), 21, 111.
Ifni (lac d'), 17.
Ifran, 13, 100, 202.
Ifri, 59.
Ifriqiya, 31.
Igdad, 18.
Igerwan, 181, 238.
Igezzoulen, (Gezzoula), 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 46, 60, 66, 67, 87, 89, 104, 124, 139, 205, 229, 258, 324.
Igezzoulen (leff), 36, 193, 194, 195, 201, 203, 204, 205, 215, 216, 350, 357.
Igheddiouan, 202.
Ighil Mgoun, 8, 9, 11.
Ighil n Ogho, 350.
Ighri, 194, 202, 284.
Ighzer Anqran, 173.
Igli, 58, 59.
Igoudachen, 192, 193.
Igountar, 309, 355.
Ihengiru, 279.
Ihouziyoun, 80, 195, 336, 340, 349.
Ikhozamen, 136, 258, 356, 361, 362.
Ikourran, 158.
Ilalen, 20, 44, 138, 201, 202.
Ilemti (Ait Tigidar), 189.
Ilkha, 43, 218.
Illigh, 46, 99, 101, 104, 112, 139, 204, 324, 410.
Imarighen, 377.
Imedlasun, 154, 156, 158, 222.
Imegdal, 301.
Imghartiyn, 202.
Imgrad, 200, 222.
Imeghran, 41, 194, 230, 332, 341.
Imelwan, 315, 356.
Imirgen, 336.
Imider, 13.
Imini, 19.
Imi n Tanout, 12, 15, 28, 39, 44, 70, 92, 126, 336, 377.
Imi Wasif, 378.
Imouzzer (Ida Ou Tanan), 149.
Imsifern (leff), 185, 189, 192, 193, 199, 263, 273, 287, 302, 304, 311, 314, 315, 355, 356, 357.
Imswan, 21.
Imzran, 230, 290.
Inadghertit, 199.
Inda Ousal, 15, 20, 64, 202, 377, 336.
Indghertit (leff), 185, 186, 189, 192, 193, 199, 263, 278, 302, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315, 355, 357.
Ind Maghous, 189, 190, 192, 310, 312, 314, 315, 318, 356, 378.
Ind Ou Nadif, 207.
Ind Ou Zal, 30.
Indrilen, 156.
Inemzel (leff), 195, 199, 314, 330, 335, 350.
Inflas, 130, 221.
Inflas el Khir, 200, 222.
Ingissat, 66, 81.
Inmarakht, 351.
Inmighern, 377.
Intaoun, 202.
Intedan (Seksewa), 158, 278, 281, 315.
Irasen, 207.

2: Montagne--546 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Rbsb MW11

000 Iregharn, 74.
Irohalen, 249, 312, 353.
Isaffen, 138, 201.
Isk n Tghazout, 292.
Isqalen, 276.
Isouktan (Souktana), tribu, 155, 194, 350.
Isouktan (leff), 36, 40, 194, 195, 201, 202, 204, 205, 215, 316, 340, 357.
Issouqal, 230.
Iwonsekten, 190, 310, 356.
Iwoulla (Seksawa), 158.
Izayan, 8, 168, 408, 415.
Izayan d'Oulmès, 181, 238.
Izazen, 202.
Izoggweir, 126, 351,
Izoughar, 8, 9, 13.

J

Jaya, 206, 210.
Jbala, 144, 170, 205, 207, 215, 236, 237, 294, 409.
Jbel 'Alam, 208, 294, 408.
El Jema'a (Ait Daoud), 250.
Jochem, 31, 34, 73.
Juby (cap), 112.
Juifs, 45, 46.

K

Kabyles, 402.
Kabylie, 27, 41, 140, 144, 177, 211, 212, 241, 242, 243, 297, 402.
Kasba Amejjout, 369.
Kelabiya, 32.
Kerdous, 124.
Kest, 16, 20, 129, 139, 156.
Khandeq el Wed, 369.
Kharaj, 72.
Kharejites, 58.
Khela Tifernin, 8.
Khemalcha, 94, 175.
Khlot, 69, 210.
Khoms, 155, 171.
Khoms n Ougadir (Ait Mzal), 163.
Kik, 12, 35, 70, 180.
Koreimat, 340.
Kost (El), 67.
Kouko, 298, 401.
Koutama, 208, 209, 210, 401.

L

Lakhes, 32, 76.
Lamta, 27, 28, 29, 32, 59, 67.
Leben (Oued), 86.
Leff, 144 et passim.
Lemmwa, 287.
Lemtouna, 28, 29, 60, 67, 76.
Likoumt, 17.
Lixites, 25.
Louh, 256.

M

Maghrawa, 38.
Marabouts, 296, 333, 407.
Marmoucha, 415.
Marrakech, 15, 17, 18, 37, 68, 98, 119, 339, 370, 375.
Masmouda, 26, 27, 61, 188, 193, 215.
Masmouda (Jbala), 208.
Masatates, 57.
Massat, 21, 59, 60, 76, 86, 99, 139, 154, 162, 222, 417.
Mauritanie, 114.
Mauritanie Tingitane, 26.
Mazagan, 27.
Ma'der, 139.
Ma'qil, 31, 32, 33, 44, 44, 58, 68, 73, 80, 83, 109, 122, 205, 370.
Meghafra, 103.
Maghrawa, 207.
Mejjat (Anti-Atlas), 201.
Mejjat (Marrakech), 313, 368.
Meknès, 86.
Menabbha, 33, 194, 370.
Mentaga, 135, 193, 222.
Mérinides, 18, 31.
Mesgina, 30, 130, 161, 332, 337, 340.
Mesfiwa, 340.
Metalsa, 210.
Mestasa, 295.
Mezziat, 210.
Mezgita, 137, 292, 330, 341, 371.
Mezwar (fonction), 62, 222.
Mgouna, 341.
El Mkhazen, 91, 368.
Mneizla, 39, 287.
Mogador, 15, 18, 21, 22, 37, 103, 367, 377, 380.
Moqaddem, 132, 226.
Mouda, 151, 218.
Mouldirt, 276, 302.
Moulouya, 31, 207.
Moyen Dra, 340.
Mtiwa (Rif), 173, 176, 177, 209, 211.
Mtougga, 67, 85, 105, 109, 110, 122, 133, 340.
Mzouda, 39, 135, 159, 162, 185, 192, 226, 271, 337, 340, 387.

2: Montagne--547 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shlub MW11

N

000 Nader, 31.
Nasiriya (Oulad Naser), 121.
Nefis (Oued), 15, 17, 18, 58.
Nefis (ville) ou Neffis, 38, 59.
Nefzawa, 210.
Neknafa, 333, 337, 357.
Nekor (Nkor), 207, 209, 211, 295, 296.
Nfifa, 90, 332, 333, 337, 340, 352, 353, 377.
Ngisa (cf. Ingisat).
Noul Lemta, 59.
Noun, 13, 15, 21, 41, 103, 104, 107, 111.

O

Ogdemt, 18, 162, 186, 260, 304, 308, 336, 338.
Oncin, 12, 80, 134, 195, 279, 283, 305, 340.
Oudaya, 367.
Oulad Ben (ou bou) Seba, 33, 34, 313, 340.
Oulad Bou Slama, 211.
Oulad Dlim (Sahara), 33, 370.
Oulad Dlim (Marrakech), 304.
Oulad Jerrar, 202.
Oulad el Mahalli (leff), 194.
Oulad Mota (ou Mta), 88, 370, 340.
Oulad Yahya (Dra), 34.
Oulad Yahya (Sous), 33, 194.
Oulghas (Oued), 109, 110.
Oulili, 59.
Oum er Rbi'a (Oued), 26, 27, 30.
Ouncila, 329, 331, 335.
Ounzen, 202.
Ourika, 17, 18, 185.
Ouringa (Oued), 173.
Oussoud, 249.
Ouzgita (du Kik), 17, 135, 166, 185, 276, 304, 336, 340, 377.

P

Peignol, 91.
Peñon de la Gomera, 209.

Q

Qala, 401.
Qadiriya, 91.
Qehira (El), 75, 90, 92, 369.
Qesenus (fleuve), 57.
Qsabi, 13.
Qsob (Oued), 18, 38, 88, 166.

R

Regraga, 27, 66, 67, 84, 87, 208.
Reghiwa, 210.
Rehamna, 371.
Rhouna, 208, 210, 211.
Rif, 89, 94, 100, 144, 175, 203, 211, 215, 238, 239, 240, 252, 293, 295, 296, 335, 337, 407, 409.
Roha, 34.
Rokna, 74.

S

Safi, 85, 106.
Saghro (Jbel), 8.
Salé, 27, 28, 86, 97.
Santa-Cruz de Mar Pequña, 86, 88, 112.
Saoura, 96.
Sbouiya, 111, 113.
Sebou, 28.
Seddrata (cf. Ait Seddrat).
Segharna, 137, 371.
Seguiet el Hamra, 33, 73.
Sekrat, 273, 307
Sekzawa, 11, 18, 30, 67, 73, 76, 85, 90, 92, 127, 135, 154, 165, 186, 188, 191, 192, 220, 233, 254, 273, 278, 282, 310, 312, 338, 340, 350, 354, 355, 356, 376, 399, 416.
Selatites, 57.
Semlala (cf. Ida Ou Semlal).
Sénégal, 22.
Senhaja, 26.
Senhaja (Atlas central), 14, 168.
Senhaja (leff des Jbala), 172, 174, 206, 209, 215.
Senhaja de Ghedda, 207, 208.
Senhaja au litham, 25.
Senhaja de Msobah, 208, 209.
Senhaja de Srair, 144, 173, 207, 208, 210, 211, 294, 410.
Senhaja de Tanger, 28, 208.
Sijilmassa, 68, 73, 80, 90, 374.
Sirwa, 198, 264.
Skoura, 9, 15, 30, 34, 44, 64, 68, 72, 73, 74, 88, 121, 164, 167, 194, 341, 371.
Snada, 294, 295, 404.
Soff, 196, 211.
Soff Bou Adda, 212, 216.

2: Montagne--548 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 [illegible] MW11

000 Soff Oufella, 209, 212.
Sofian, 32, 34, 69, 73, 83.
Soudan, 99, 101.
Souktana (leff) (cf. Isouktan).
Souktana (tribu) (Anti-Atlas), 12, 14, 20, 121, 126, 155, 194, 198, 201, 204, 205, 336, 249, 350, 352.
Souktana (de Marrakech), 35, 304.
Soumata, 210.
Sous el Adna, 27.
Sous el Aqsa, 22, 27.
Sous (embouchure), 21.
Sous (région), 6, 9 et passim.
Sous (vallée), 13, 14.

T

Taberbourt, 283, 317.
Tabia, 309.
Taddert, 177.
Tadert, 74.
Tadla, 27, 28, 31, 60, 85, 88.
Taferghoust, 301, 302.
Tafersit, 295.
Tafilelt, 13, 97, 101, 102, 103, 113, 121, 416.
Tafraout, 156.
Tafraoutan (Ait Mzal), 163.
Tafounan, 350.
Tagadirt n Baoun (Demsira), 159.
Tagadirt n Bour, 70, 126, 328.
Tagadirt (Ind Maghous), 313, 315.
Tagadirt n Oumious, 277.
Tagaost, 89, 100, 109.
Tagemout (Asif Nefis), 277, 284.
Taghzout, 174, 209.
Ta gist, 67.
Tagmadert, 87.
Tagontaft, 70, 122, 275, 276, 302, 303, 319, 341, 344, 346.
Tahanaout, 12, 369.
Tajammalt, 86.
Takhorbant, 350.
Talat n Ya'qoub, 122, 283, 305, 328, 342, 344, 346.
Talekjont, 12, 39, 135, 192, 193, 318, 356.
Talemt, 12, 135, 193, 282, 304, 318, 356.
Taliwin, 126, 350, 352.
Tamanart, 15, 163, 202, 204.
Tamassint, 296.
Tamarout, 355.
Tamda, 287.
Tamedakht, 316, 330, 335, 336, 350.
Tamedelt, 58, 59.
Tamegrout, 121, 410.
Tamellakt, 333, 334.
Tamelouht, 86, 96.
Tamenougalt, 330.
Tamerwout, 277.
Tamesloht, 87.
Tamezouart, 74.
Tamiyt, 63, 65, 167.
Tamjerjt, 330.
Tamsoult, 190.
Tanammert, 190.
Tanger, 22, 27.
Tanesst, 80, 81.
Taouloukoult, 347.
Taounghast, 227.
Taourirt (Warzazat), 136, 331.
Tarfaya, 112, 113.
Targa n Ait Irutea, 176.
Targa n Isunggwaghen, 12.
Tarjicht, 13.
Targist, 240, 252, 295, 448.
Tarudant, 15, 37, 46, 59, 60, 80, 81, 89, 92, 100, 101, 102, 108, 347, 375.
Tasgint (Ida Ou Mhamoud), 48.
Taskemt, 343.
Taskourt, 370.
Tasna (Ait Haddiyoun), 46, 158, 311.
Tassedremt (Ida Ou Tanan), 309.
Tassemoult (Massat), 142.
Tatta, 15, 128, 202.
Tazenakht, 14, 195, 311, 317, 330.
Tazert, 126, 331.
Tazerwalt, 84, 87, 99, 100, 103, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 136, 137, 201, 203, 324, 376, 382, 411.
Tazoult, 202, 350.
Tekna, 105, 109, 370.
Telwet, 9, 121, 126, 137, 339, 344.
Temsaman, 176, 402.
Tensift, 10, 19, 38, 65, 86, 166.
Tensita, 89.
Tenveves, 89.
Tenkawin, 119.
Tétouan, 110, 112.
Tibesti, 25.
Tichka (Sekawa), 11, 18, 67, 70, 129, 131, 228, 311.
Tidighin, 173, 208.
Tidili, 19, 284, 351.
Tidsi, 13, 89.
Tifnout, 17, 19, 80, 126, 284, 288, 303, 350, 351.
Tifoultout, 350.
Tigemmi Igis, 309.
Tigouga, 154, 156, 192, 256.
Timgicht, 304, 410.
Timlilt, 277.
Tinchouft, 163.

2: Montagne--549 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shah MW11

Tinghir, 226, 251.
Tinider, 264.
Tinisk, 328.
Tinmel, 18, 200, 276, 301, 303, 321.
Tinmellel, 60, 63, 67, 69, 71, 221, 401.
Tinoubga, 190.
Tinzoulin, 34, 199.
Tisekht (Zenaga), 80.
Tisgin (Gedmiwa), 12, 39, 133, 192, 250, 286.
Tisint, 13, 37, 101, 137, 138, 202.
Tit, 28, 85.
Tizi Macho, 15, 17, 18, 86, 92, 128, 134, 186, 194, 249, 321, 369.
Tizi n Fedghat, 9, 15, 17, 108.
Tizi n Imiri, 63, 302, 328.
Tizi n Taraqatin, 15.
Tizi n Tgodicht, 288.
Tizi n Telwet, 15, 17, 108, 113, 128, 194, 321.
Tizi n Test, 15, 17, 37, 128, 249, 321.
Tiznit, 16, 107, 112, 114, 122, 123, 139, 229, 337.
Tizounin, 163, 202.
Tiwazwin, 156.
Todgha, 13, 121, 144, 226, 238, 251, 332, 340, 341.
Tombouctou, 99.
Touaregs, 25.
Touggana, 341.
Toug el Khir, 276.
Toufiq, 178.
Tounan, 202.
Tres Forcas (cap), 209.
Tribu, 159.
Troglodytes, 25.
Tsoul, 207.

W

Wadras, 237.
Wanoukrim (Adrar), 11, 17, 18, 63.
Wanzid (Sekkawa), 158, 159.
Warzazat, 137, 194, 330, 331, 341.
Wergha, 29, 174, 208, 209.
Wichedden (Adrar), 68.
Wigit, 276, 277.
Wijjan, 13.
Wirgan, 277.
Wissaden, 410.

Y

Yallich, 211.
Youtanan, 168.

Z

Zagmouzen, 14, 19, 24, 85, 126, 137, 194, 195, 202, 285, 358.
Zaouia Cherradi, 367.
Zayan (cf. Izayan).
Zeggen, 32, 74, 76.
Zemmour, 181.
Zemran, 137, 331, 340.
Zenaga, 12, 14, 20, 27, 75, 89, 121, 137, 202, 205, 292, 340, 358.
Zenata, Zénètes, 26, 27, 28, 30.
Zerhoun, 239.
Zerqet, 340, 252.
Zettata, 249, 321.
Zgonder, 80.
Zilaout, 378.
Zirara, 370.

/Page x is blank./

2: Montagne--550 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

Index of Names of Persons and of Families

/The numbers refer to the page numbers of the original source, which are given in slashes in the translation./

551

A

Abou l Abbas Ahmed ben 'Abdallah el Mahalli, 96.
Abou Amer ben Yousef, 73.
Abou 'Abdallah (des Beni Oumghar), 85.
Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed Jazouli, 100.
Abou 'Abdallah Moha mmed ben Ousa'doun, 91.
Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed es Sghir el 'Amri, 86.
Abou 'Ali ben Abou Sa'id (Merinide), 74, 80.
Abou 'Amar, 94.
Abou Debbous, 69, 80.
Abou Faris, 92.
Aboul Qasem, Idris, 58.
Abou Ishaq ben Ahmed (de Tameeloht), 96.
Abou 'Inan (Mérinide), 75, 78.
Abou l Hasan (Mérinide), 74, 75.
Abou l Hasan 'Ali ben Abou Qasem Es Sandjai, 95.
Abou I Hasan 'Ali Jazouli (Sidi 'Ali), 97, 99, 100.
Abou Hassoun (cf. Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli).
Abou Mohammed ben 'Abdallah el Hasani, 87.
Abou Mohammed 'Abdallah el Kouch, 94.
Abou Mohammed 'Omar Ajana, 86.
Abou 'Otman Sa'id el Hartanani, 85.
Abou Sa'id 'Abd er Rahman Regragi, 85.
Abou Sa'id (Mérinide), 74.
Abou Salem (Mérinide), 78.
Abou Tabet (Mérinide), 74.
Aghennaj (Mohammed ben Yahya), 106, 203, 204.
Ahansal, 408.
(Caïd) Ahmed n Ait Sa'doun Mtougui, 333.
Ahmed Anflous Neknafi, 114.
(Chikh), Ahmed Agnal, 254, 353.
Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed (de Taghennoust), 330.
Ahmed ben Mahrez, 101.
(Caïd), Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, 337.
Ahmed el 'Arj (Saadien), 89, 90.
Ahmed el Mansour (Saadien), 93, 370, 374.
Ahmed el Merwani (Amghar), 329.
Ahmed en Nasiri, 107.
(Moulay) Ahmed Er Raisouli, 294.
(El Hajj) Ahmed n Ait Lhasen Gentafi, 276.
Ahmed Ou Bihi, 278, 307, 309.
Ahmed Ou Malek, 304, 306.
Ahmed Ou Mansour, 280.
Ahmed Ou Moulid, 169, 311, 312, 355, 382.
(Sidi) Ahmed Ou Mousa, 49, 51, 84, 87, 91, 95, 203, 235, 251, 324.
(Caïd El Hajj) Ahmed Oungitu, 273.
Ahoukar, 67.
Ait Ammo (de Takhorhant), 283.
Ait Bacha (de Taberbourt), 317.
Ait Bazzi (de Talekjoust), 278, 303, 304, 356.
Ait Ben 'Ali, 330, 331.
Ait ben Haddo, 330.
Ait Bihi, 105.
Ait el Bazz, 312.
Ait Ja'far, 356.
Ait Mousa, 105, 133.
Ait Oumghar (de Tassedrumt), 291.
Akensous, 107.
(Amghar) Akherras, 289, 290.
Almoravides, 29, 59.
Amhaouch, 106.
(Amghar) Aqqui, 282.
(Caïd) Azerwal Er Rehamani, 330.

2: Montagne--551 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

'A

55 El 'Abbas (Moulay) (Saadien), 99.
'Abdallah (Fqih), 90.
(Moulay) 'Abdallah (Filalien), 368, 369, 371.
Abdallah ben Idris ben Idris, 58.
'Abdallah ben Sa'id (Sidi), 92, 93.
'Abdallah Ibn 'Omar Seksawi, 75 77.
(El Hajj) 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, 109, 110, 114, 123, 130, 134, 260, 280, 332, 349, 353, 357, 375, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 388.
'Abdallah Tamachot, 304.
'Abd el 'Aziz (Mérinide), 79.
(Moulay) 'Abd el Aziz (Filalien), 114, 115, 295, 327, 338, 385, 386.
'Abd el 'Aziz ben Sa'id el Mezwari, El Ouzgiti, 92.
'Abd el 'Aziz Mohammed Hintati, 78.
'Abd el 'Aziz Mohammed Ibn 'Ali Hintati, 75.
'Abd el 'Aziz Et Tebba', 86.
'Abd el Hafid (Filalien), 114, 121, 338, 339.
(Mohammed ben) 'Abd el Kerim, 175, 295, 296, 297, 299, 402, 403, 404, 416.
'Abd el Kerim el Fellah, 94.
'Abd el Kerim Ibn 'Isa Gedmiwi, 77.
'Abd el Malek Mtouggi, 114, 122, 333 et sqq., 353, 386, 398.
'Abd el Malek Sba'i, 86.
'Abd el Moumen el Goumi, 29, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 299, 401.
(Emir) 'Abd el Qader, 314.
(Moulay) 'Abd er Rahman (filalien), 107, 108, 115, 184, 261, 286, 313, 370, 380, 385.
(Cherif) 'Abd er Rahman Derqawi, 408.
'Abd er Rahman Gellouli, 123.
'Abd er Rahman Ibn Yedder, 74.
(Amghar) 'Abderrahman Irro, 356.
'Abd es Semed, 298.
(Amghar), 'Abd el Wahad Zanifi 316, 350.
El 'Adel ben el Mansour, 68.
(Caïd el Hajj), 'Addi Mtouggi, 333.
'Addi Ibn Hennou, 74.
'Aisa ben 'Omar Abdi, 386.
(Sidi) 'Ali Amhaouch, 408.
'Ali ben Boujja, 353.
(Caïd) 'Ali ben Lhasen Ouzgiti, 304.
'Ali el Hajj, 105.
(El Hajj) 'Ali Hammo, 273.
'Ali Ou Hammo, 287.
'Ali n Ait Bazzi, 280.
(Amghar) 'Ali Ou Naser, 292.
(Amghar) 'Ali de Tamedakht, 316, 335, 350, 361.
(Sidi) 'Ali du Tazerwalt, succ. de Sidi Hachem, 109, 367, 407.
'Ali Ibn Yedder, 32, 69, 80.
'Ali Ya'ich, 74.
'Amer Ibn Mohammed Hintati, 77, 78, 79, 399
'Amer Seksawi, 77.
(Ibn) 'Askar, 83, 91, 94.
(Ibn) 'Attouch, 69.
El'Ayachi, 97.
(Caïd) El 'Ayadi Rahamani, 338.

B

(Caïd) Baddoh, 307.
Ba Hmad, 114, 122, 334, 335, 337.
Banou Salih, 209.
(El) Beidaq, 62, 199.
Beirouk (Oulad), 109.
(El) Bekri, 26, 208.
Beni Abes, 401.
Beni Khettab, 73.
Beni Ouriaghel, 403.
Beni Sa'd (Saadiens), 87, 211.
Beni Yedder, 32, 73, 80.
(El Hajj) Beqqich, 295, 296.
Bethencourt (J. de), 22.
(Sidi) Bibi, 251.
(Amghar) Bihi Achao, 292.
Bihi Ajerram, 332.
(Sidi) Bouagaz, 89.
Bou l' Achrat, 376.
Boucheta el Baghdadi, 295.
(Sidi) Boudmeia, cf. Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli.
Bou Hamara, 114, 327, 337, 386.
(Caïd) Bou Houch, 287.
(Amghar) Bou Naser, 302.
Bou 'Otman (Sidi), 115, 339.
Si Bou Slem bel Housin Mtouggi, 333.
(Sidi) Brahim Ou'Ali, 94, 129, 169, 230, 235, 289, 291, 292.
Brahim el Grawi, 110, 111, 286, 287, 302, 304, 375.
(Caïd) Brahim Ouzgiti, 278, 301.
(Sidi) Bouxima, 89.

C

(El) Cheger Mousa Mtouggi, 333.
Chehid (Ibn Ech), 68.
Chénier, 373.

2: Montagne--552 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

551

Chorfa filaliens, 98.
Chorfa d'Wezzan, 294.
Corap (Colonel), 403.

D

Dadda 'Atta, 149.
Daoud ben 'Abd el Moumen, 92.
Derqawa, 294.
Devaux (Cne.).
Doutté, 239.

E

Edrisi, 25, 26.
Erckmann, 376.

F

El Fadel (frère d'Abou 'Inan), 75.
Fatimides, 401.
De Foucauld, 137, 138, 201, 259, 292, 316.
Roland Fréjus, 100.

G

Ghaleb Billah (Mohammed ben Abdallah), 91.
(Imam el) Ghazzali, 60.
Ghilan, 97, 101.
(Caïds) Glawa, 137, 185, 194, 202, 263, 280, 284, 316, 321, 357, 415.
(Caïds), Gontafa, 278, 311, 316, 357, 398, 399, 415.

H

(Sidi) Hachem (ou Hicham) du Tazerwalt, 107, 109, 139, 203, 204, 324, 367.
(Caid El) Hachmi Ez Zemrani, 330.
Haddo ben Yousef (Seksawi), 72, 76, 78.
(Si) Haddouch el Maghousi, 190, 310, 314.
(El Hajj) Hafid des Idma, 275, 278, 281, 311, 317.
Hafsides, 71, 88.
(Caïds) Haha, 371.
Haida Ou Mwis, 123, 280.
(Amghar) Hajj Mbarek, 303.
(Caïd) Hamida el Menebbhi, 333, 353.
Hamidi Ibn Yedder, 60.
Ha Mim, 58.
(Si) Hammadi Glawi, 331.
(Caïd Si) Hammo (Glawi), 121, 340.
(Si) Hammo el Maghousi, 315.
Hammo Ou Bella, 273.
Hannon, 22, 25.
Hanoteau et Letourneux, 211.
El Harran (Frère de Moulay Isma'il) (Filalien), 101.
El Harran (Saadien), 90.
(Sidi) el Hasan de Timgilcht, 306, 410.
Hasan el Foudoudi, 78.
(Moulay el) Hasan, Filalien, 110, 112, 113, 136, 231, 284, 306, 314, 327, 332, 333, 334, 367, 368, 371, 378, 385, 408.
Hérodote, 25.
El Hiba, 114, 115, 124, 287, 339, 340, 363.
(Moulay) Hicham (Filalien), 106, 313.
(Amghar) Hijjo, 304.
(Sidi) Hosein ben Hacham (du Tazerwalt), 109, 112, 113, 316, 324, 383, 410.
El Housin ben El Cheger (Mtougg), 333.

I

Ibn 'Askar, 83, 91, 94.
Ibn Hauqal, 26.
Ibn Khaldoun, 26, 27, 28, 36.
Ibn Toumert, 29, 60, 62, 70, 71, 167, 299, 401.
Ibn Sa'd Allah, 313.
Id Mhammed de Tamjerjt, 285.
Idris, 401.
(Moulay) Idris (chef des Haha), 169, 260, 280.
(Moulay) Idris Hintati, 88, 90.
Idris le fatimite, 58.
Idrisi, 209.
Idrisites, 38.
Ihebban, 317.
Ishaq, frère d'El Mortada, 69.
(Moulay) Isma'il, 101, 369.

J

(Imam) Jazouli Mohammed ben Sliman, 84, 85.
(Chikh) Jerran Gedmiwi, 287.
Juba, 22.

2: Montagne--553 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

551

K

(Caïd) Kabba, 287.
Kerroum el Hajj, 99.
Khalid ben Yahya El Masmoudi, 94.
Khemalcha, 294, 408.
(Amghar) Khorsa, 354.

L

Léon l'Africain, 38, 166.
Lhasen Bou Naga, 289, 291.

M

Mackensie, 112, 113.
(Si el) Madani Glawi, 113, 114, 121, 188, 329, 331, 332, 335, 338, et sqq., 349, 386, 399.
Ma el 'Ainin, 114.
El Mamoun Ibn el Mansour, 68.
Mangin, 115, 339, 364.
Masqueray, 297.
Mbarek Anflous, 333.
Mbarek Chtittihi, 278, 279, 285, 307, 308, 311, 334, 361.
(Sidi) Mehend Gou'azzoun, 149.
Merebbi Rebbo, 124.
Mérinides, 18, 31.
Mesa'oud d'Aqqa, 295.
(Caïd) Mesa'oud Mtouggi, 333, 353.
Metzara, 72.
Mezwar du Dra, 34, 88, 89, 90, 92.
Michaux-Bellaire, 171, 210.
El Moezz le Fatimite, 401.
Mohammed Anflous, 123.
Mohammed 'Abdallah (des Ijaounen), 295.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben 'Abdallah (Filalien), 103, 373, 375, 385.
Mohammed ben 'Abd el Moumen, 66.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben 'Abd er man (Filalien), 110, 111, 123, 134, 375, 386.
(Amghar) Mohammed Achefar, 284, 302, 303, 304, 361.
Mohammed ben Echcherif, 374.
Mohammed bel Housin Mtouggi, 333.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben Taïbi, 408.
Mohammed el 'Alem, 102.
Mohammed Echcheikh El Asghar, 374.
Mohammed el Qaim (Saadien), 89.
Mohammed en Naser (Almohade), 61.
(Amghar) Mohammed Ibibat el Mezwari, 110, 137, 305, 329, 330, 331.
(Caïd) Mohammed Mtouggi, 333, 353.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Hasein, 302.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Lhasen Gontafi, 110, 111, 276, 277, 282, 284, 301, 302, 303, 306, 318, 319, 327, 328.
(Caïd) Mohammed n Ait Mousa Mtouggi, 332.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Qaid 'Ali El Maghousi, 313, 318.
Mohammed Ou Ben 'Ali, 286, 287.
Mohammed Ou Hammo, 308.
Mohammed Ou Mansour (Seksawi), 376.
(Cherif) Mohammed Raisouli, 403, 408.
(Amghar) Mohammed de Taghennoust, 361.
(Amghar) Mohammed Zanifi, 331.
(Caïd El) Moizz Mejjati, 314.
Mokhtar Seksawi, 273, 278, 284, 305 et sqq., 311, 319, 319, 354.
El Mortada (Almohade), 69.
El Motammid (Mériniide), 78.
(El Hajj) Moulid, 310, 318.
(Chikh) Moumen, 89.
Moustapha Kemal, 403.
(Caïds) Mtougga, 273, 278, 280, 308, 309, 311, 332, 357, 359, 371, 380, 388, 398, 415.

N

Nasiriya, 306.

O

Oqba ben Nafi', 31.
Oulad el Beqqal, 294.

'O

'Obeid Allah, 401.
'Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, 74, 76.
'Omar Hintati (Abou Hafs), 71.
'Omar Ibn 'Abdallah, 79.
'Omar el Khayyat, 67.
'Omar el Maghiti Chiadmi (Es Seyyaf), 86.
(Caïd El Hajj) 'Omar Mtouggi, 333, 349, 353.
'Omar Seksawi, 67, 361.
(Caïd) 'Omar Touzzalti, 301, 302, 313.

2: Montagne--554 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

551

R

(Moulay) Rechid (Filalien), 99, 100, 367.
Regraga, 410.
Roustem, 401.
Ruyter (Amiral), 100.

S

(Caïd) Sa'id el Korimi, 333, 353.
(Caïd) Sa'id Gellouli, 163, 337.
(Sidi) Sa'id ou 'Abd en Na'im, 49, 251.
Saugnier, 324.
Sidi Ou Sidi, 49.
(Moulay) Sliman (Filalien), 106, 115, 370, 379.

T

(Si) Tayeb Gontafi, 260, 303, 306, 308, 328, 335, 336, 338 et sqq., 349, 386.
Tayeb n Ouchefar, 305.
Tednest, 76, 89, 378.
(El Hajj) Thami Glawi, 120, 122, 338, 340.

W

(Abou Hasan ben) Waggag, 65.
Wanudin (Abou Mohammed ben), 68.

Y

(Sidi) Yahya Abou Zakaria, 93, 96, 97, 371.
(Sidi) Yahya ben 'Abd en Na'im (des Ait Tamment), 251.
Yahya ben Naser, 69.
Yahya ben Tahfouf, 88.
Yahya el Sahrawi, 67.
Ya'qoub el Mansour, 31, 61.
(Abou Yousef) Ya'qoub (Mérinide), 69, 71, 73.
Ya'ich Ibn Ya'qoub, 74, 80.
(Abou Ya 'qoub) Yousef, 61, 66.
Yousef ben Tachfin, 29.
Yousef Ibn 'Ali 'Ayyad, 74.
Yousef Ibn 'Ali (Hintati), 68.
Yousef el Mostanser (Hintati), 68.

Z

Ez Zayani, 102.
(Moulay) Zidan ben Isma'il, 102.
(Moulay) Zin el Abidin (Filalien), 103.

000 /Page xvi is blank; the errata listed on p. xvii have been corrected in the translation. p. xviii is blank./

/xix/ Table of Maps

The province of the Sous 26
The great political divisions of the Moroccan South 183
Tribes and fractions in the Confederations of the Haha and of the Ida ou Tanan 218
Aspect of the Leffs of the Western Haut-Atlas and of the Sirwa . . 261
Diagram of the Leffs of the Anti-Atlas 268
The two Leffs of the north of Morocco in the twentieth century . . 280
The valley of the Nefis in the nineteenth century 369
The region of the Seksawa 406

/Page xx is blank./

2: Montagne--555 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/423/

Table of Contents

000

Foreword. . . . . i-xi

FIRST BOOK
The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

First chapter. -- The general conditions of human life. . . . 1

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

Chapter II. -- The population of the South of Morocco. . . . 25

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

Chapter III. -- The province of the Sous in the course of history (from the origins to the fifteenth century). . . 71

I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at

/423 cont./

000 the base of an Empire. -- VI. The elements of resistance. -- VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- IX. The organization of the tribes of the Atlas under the Mérinides. -- X. A great kaid in the fourteenth century. -- XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous.

/424/ Chapter IV. -- The province of the Sous in the course of history (from the fifteenth century to our day). 106

I. The first maraboutic reaction, its general characteristics. -- II. The Regraga. -- III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- VII. The great maraboutic crisis. -- VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. -- XII. The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah and the founding of Mogador. -- XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- XIV. Insufficiency of historical sources in the nineteenth century; necessity for direct investigations. -- XV. The Makhzen policy under Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman. -- XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- XVII. Moulay Hasan and the Sous expeditions. -- XVIII. The development of anarchy; the Protectorate.

2: Montagne--557 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/424 cont./

000

BOOK II

The Berbère /Berber/ Republics

First chapter. -- The types of political organization. 151

I. The great commands of the South of Morocco. -- II. The internal organization of the great commands. -- III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- V. The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ before the development of the power of the great chiefs. -- VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that of Berbérie /Barbary/.

Chapter II. -- The small Berbère /Berber/ states: canton, tribe, confederation. 189

I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The "khoms" in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ states.

000 /425/ Chapter III. -- The alliances of tribes and of cantons. 236

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas: difficulties of study. -- II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- V. The leffs during peace. -- VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- XI. Political role of the leffs. -- XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs. -- XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- XV. The Soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- XVI. Kabylie has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

Chapter IV. -- The republican organization. The political institutions. 292

I. The institutions of the Mouda^c. -- II. The council of the canton. -- III. The inflas: their magical origin. -- IV. The moqaddem. -- V. The distribution of the fines. -- VI. The councils of cantons or of tribes without moqaddem. -- VII. The justice circuits. -- VIII. The internal and external wars. -- IX. The festivities and the dances. -- X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Jbala, of the Branès. -- XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

/425 cont./

000 Chapter V. -- The republican organization (continued). The economic institutions. 329

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

BOOK III

The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

First chapter. -- The rise of personal power. The amghar, canton chief. 357

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the fraction by the amghar. -- VIII. The /426/ amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

Chapter II. -- The development of personal power or the conquest of the tribe. 394

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Sekkawi

/426 cont./
(1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

Chapter III. -- The great Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains. 428

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources; the kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

Chapter IV. -- Domination by the Makhzen and the transformation of the country. 472

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's

/426 cont./
000 Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

CONCLUSION
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/. 508

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States: their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

632
634
621
623

Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

792
795

[For a general history of the maraboutic brotherhoods in Morocco from the beginning of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century, see category 116, pp. 106-132 and 138-139; historical information on the establishment of the Zaouias (schools or religious centers for the various orders), will be found in category 116, pp. 122-124.]

2: Montagne

MWII 0kb0 MWII

175

[For a detailed cultural history of Morocco from Roman times to the early 20th century, with special emphasis on the region of the Sous, see category 116, pp. 25, 34-48, and 71-151.]

121
631
175
642

Berbers M11

[For general and historical information on the Berber kingdoms of North Africa, see 2: Montagné, MW11 Shluh, pp. 516-517.]

631

[For general information on the territorial organization of the Shluh, including specific data on the confederations and the "great chiefs" or caids, see Category 116, pp. 48-49, 64-65, 153-188, 190-192, 199-201, 204-205, 211-221, 239-240, 248-249, 259, 299-300, 350, 354-355, 368, 371, 380, 385-387, 396-405, 409-424, 428-473, 480-481, 487-516, and 520-531.]

624
644
463
357

[For information on the servants, retainers and other personnel of the casbahs of the "great chiefs," see categories 631, 712, and 634.]

121
631
175
642

Berbers M11

[For general and historical information on the Berber kingdoms of North Africa, see 2: Montagne, MW11 Shluh, pp. 516-517.]

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

643
622

[For information on the "great chiefs" or caids of the Atlas, see category 631.]

[For information on the locations and construction of casbahs (fortresses), see category 712.]

[For additional information on the casbahs as the residence of the "great chiefs," see also category 712.]

[Since the term "tribe" is defined in the literature of this file as a grouping of several districts with territorial unity but without overt political institutions, category 635 has been used for some of the earlier political data in this file pertinent to the "tribe." The researcher is therefore advised to consult this category (635) for additional data.]

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

634

[For general information on the political structure of the Shluh canton (taqbilt), including specific data on the district councils and heads of the "state" -- the amghar and moquaddem – see Category 116, pp. 17, 48-49, 154, 160-162, 166-174, 177-182, 190-192, 196-221, 236-249, 253-260, 265, 267, 271, 292-293, 296-317, 330-332, 337-343, 350, 353, 357-386, 394-435, 439-441, 445, 449-465, 468-470, 490-492, 499, 502-516, 521-522, 530, and 534.]

[For information on Shluh confederations (and super-confederations), made up of a number of neighboring tribes, see category 631.]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[p.i]

LES BERBÈRES ET LE MAKHZEN

DANS LE SUD DU MAROC

[p.ii is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[p. iii]

LES BERBÈRES
ET
LE MAKHZEN
DANS LE SUD DU MAROC

Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sédentaires (groupe chleuh)

THÈSE PRINCIPALE

Présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris pour le Doctorat ès lettres

PAR

Robert MONTAGNE

[Title Page]

PARIS
LIBRAIRIE FÉLIX ALCAN
108, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 108

1930

Tous droits de reproduction, d'adaptation et de traduction réservés pour tous pays

[p. iv is blank]

[P. V]

A MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL LYAUTEY

Hommage de respectueuse admiration
et de profonde reconnaissance

[P. Vi is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

rôle aussi actif qu'on s'attend à leur voir prendre, dans ce pays du « Sous el Aqsa » demeuré la patrie des docteurs de la loi, des mystiques et des saints, et l'on sera sans doute tenté de nous reprocher de n'avoir pas dit assez longuement les raisons de leur effacement. Maîtresses incontestées du Sous aux xve et xvie siècles, les puissances maraboutiques ont vu depuis décroître leur prestige politique devant les progrès de l'autorité du Makhzen chérifien. Il eût été sans doute utile de mieux étudier les formes de la décadence dont elles sont aujourd'hui frappées aux limites du Sahara où nous les trouvons réfugiées ; leur action réduite, mais non pas négligeable, s'exerce encore dans le sud de l'Anti-Atlas et l'on sait que, dans la partie extrême de cette chaîne, le petit État religieux du Tazerwalt a conservé jusque vers 1885 un prestige suffisant pour inquiéter les Sultans. La nécessité de clore nos enquêtes en tribu et de ne pas étendre indéfiniment les proportions de ce travail nous a déterminé à limiter plus étroitement que nous ne l'aurions désiré, l'étude de ces influences demeurées si longtemps toutes-puissantes en pays berbère.

Nous aurions voulu aussi mieux dire quelles ont été, pour les tribus soumises aux grands chefs et au Makhzen, les conséquences juridiques de la transformation politique qui a si complètement changé, depuis un demi-siècle, leur vie sociale. Passant par transitions souvent rapides des prescriptions d'un droit coutumier singulièrement primitif — bien que très vivant et merveilleusement adapté parfois aux circonstances économiques de l'existence — aux règles rigides établies par la législation sacrée du Coran, les Berbères voient ainsi se précipiter, après leur soumission, la ruine des traditions auxquelles ils sont secrètement le plus attachés. Les documents qui nous eussent permis de suivre cette évolution des institutions et des mœurs sont encore insuffisants ou trop difficiles à interpréter pour que nous ayons pu tenter de suivre les phases diverses du conflit des deux droits.

Il nous faut expliquer ici les conditions matérielles dans lesquelles a pu être réunie la documentation sur laquelle repose cette étude de la lutte des républiques berbères et de leurs chefs.

On ne doit pas s'attendre à trouver dans les textes des auteurs marocains des indications qui permettraient d'étudier les institutions d'une province éloignée de l'Empire. Tout d'abord, les

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

d'abord ; nous étions amené à établir entre les institutions du Haut-Atlas occidental et celles de l'Anti-Atlas, du pays des Jbala, du Rif et de la Kabylie des comparaisons nombreuses, de manière à étendre la portée de nos conclusions à la plus grande partie de la Berbérie sédentaire. Ainsi se trouvaient rassemblés les faits qui ont servi à composer les livres II et III de cet ouvrage.

Il nous restait à rendre plus accessible l'intelligence de ces luttes obscures, à l'intérieur d'une province éloignée et mal connue de l'Empire chérifien, au lecteur peu familiarisé avec les aspects de la vie berbère et de l'histoire du Maghreb. Nous avons cherché ici, dans notre premier livre, sans avoir le souci de faire une étude géographique, à dire simplement, mais avec tout le développement qui nous a paru désirable, quelles étaient les conditions générales d'existence et la civilisation primitive des populations établies dans la région où nous avons multiplié nos enquêtes ; de même, tout en écartant le projet d'écrire une véritable histoire du Sud-Marocain — impossible à composer en raison de l'insuffisance des sources — nous avons pensé aussi qu'il était utile d'esquisser le tableau des grandes luttes du passé dont il a été le théâtre.

En effet, il est difficile, pour un spécialiste même, de réunir aisément et d'interpréter les principales indications que nous donnent les historiens et les chroniqueurs sur la vie d'un pays éloigné des grandes capitales, et qui se trouvent dispersées dans un grand nombre d'ouvrages : il n'est pas douteux cependant qu'un tableau de l'existence du Sud-Marocain sous les grandes dynasties ou dans les périodes d'anarchie, éclaire assez bien le présent et complète heureusement l'étude des formes sociales encore vivantes. En suivant le cours de l'histoire, nous voyons parfois, pendant les grands règnes, comment se sont exercées jadis les mêmes forces pour parvenir à des résultats semblables à ceux qu'il nous est donné d'observer de nos jours ; nous apercevons aussi comment ont pu, au contraire, pendant les siècles de complète anarchie, s'épanouir d'autres influences — celles des fondateurs de zaouïas — dont le rôle est aujourd'hui réduit aux plus modestes proportions.

Certes, le présent travail laisse subsister — malgré son étendue — d'importantes lacunes. C'est ainsi que nous n'avons pas reconnu à ces chefs religieux, chorfa, marabouts, maîtres de confréries, un

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

tion presque unique en Afrique du Nord, ont pris sous nos yeux l'apparence de la stabilité. Nul doute que nous ne puissions saisir ici, sur des exemples modestes il est vrai, mais avec une précision que l'histoire ne nous permet pas d'atteindre, les rapports des tribus et de leurs chefs.

Telles étaient les réflexions générales que nous suggéraient l'étude de l'histoire et le spectacle de la vie des tribus, lorsque les circonstances nous amenèrent à concevoir le projet d'entreprendre le travail que nous achevons aujourd'hui, après cinq années d'enquêtes.

Lorsque le maréchal Lyautey nous fit, en 1923, le grand honneur de nous demander de prolonger au Maroc un séjour qui nous avait permis de nous initier à la vie des populations indigènes, et nous accorda toute liberté pour y poursuivre de nouvelles études, nous avions l'intention de nous borner à mieux connaître seulement l'origine du pouvoir des chefs de l'Atlas, l'organisation de leurs commandements et les institutions qu'ils avaient pu fonder en pays berbère. Après deux années de missions dans l'Atlas occidental et les plaines du Sous, il nous apparut tout d'abord qu'on ne pouvait comprendre comment s'était établie cette « féodalité berbère » sans observer en même temps la décadence progressive et corrélative des républiques de la montagne, auxquelles les chefs du Sud s'étaient peu à peu substitués depuis moins d'un demi-siècle ; d'autre part, la transformation du pays, survenue depuis l'apparition des grands commandements, ne marquait, à l'évidence, qu'une suite d'étapes dans une évolution plus complète ; il était facile de voir que le gouvernement central, le « Makhzen », dont la pénétration progressive était si apparente, venait à son tour pour recueillir l'héritage des seigneurs. C'était le plus souvent le pouvoir chérifien qui entretenait, par ses encouragements ou son influence indirecte, la lutte des chefs et des tribus. L'apparition des grands caïds en pays berbère nous faisait ainsi assister aux phases successives de la constitution de l'Empire.

Par la suite, une mission d'études consacrée aux tribus du nord du Maroc pendant la révolte d''Abd el Kerim, en 1925 et 1926, puis deux nouvelles années de recherches dans l'Anti-Atlas, le Dadès et sur la côte du Sous et des Tekna, devaient nous permettre de compléter les observations que nous avions pu faire tout

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

cherché à pénétrer la vie intérieure de ce pays, a souvent exprimé dans son œuvre le sentiment de mélancolie que lui inspirait cette fragilité des royaumes et des empires ; il n'a pas consenti cependant à nous expliquer avec assez de précision comment s'exerçait le jeu des forces intérieures, unies tantôt pour les former, tantôt pour les détruire. En l'absence de textes des historiens, c'est en étudiant les tribus — et plus spécialement celles qui sont demeurées à l'écart des influences extérieures — qu'on peut espérer distinguer les phases de ces luttes qui opposent les républiques primitives aux chefs qui les dominent pour un temps. C'est sous cette forme qu'il nous est permis de voir se jouer ce drame qui résume une grande partie de la vie politique du Maghreb.

L'observation directe des petits États berbères, la comparaison de leurs formes et de leur structure permet, en effet, d'entrevoir les lois de leur évolution que l'histoire ne nous fait pas connaître. Masqueray a pu ainsi montrer, dans un livre magistral (1), que les hameaux primitifs de l'Aurès, les villages pittoresques et animés de la Kabylie, les villes silencieuses du Mzab représentaient, chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie, les étapes successives de la formation des cités, en suivant une progression analogue à celle qu'ont pu connaître la Grèce et la Rome primitives.

N'est-il pas permis de même de se demander si la constitution du pouvoir des chefs, qui s'élèvent un instant au-dessus des tribus anarchiques, ne se poursuit pas, elle aussi, dans ses rapides étapes, selon des règles constantes, inconnues des hommes, mais qui cependant dirigent invariablement leurs démarches et les conduisent tout d'abord au succès puis à la ruine ?

Pour tenter de voir s'il en est ainsi, il n'est sans doute aucun champ de recherches plus favorable que le Maroc. En effet, jusqu'à l'établissement du Protectorat français, nous pouvons y voir vivre un empire isolé, à demi frappé d'impuissance, agité à la fois par les crises dynastiques et les révoltes des tribus, tantôt déchiré par le désordre, tantôt unifié par l'action énergique d'un souverain. Il semble que l'opposition permanente des républiques berbères et du pouvoir central soit ici plus vive et plus constante.

De plus, dans une des provinces du Sud de l'Empire existent de grands commandements, aux allures féodales, qui par une excep-

(1) Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie*, Paris 1886.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

sources historiques vraiment dignes de ce nom sont rares en ce pays ; les écrivains des derniers siècles, surtout ceux dont la connaissance nous importe le plus parce qu'elle explique davantage le présent, ne nous disent guère que les plus grands événements des règnes de chaque souverain ; à peine quelques pages d'Akensous et d'Ahmed en Nasiri nous apportent-elles, pour le XIXe siècle, le bref récit des expéditions du Sultan ou recueillent-elles l'écho affaibli des guerres survenues dans l'Atlas. En tribu, dans les zaouias mêmes, il ne se trouve guère d'archives qui puissent combler les lacunes de l'histoire officielle : parfois seulement quelques actes nous donnent le nom des chefs disparus, ou plus rarement encore, la page de garde d'un livre de droit porte, de la main maladroite d'un pauvre lettré de village, la mention de la date des grands événements qui ont frappé son esprit, mort des saints personnages, passage des armées du Sultan, luttes de villages ou de cantons.

Aussi est-ce à l'enquête directe, faite dans le pays, qu'il faut demander ce que les textes nous refusent. Au cours de longues tournées dans les villages de l'Atlas, il faut donc chercher, par une sorte de mimétisme volontaire, à adopter pour un temps l'existence des Berbères ; en parlant leur langue, on s'efforcera même de prendre leurs habitudes de pensée, pour diminuer la distance qui nous sépare de leur civilisation primitive et parvenir à la mieux observer.

Cette méthode d'enquête ne va pas d'ailleurs sans difficultés sérieuses ; elle impose, plus encore peut-être que l'usage des documents, une rigoureuse discipline.

On ne peut demander, en effet, aux Berbères — même lorsque au prix de quelques efforts nous avons gagné leur confiance — de nous initier à tout ce que nous ignorons d'eux ; il ne leur vient pas à l'esprit que nous ne sachions pas ce qui pour eux est le plus évident et pour nous le plus étrange : c'est ainsi qu'il nous est arrivé de passer plusieurs mois dans le Haut-Atlas occidental à étudier la vie des tribus sans découvrir l'existence des « leffs », cette organisation d'alliances permanentes sans laquelle il est cependant impossible de comprendre la transformation survenue depuis cinquante ans dans le pays : seul, le hasard d'une enquête historique, faite auprès des vieillards les plus âgés d'un village, nous en a brusquement révélé la nature et le rôle essentiel. Plutôt

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

AVANT-PROPOS

Une étonnante contradiction domine la vie sociale et l'histoire des populations de l'Afrique du Nord.

D'une part, en effet, les tribus sédentaires ou nomades de la Berbérie — aussi longtemps du moins que les conquêtes étrangères n'ont pas transformé leurs conditions d'existence et leur organisation — s'attachent à faire respecter dans leurs États primitifs des institutions démocratiques ou oligarchiques. L'Aurès, la Kabylie, en Algérie : le Rif, le pays des Jbala et le Moyen Atlas, au Maroc, se trouvent ainsi comme recouverts par une mosaïque de petits cantons, à l'intérieur desquels les hommes s'efforcent de conserver entre eux une rigoureuse et jalouse égalité.

D'autre part, nous savons qu'il s'est toujours élevé, au sein de ces tribus, fidèles à leurs lois traditionnelles, partagées en minuscules républiques, des chefs de principautés capables de briser par leurs propres forces toutes les résistances, de constituer en quelques années de vastes commandements et même de fonder des dynasties. Mais les constructions politiques de ces hommes de guerre ou de ces « mahdis » restent éphémères ; nous les voyons parfois disparaître, sans même laisser sur le sol qui les a vus naître, des traces durables de leurs capitales. Depuis les rois barbares ralliés à Rome, jusqu'aux derniers agitateurs de guerre sainte et aux prétendants de notre temps réfugiés sur les sommets du Rif ou aux limites du Sahara, en passant par les fondateurs des puissants empires Fatimite ou Almohade, la succession sans cesse interrompue des chefs berbères remplit l'histoire d'une agitation toujours renouvelée. Il semble que tant d'efforts ne puissent venir à bout de la résistance des peuples obstinément fidèles à la tradition de leurs communautés anarchiques.

Ibn Khaldoun, le seul écrivain de l'Afrique du Nord qui ait

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de tous les officiers de la Direction des Affaires indigènes, qui ont facilité nos travaux dans les régions de Marrakech, de Fez et de Taza, et nous ont réservé dans leurs commandements l'accueil le plus confiant et le plus cordial. Qu'ils veuillent bien croire à nos sentiments de profonde et amicale reconnaissance. Du moins nous faut-il ici dire l'appui si constant et les encouragements si précieux qui nous ont été donnés par notre ami disparu le capitaine H. Thraen, du service des Affaires indigènes, mort à la tâche à Marrakech, en 1927, ainsi que les utiles indications recueillies auprès du commandant Bourguignon, tué à l'ennemi à Kechachda, en 1927. Notre ami H. Basset, le regretté directeur de l'Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines, avait bien voulu s'intéresser à notre travail en 1924, et guider par ses conseils nos premières recherches.

Nous devons particulièrement témoigner notre gratitude à nos amis : le capitaine Pennès — qui nous a si souvent donné, au cours des missions aériennes et de l'étude géographique des régions dissidentes, la précieuse contribution de ses connaissances et de son courage — le lieutenant F. de La Chapelle à qui nous devons de si utiles études sur le pays des Seksawa (livre III, chap. II et III), dans lesquelles nous avons si largement puisé ici ; le lieutenant Spillman, le capitaine interprète Ben Daoud à qui nous avons emprunté de précieuses indications sur le droit coutumier; M. G. S. Colin, professeur à l'Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines et à l'École des Langues orientales vivantes, qui a bien voulu nous communiquer d'importantes notes manuscrites sur le pays des Ghomara, les Koutama et les Senhaja de Srair: le commandant Portillo, des « Intervenciones militares » de la zone espagnole du Protectorat, qui nous a si aimablement facilité une visite au pays des Jbala.

Enfin, nos amis H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier, ont eu la bonté de revoir notre manuscrit et nous ont à maintes reprises formulé d'utiles suggestions ; nous les prions de croire à notre bien vive reconnaissance.

Il nous est impossible de passer sous silence l'accueil si souvent empressé et amical qui nous a été fait dans les pauvres villages de la montagne par nos innombrables informateurs ou, dans les kasbas, par le plus grand nombre des chefs des tribus. Pour nous donner les renseignements que nous cherchions à réunir, les uns devaient, assez souvent, manifester un courage, les autres nous témoigner

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

hôtes, en haut des tours des kasbas, ou plus souvent encore dans les maisons plus humbles des chikhs de village, que nous avons cherché à découvrir les divers aspects de la vie simple des montagnards du Sud-Marocain. Cependant que, sous nos yeux, les tableaux parfois gracieux, toujours attachants, de la primitive et rude existence des hautes vallées nous aidaient à comprendre le présent, les vieillards nous disaient les guerres du passé, les traditions jadis respectées, maintenant destinées à l'oubli, parce qu'elles étaient devenues pour toujours inutiles dans un ordre nouveau. Ces précieux récits de centaines de témoins nous évoquaient, dans le pays lui-même, au milieu des ruines des villages ou sur les tours des forteresses, un demi-siècle d'histoire, avec une certitude et une vivante précision de détails qui nous donnaient l'illusion du présent. Peu à peu, s'éclairaient pour nous tant de luttes obscures et, au cours des rudes étapes des chemins de l'Atlas, il nous arrivait parfois, dans la sévère grandeur des sommets et des cols, d'embrasser d'un seul regard un vaste horizon de vallées où nous nous exercions à distinguer, avec nos guides, comme dans un livre grand ouvert, le sens caché de la vie berbère.

Parvenu au terme de notre travail, il nous reste à exprimer nos sentiments de profonde gratitude et de respectueuse reconnaissance à ceux qui nous ont permis de l'entreprendre et de l'achever : il n'eût pas vu le jour sans la confiance dont nous a honoré le maréchal Lyautey, en nous conservant au Maroc et en nous donnant les moyens nécessaires pour effectuer nos enquêtes. L'honneur d'avoir été ainsi associé pour une faible part à son œuvre restera pour nous le plus précieux souvenir de notre carrière africaine.

L'appui si bienveillant et éclairé de M. le colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes, a grandement facilité nos débuts.

M. Steeg, résident général de France au Maroc, a bien voulu nous conserver la même confiance et c'est grâce à son intervention et à l'intérêt qu'il a pris à nos recherches, avec le regretté M. Duclos, directeur des Affaires indigènes, que nous avons pu achever les enquêtes nécessaires.

M. le général Daugan, M. le général Huré, commandant la région de Marrakech, nous ont donné en toutes circonstances le plus bienveillant appui pour exécuter nos missions.

Nous ne saurions ici, sans risquer des oublis, rappeler les noms

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

que par des confidences, c'est donc par une observation attentive du présent, par une recherche minutieuse des événements du passé — tel que les témoins les plus anciens peuvent nous permettre de le connaître — qu'on arrivera à comprendre la nature des institutions et à distinguer le jeu des lois qui dominent la politique des tribus.

D'autre part, chacun des cantons dans lesquels les habitants du Sud-Marocain enferment volontairement leur activité a sa vie propre; surtout en montagne, l'horizon de la vie politique de ces petites républiques est étroitement limité; il sera donc nécessaire de multiplier les enquêtes dans les régions où celles-ci semblent devoir donner les meilleurs résultats et d'assembler de proche en proche les indications recueillies.

Dans un pays aussi vaste que le quart de la France, encore mal connu, au point que les cartes font parfois presque entièrement défaut, nous nous sommes donc attaché tout d'abord à distinguer et à examiner séparément les divers groupements naturels dont la disposition géographique des grandes chaînes et des vallées trace assez bien les limites : Haut-Atlas occidental, zone des plateaux côtiers, vallée et plaine intérieure du Sous, chaîne de l'Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, hautes vallées du Dra et du Dadès.

A l'intérieur de chacun de ces territoires, nous avons cherché, en profitant des circonstances politiques favorables et des progrès de la pénétration française, à multiplier nos enquêtes sous forme de monographies aussi complètes que la durée de notre séjour pouvait le permettre (1). Tantôt nous nous trouvions dans des régions entièrement soumises, au voisinage de la côte, sous la surveillance parfois inquiète des chefs indigènes ; tantôt nous choisissions les cantons des hautes vallées à peine touchées encore par notre arrivée, où l'accueil modeste, mais confiant, des petits notables berbères facilitait notre tâche; d'autres fois, enfin, nous devions survoler les tribus dissidentes, apprendre à connaître leur territoire, leurs chefs, leurs traditions et leur histoire par le moyen d'informateurs choisis dans chacune de ces petites républiques dont l'accès direct nous était fermé.

C'est donc en visitant l'un après l'autre les hameaux des montagnes, en passant de longues soirées dans la chambre réservée aux

(1) On trouvera p. 424, la liste des monographies exécutées ; une partie d'entre elles est restée inédite.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

une confiance qui ne laissaient pas d'être méritoires. S'il nous est arrivé parfois, dans les pages qui suivent, de faire porter nos sympathies sur certaines formes de la vie sociale des Berbères de préférence à d'autres, du moins avons-nous cherché ici à juger les institutions plus que les hommes. Ceux-ci valent mieux que celles-là, et plus d'une fois, en quittant la maison d'un caïd, ou plus souvent encore, au seuil de l'humble demeure d'un chikh de l'Atlas, après de longues heures passées avec des Berbères à évoquer les luttes anciennes, nous avons senti le regret de laisser derrière nous des amis que le temps et la distance ne nous permettraient plus de revoir.

[P. 1]

LIVRE PREMIER

Le Sous dans le Maghreb et dans l'histoire

[P. 2 is blank]

[P.3]

CHAPITRE PREMIER

Les conditions générales de la vie humaine

I. Les grandes régions politiques du Maroc. — II. Le Sous microcosme politique. — III. Les limites de la province du Sous. — IV. Le climat et le régime des eaux dans les plaines. — V. Le climat et le régime des eaux en montagne. — VI. L'attirance des grandes vallées irriguées. — VII. Les chemins de l'Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas. — VIII. Les massifs montagneux. — IX. La mer.

I. *Les grandes régions politiques du Maroc.* — L'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, dans son ensemble, nous donne le spectacle d'une suite sans ordre d'entreprises dynastiques, vainement tentées dans les régions les plus diverses pour fonder des royaumes berbères ou arabes au sein d'un pays demeuré essentiellement anarchique et rebelle à l'unité. Cependant, il n'est pas impossible de distinguer dans ce désordre deux régions distinctes. Dans l'immense territoire, qui va du Golfe des Syrtes à la Moulouya, il semble que les chefs, surgis des tribus ou venus de l'extérieur, soient plus souvent impuissants à triompher, et que leurs ambitions soient plus vite lassées par la résistance obstinée des sédentaires ou usées par la versatilité des nomades. Le Maghreb extrême, au contraire, est fréquemment parvenu, sous la domination de puissants souverains, à prendre l'aspect d'un État. Les chorfa Idrisites, les conquérants Almoravides, Almohades, Mérinides, les chorfa Saadiens et Filaliens, qui ont au cours des siècles exercé successivement le pouvoir dans les mêmes lieux, non sans interruptions d'ailleurs, ont réussi à y créer, malgré l'opposition de leurs sujets, la tradition d'un gouvernement de l'Occident, qui n'est pas indigne d'être comparé aux grandes monarchies de l'Islam oriental.

L'œuvre des grandes dynasties du Maroc semble d'ailleurs avoir

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

été favorisée par la disposition géographique du pays qu'il suffit ici de rappeler.

Dans les plaines atlantiques, traversées par les vallées du Sebou, de l'Oum er Rbi'a et du Tensift se trouvent en effet des territoires souvent fertiles, des zones de passage facile et des villes anciennes et peuplées. C'est là que, de tout temps, s'est étendu le domaine du « Makhzen » ; les petits États qu'y avaient créés les sédentaires les plus anciens, avant la fondation des grands royaumes musulmans, ont disparu dès les premiers siècles de l'histoire ; le mélange des autochtones avec les envahisseurs berbères et arabes s'est fait ici plus intime et l'autorité des souverains de Fez et de Marrakech s'est exercée sans peine sur des tribus depuis longtemps dépourvues de traditions et privées du sentiment de leur unité.

Au contraire, le grand arc montagneux dessiné grossièrement par les chaînes du Rif, du Moyen Atlas, de l'Atlas Central et Occidental, qui en serrent le large espace des plaines atlantiques, est demeuré l'habitat de populations souvent rebelles, « le bled es Siba », le pays des révoltes et de l'anarchie. Les Berbères ont réussi, dans ces centres de résistance naturels, à garder presque intactes leurs institutions et leurs coutumes anciennes ; ils ont su adapter, selon leur génie propre, leurs traditions et leurs croyances primitives aux principes nouveaux apportés par cet Islam dont les souverains étaient en plaine les représentants officiels et les défenseurs intéressés.

Sans doute, ces régions difficiles n'ont pas vécu dans l'isolement. Des races hostiles se sont heurtées dans les montagnes elles-mêmes, mais à l'inverse de ce qui s'est passé dans le « bled el Makhzen » les guerres intérieures qui s'y sont livrées n'ont pas fait disparaître les caractères propres des tribus. Les éléments ethniques les plus différents s'y sont librement mêlés ; cependant, leurs origines distinctes, ainsi que des influences géographiques et économiques dissemblables, ont contribué à donner aux diverses parties du « bled es Siba » une variété qui s'oppose à l'uniformité du pays soumis. C'est ainsi que sont apparues de grandes régions politiques que nous pouvons distinguer de nos jours : le pays des sédentaires du Rif et des Ghomara, sur les rives de la Méditerranée, au nord des vallées de l'Ouergha et du Sebou et de la voie de passage de Taza à Tlemcen ; le pays des semi-nomades Senhaja et des Zenata qui embrasse les confins sahariens du Dra, du Tafilelt et du Haut-

Guir, l'Atlas Central et le Moyen Atlas ; enfin, celui des sédentaires Masmouda et Senhaja, fixés dans l'Atlas occidental, la vallée de l'oued Sous et l'Anti-Atlas (1).

Sur la limite du Sahara, à l'extérieur du demi-cercle formé par l'Atlas, il existe en outre des tribus nomades, arabes pour la plupart, qui se sont mêlées, par intervalles, à l'existence de l'Empire en traversant les grands cols pour se répandre dans les plaines atlantiques. Mais tandis qu'elles entraient dans ces régions intérieures au service des grandes dynasties, sur les confins du désert elles conservaient une liberté qui permet de les regarder comme des éléments étrangers à la vie du Maghreb extrême.

II. *Le Sous microcosme politique.* — Une grande partie de l'histoire intérieure du Maroc ne peut s'expliquer que par l'étude des relations du gouvernement central, ou « Makhzen », avec les diverses régions berbères qui bordent les provinces soumises de l'Empire. Pour découvrir la trame cachée des événements les plus importants du passé, dont les écrivains arabes ont si peu cherché à nous faire connaître l'enchaînement et les causes, il faudrait examiner les conditions dans lesquelles s'est développée et affermie l'autorité des Sultans sur les républiques berbères, distinguer par quelles transitions insensibles un pouvoir personnel fondé sur la force, illimité et tyrannique par nature, a pu naître, grandir et s'exercer à l'intérieur du pays traditionnellement hostile au gouvernement d'un chef unique, jusqu'au moment où des crises dynastiques ou des révoltes ont rendu au « bled es Siba » sa liberté.

Il faudrait aussi tenir compte du degré différent de pénétration des grandes régions berbères par la politique des dynasties marocaines. Les Ghomara et les Senhaja du Nord, les Masmouda et les Senhaja du Sud, sont intervenus à diverses reprises par leurs alliances ou leurs guerres dans le « bled el Makhzen »; au contraire, les insaisissables pasteurs du Sud-Est sont demeurés, le plus souvent, à l'écart des grands événements qui agitaient les plaines centrales ou n'ont manifesté leur existence que par une opposition irréductible ; c'est encore chez eux qu'il faut aller de nos jours pour

(1) Chacune de ces trois zones correspond à l'une des trois divisions linguistiques du pays berbère. La première prend le nom de « groupe rifain » (parlers arabes des Jbala et berbères des Ghomara, Senhaja et Zenata) ; la seconde forme le groupe « Beraber » (Ait 'Atta, Ait Seghrouchen, Zayan, Zemmour, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild) ; la troisième est le domaine des Chleuhs (parlers du groupe de la Tachelhait).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

trouver l'image fidèle de l'existence de tribus indépendantes, restées en dehors des grands courants de la civilisation musulmane, et attachées à leurs traditions de liberté et d'anarchie plus qu'à la vie même.

Conduire une enquête sur les relations des Berbères et du Makhzen dans tout l'ensemble du Maroc et au cours de l'histoire serait une entreprise ambitieuse et dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, quelque peu téméraire.

D'une part, les institutions des Empires qui se sont succédé dans ce pays sont trop mal connues pour que nous puissions, en les étudiant, découvrir avec une précision suffisante les règles de la politique des souverains musulmans à l'égard de leurs sujets rebelles ; d'autre part, la vie des tribus, remplie d'événements insignifiants en apparence, de révoltes et de luttes obscures, se prête mal à de vastes recherches. Ce que nous savons de l'histoire des provinces nous permet seulement d'apercevoir une alternance monotone de périodes d'organisation et d'anarchie dont les causes profondes ne se laissent pas aisément découvrir au premier abord.

Mais si nous limitons étroitement le champ de notre observation, en choisissant une partie du Maghreb dans laquelle se trouvent à la fois réunis sur un faible espace et une courte période les aspects successifs d'une évolution qui se poursuit partout en suivant les mêmes lois, il est possible de comprendre la nature du grand rythme de la vie berbère. On y observe tout d'abord l'existence agitée des petites républiques anarchiques, puis l'apparition et le développement des chefs, qui entraîne à la fois l'ordre et l'oppression, enfin le retour au désordre et à la liberté.

Nous étudierons ici, d'aussi près que possible, l'organisation sociale et politique des sédentaires des montagnes du sud du Maroc entre le Dra et l'Atlantique, dans cette région à laquelle les historiens donnent le nom de Sous (1). La vie humaine y revêt des caractères incontestables d'unité, sous une apparente diversité d'aspects. Le Makhzen, les tribus et les chefs s'y opposent tour à

(1) Nous donnons ici le nom de province du Sous à toute cette région qui est le domaine du dialecte de la « tachelhait ». *Stricto sensu*, le nom de Sous est souvent réservé à la vallée même de l'Oued de ce nom et aux deux versants de l'Anti-Atlas. Mais aux yeux du Makhzen, le pays des Masmouda, l'Atlas Occidental, en fait également partie. L'unité relative de la structure sociale des tribus, la parenté étroite des divers parlers, l'existence d'une sorte de civilisation commune à tous les sédentaires berbères du Sud du Maroc justifient notre terminologie. Nous n'emploierons ici le mot Sous, dans son acception étroite, qu'en spécifiant qu'il s'agit de la vallée même de ce fleuve ou de la plaine intérieure qu'il traverse

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

tour et nous donnent l'image parfaite, dans un petit monde en réduction, de cette opposition, simple dans ses principes, compliquée dans ses formes, qui met aux prises dans tout l'ensemble le gouvernement et ses sujets. Plus que partout ailleurs, il est facile de distinguer dans cette région les phases de la transformation qui entraîne dans un même courant les petites sociétés berbères. Nous y voyons en effet de minuscules états passer sous nos yeux de la vie indépendante à la servitude ; soumis à des influences qui altèrent peu à peu leur constitution et leur structure, ils obéissent à des lois semblables et participent à la fois à une même évolution.

En regardant le Sous comme une sorte de microcosme politique du Maroc, nous essaierons cependant d'étendre à d'autres régions nos observations, lorsque la transformation de leurs institutions rendra possible une telle comparaison. Des exemples choisis chez les Jbala, dans le Rif ou dans la Kabylie du Djurjura, nous montreront comment les lois simples que l'étude des tribus nous aura fait découvrir dans la province du Sous peuvent expliquer la vie des tribus de la plus grande partie de la Berbérie sédentaire.

Seul le pays des semi-nomades du Moyen Atlas et de l'Atlas central restera entièrement soustrait à nos enquêtes. Nous avons pensé que les conditions différentes de la vie matérielle, l'état moins avancé de l'évolution politique avant l'établissement de notre protectorat, ne nous permettaient pas en effet d'établir des comparaisons entre cette région et les autres pays peuplés de sédentaires avec une certitude suffisante. Aussi bien l'hostilité profonde manifestée par la plupart de ces tribus à la pénétration du Makhzen, le faible développement qu'y a pris avant notre conquête le pouvoir personnel y rendraient presque sans objet nos recherches.

Avant de dire le rôle joué au cours de l'histoire par le Sous, lointain et mystérieux, patrie des Mahdis et des prétendants, des réformateurs de religion et des talebs magiciens, et qui se trouve être à la fois le domaine des républiques indépendantes, des rois de la montagne et des grands caïds, nous nous efforcerons d'indiquer tout d'abord quels sont les facteurs géographiques qui déterminent partiellement la vie des hommes et dans quels cadres, tracés par la nature, leur existence a pu conserver à la fois une grande variété et une profonde unité. Nous chercherons ensuite à montrer comment s'est réalisé le peuplement de cette vaste région et à esquisser

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

le tableau de l'humble civilisation de ses habitants, de ces « chleuhs » industrieux et paisibles qui forment l'un des groupes sociaux les plus homogènes et les plus vivants de la Berbérie.

III. *Les limites de la province du Sous.* — Les limites géographiques de la province à laquelle nous donnons le nom de Sous résultent presque partout de la disposition du relief. Au Nord et au Sud, la plaine de Marrakech ou le Sahara sont l'habitat des tribus arabes ou arabisées, tandis que les Berbères occupent les montagnes jusqu'à leurs dernières pentes. Une ligne qui part de Mogador en suivant à faible distance le pied de l'Atlas jusqu'à Demnat, borde le territoire des tribus berbères d'origine masmoudienne. Au Sud, c'est le cours inférieur de l'Oued Noun, la ligne du Bani et de la Khela Tifernin, qui séparent le pays des Senhaja sédentaires de l'Anti-Atlas des steppes et des déserts où vivent les Arabes nomades du Sahara.

A l'Est, la limite de notre région est plus difficile à fixer. Dans le Haut-Atlas, si l'on s'en tenait aux groupes ethniques, il faudrait sans doute distinguer le pays peuplé de Masmouda, à l'Ouest des cols des Glawa, de celui qui est, plus à l'Est, jusqu'aux cols de l'Izoughar, habité par les sédentaires Senhaja fixés autour du sommet de l'Ighil Mgoun depuis de longs siècles. Les parlers de ces derniers diffèrent d'ailleurs quelque peu de la « tachelhaït » du Sous et présentent déjà quelques caractères de transition avec ceux des semi-nomades du groupe des Berabers. Si l'on s'en tenait au contraire aux conditions d'existence et au genre de vie, ce sont les passages de l'Izoughar, au voisinage du pays des transhumants, qui devraient nous servir de limite.

L'imprécision des frontières du Sous est la même dans la vallée cultivée du Dadès qui se relie par une suite continue de jardins à celle du Haut-Dra et forme comme elle une sorte de creuset où les sédentaires des montagnes du Nord et de l'Ouest viennent se fondre avec les semi-nomades des steppes du Sud et de l'Est. On peut admettre que cette ligne de jardins, longue de deux cent cinquante kilomètres, large de quelques centaines de mètres à peine, constitue à la fois un pays de transition et une limite, au delà de laquelle on pénètre dans le pays du Saghro, sur le territoire des Ait 'Atta, frères des montagnards Ait Yafelman de l'Atlas central et des Zayan.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les circonstances ne nous ont pas permis de poursuivre nos enquêtes dans la région montagneuse de l'Ighil Mgoun jusqu'aux cols de l'Izoughar. Aussi, bien que les populations qui l'habitent aient connu une évolution semblable à celle de l'Atlas Occidental, et qu'on puisse, croyons-nous, expliquer par les mêmes règles les diverses transformations de leur vie politique, nous nous bornerons à compter au nombre des tribus de montagne du groupe « chleuh », celles qui appartiennent à la famille des Masmouda et dont le territoire s'étend depuis l'Atlantique jusqu'au Tizi n Fedghat, qui fait communiquer le pays des Skourra avec Demnat, un peu à l'est du col de Telwet. Le Sous embrasse ainsi l'ensemble des territoires de montagne du Haut-Atlas, de l'Anti-Atlas et du Sirwa, entre le Dra et l'Océan, ainsi que la plaine intérieure qui s'y trouve enclavée.

IV. *Le climat et le régime des eaux dans les plaines.* — De tous les facteurs géographiques qui dominent la vie dans le Sud-Marocain. celui qui détermine avec le plus de rigueur l'existence des hommes est le climat. Au voisinage du Sahara, sous les rayons d'un soleil presque tropical, l'existence d'un puissant relief dans une région où les sommets dépassent parfois quatre mille mètres, ne suffit pas à soustraire le Sous à l'ardeur d'un ciel que les nuages viennent trop rarement voiler.

Si l'on fait un instant abstraction des modifications qu'entraîne l'altitude des sommets de l'Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas, la répartition des eaux météoriques dans les plaines du Sud obéit à des règles simples. Il existe ici, comme dans tout l'ensemble du Maroc, deux périodes de pluie ; l'une en octobre et novembre, l'autre en février et mars. Ces deux saisons se trouvent d'ailleurs quelquefois confondues en raison des précipitations qui surviennent parfois au cours des mois intermédiaires de l'hiver ; mais, pendant les mois d'été, l'atmosphère demeure presque toujours sereine.

C'est à l'influence des grandes dépressions de l'Atlantique occidental que le Sous doit le bénéfice d'une humidité relative, à une latitude où l'on ne voit, dans le reste de l'Afrique du Nord, s'étendre que des territoires désertiques. Mais, malgré le voisinage de l'Océan, la quantité moyenne des pluies annuelles reste faible. Elle atteint sur la côte trente centimètres, puis diminue quelque peu à l'intérieur, dans le pays du cours moyen du Tensift et du Sous ; au

2: Montagne MWI1 Shluh

delà, elle s'accroît à nouveau quelque peu, puis devient plus faible encore vers les steppes du Dra où elle est inférieure à vingt centimètres.

Ces pluies, insuffisantes pour faire vivre une végétation durable, sont en outre irrégulières. Il arrive que le beau temps persiste pendant tout l'automne, de telle sorte que les labours demeurent impossibles. D'autres fois, le blé, semé et germé pendant les derniers mois de l'année, sèche au printemps parce que l'eau, attendue avec anxiété au mois de mars, survient trop tard ou en trop faible quantité. Certaines années, les oueds grossissent en un jour, à la suite d'averses abondantes, et toutes les communications, habituellement si faciles dans les plaines, se trouvent coupées par les moindres ravins. D'autres hivers, au contraire, les citernes restent vides, et l'atmosphère conserve, d'octobre à mars, une impitoyable limpidité. L'importance des écarts annuels dans la chute totale est telle, et la répartition des pluies si capricieuse, qu'on ne peut espérer, hors des vallées fertilisées par les sources ou les eaux des torrents de la montagne, obtenir de belles moissons plus d'une fois sur cinq. Tous les cinq ans, tous les dix ans au plus, plusieurs mauvaises récoltes se suivent et engendrent la disette. Lorsqu'il arrive enfin que les citernes n'ont pas été remplies et que les sources tarissent, hommes et troupeaux doivent, pour quelques mois, abandonner leur territoire. Aussi voit-on chaque famille s'efforcer d'acquérir, au voisinage des séguias descendues de la montagne, quelques champs minuscules, cultivés avec soin, abondamment fumés, dont les trois petites récoltes annuelles, toujours assurées, permettront à tout le moins d'échapper à la famine.

Peu favorable au développement de la vie sédentaire en raison de l'irrégularité et l'insuffisance des pluies, le Sous n'offre cependant pas aux nomades les vastes espaces découverts nécessaires à leurs troupeaux. Une forêt clairsemée d'arganiers couvre une partie des plaines et des collines voisines de l'Atlantique, et les étendues libres pour le parcours des tribus sont trop faibles pour des pasteurs. Les populations errantes arrivées du désert, qui ont à plusieurs reprises, au cours de l'histoire, envahi les vallées, n'ont pu s'y maintenir et conserver la vie nomade. Repoussées par les sédentaires fixés au voisinage des sources et des séguias et dont les cultures s'étendent tout à l'entour ou diminuent, selon que l'année leur semble propice ou défavorable, elles se sont dispersée

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ou se sont elles-mêmes adaptées à la vie précaire des agriculteurs du Sous.

V. *Le climat et le régime des eaux en montagne.* — L'obstacle apporté par les montagnes aux vents de l'Atlantique, chargés des pluies si désirées, vient altérer sensiblement la régularité du climat. Les deux grandes chaînes parallèles de l'Atlas — le « Deren » des géographes arabes et l'Anti-Atlas — entre lesquelles la masse volcanique du Sirwa jette comme un pont gigantesque, forment des barrières naturelles et des écrans sur le versant nord desquels les eaux et les neiges ruissellent ou s'abattent à plusieurs reprises au cours de l'hiver.

La largeur moyenne du Haut-Atlas atteint 80 kilomètres et ses crêtes s'élèvent à l'est à plus de 4.000 mètres dans la région des sommets de l'Ighil Mgoun et l'Wanoukrim ; le massif du Tichka, chez les Seksawa, atteint encore 3.500 mètres ; les montagnes tabulaires des Ida Ou Tanan sont à plus de 2.000 mètres au-dessus de l'Océan. L'ascension des masses d'air qui se produit lentement sur la pente douce du versant nord de la grande chaîne détermine d'abondantes précipitations. Leur importance totale est le double de celles qu'on observe dans la plaine de Marrakech. La chute des pluies est d'ailleurs plus régulière dans le Deren que dans le reste du Sous et, pendant l'été même, les orages de la région des sommets contribuent à entretenir dans les pâturages élevés une humidité inconnue ailleurs. Les neiges abondantes des grands sommets subsistent jusqu'en juillet et leur fonte entretient des torrents dont les eaux claires roulent en plaine jusqu'à l'automne. Par contre, le versant sud du Haut-Atlas, en pente rapide vers la vallée du Sous, est moins favorisé ; il ne recueille qu'une faible partie des pluies d'hiver et des orages ; la neige y disparaît en quelques jours sous l'action d'un implacable soleil et les ruisseaux qui coulent au printemps tarissent pour la plupart avant l'été.

Mais si les parties élevées du Deren bénéficient d'un régime pluviométrique favorable, analogue à celui des plaines du Gharb, l'homme ne parvient qu'avec peine à en tirer parti. Le relief est en effet si heurté, la coupure des vallées si profonde, que le sol cultivable est presque inconnu en montagne. C'est par un patient effort, en roulant de grosses pierres pour faire de minuscules terrasses, que les Berbères parviennent à retenir sur le flanc des torrents

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

le précieux humus d'où leur travail fera surgir quelques épis. Aussi les hauts plateaux de l'Atlas, tels que le Kik, les « Azzeg » de la rive gauche de l'Asif el Mal, les pentes supérieures des Aït Semmeg et de l'Oneîn, prennent-ils une inestimable valeur, parce que la culture des céréales y est presque toujours possible. Toutefois la superficie de ces terres privilégiées est trop faible pour faire vivre les habitants de la montagne. Il leur faut chercher au pied des deux versants, sur cette bordure à laquelle on donne le nom de « Dir », les libres espaces de la plaine que fertilisent les sources jaillissantes et les torrents sortis des gorges étroites de l'Atlas.

Les Dirs du nord et du sud du Deren sont les régions les plus peuplées de la montagne. C'est au point où viennent mourir les dernières pentes, que naissent les belles oliveraies de Demnat, de Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz, Tisgin, Imi n Tanout. Près des séguias s'élèvent de gros bourgs. Des marchés s'y tiennent où affluent les Berbères des hautes vallées et du Dir, ainsi que les Arabes de la grande plaine. De la même manière, sur le versant sud, les villages de Targa n Izouggwaghen chez les Aït Semmeg, de Talekjont et de Talemt, au pays des Ida ou Zeddagh, des Ida ou Gwaïlal et de Bou L'ajlat au nord de Taroudant, offrent un saisissant contraste par la fertilité de leurs champs, avec le rude pays de l'Aghbar et des Ida ou Msattog. on comprend, à les voir, que les montagnards, séparés par quelques heures de chemin de ces lieux d'abondance, se laissent parfois tenter par la merveilleuse douceur des jardins de la bordure de la plaine. Il s'en faut toutefois que le Dir méridional ait l'importance de celui du nord. La chute trop brusque de l'Atlas, l'exposition moins favorable de ses pentes réduisent quelque peu le débit des sources et des séguias et délimitent étroitement le développement des cultures.

Les conditions de la vie humaine dans l'Anti-Atlas sont toutes différentes. Ici, la chaîne est plus usée, brisée en divers points, de telle sorte qu'on trouve aisément, sur les plateaux des Zenaga et des Souktana à l'Est, dans la région des crêtes du centre, entre le pays des Ida ou Kensous et des Ida ou Gnidif, ces vastes étendues cultivables qui sont si rares dans le Deren. Mais la barrière du Haut-Atlas suffit à arrêter les pluies au nord de la vallée du Sous. Dans la plus grande partie du pays — sauf sur les pentes occidentales de la montagne des Ida Oultit, au voisinage de l'Atlantique — les récoltes sont si faibles que, dans les meilleures années, les femmes

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

recueillent précieusement à la main un à un les épis au lieu de les couper à la faucille. Aussi les deux Dirs de l'Anti-Atlas exercent-ils le même attrait que dans le Deren sur les habitants deshérités des sommets. Au Nord, de Tidsi à Wijjan, sources, puits ou séguias font vivre quelques villages ; au Sud, c'est la ligne des oasis du Noun et du Bani qui marque la résurgence des oueds au voisinage du désert. Les qsour de Qsabi, Goulimin, Tarjicht, les palmeraies des Ifran, d'Aqqa et de Tisint forment ainsi, sur la frontière méridionale du Sous, une réplique saharienne des oliveraies de la plaine de Marrakech.

VI. *L'attirance des grandes vallées irriguées.* — Entre les deux grandes chaînes s'ouvre, au centre du pays, un passage naturel qui conduit aisément des sources du Dadès jusqu'à l'embouchure du Sous. N'était l'obstacle du Sirwa, les eaux des cols de l'Izoughar s'y engageraient et parviendraient en droite ligne par Taroudant à l'Atlantique. Cette voie de pénétration se continue d'ailleurs plus à l'Est en suivant la bordure méridionale de l'Atlas central ; par le seuil d'Imider, elle gagne le Todgha et le Ferkla pour atteindre le Tafilelt.

L'étroite plaine enserrée entre les deux chaînes de montagnes — l'Atlas et l'Anti-Atlas — n'est, à la vérité, qu'une sorte de désert, mais les riches vallées du Dadès, du Haut-Dra et du Sous tracent en son centre une ligne continue de jardins et de vergers. Les voyageurs, frappés du contraste entre l'aridité et la solitude de la steppe, et l'abondance qui règne dans le Dadès, le Dra et le Haut-Sous, nous ont décrit avec un enthousiasme qu'il est difficile de ne pas éprouver avec eux, la prodigieuse fertilité de ces vallées. Trois récoltes s'y succèdent au cours de l'année, et parfois même, trois étages de végétation — céréales, arbres fruitiers et palmiers — s'y élèvent en même temps. Jadis, jusqu'au XVIIe siècle, la culture de la canne à sucre y fut prospère, et c'est sans doute ce souvenir qui contribua à entretenir jusqu'à nos jours la réputation de richesse du Sud-Marocain. A présent encore, on voit, sur les cols de l'Atlas, les caravanes transporter à Marrakech les roses et les figues du Dadès, les dattes, le henné et le takaout du Dra, les olives du Sous, cependant que l'orge, le maïs, le sorgho, les légumes les plus divers, font vivre dans les qsour la paisible population des oasis.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

On comprend, dès lors, quelle peut être, dans la pauvreté générale du pays, l'attirance exercée par cette ligne intérieure, ce mince cordon de jardins qui forme comme le grand axe de la province du Sous.

Vers le Dadès, descendent à la fois les Senhaja sédentaires du Deren et les Aït 'Atta du Saghro. Les humbles bourgs de Tazenakht et du Zagmouzen jouent le même rôle à l'égard des Aït Waouzgit, du Sirwa et des Souktana et Zenaga de l'Anti-Atlas oriental ; enfin, le fleuve même du Sous, depuis son entrée en plaine jusqu'à son embouchure, rassemble dans ses villages les Arabes, fixés dans la vallée et les Berbères de la partie occidentale des deux chaînes.

Cependant, quelle que soit la fertilité des terres irriguées de l'une de ces cinq lignes naturelles d'attirance, formées par les Dirs de l'Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas et l'axe des grandes vallées, le sol du Sous ne parvient pas à faire vivre ses nombreuses et prolifiques populations. Les oasis et les jardins ont une surface insuffisante et l'appoint des récoltes dans les « bour » (1) des plaines et des collines reste indispensable pour assurer la subsistance des hommes. Aussi lorsque les mauvaises récoltes se suivent de trop près, les régions les moins favorisées rejettent tout d'abord les hommes vers les sources et les séguias ; puis, si les pluies tardent encore, comme il arrive plusieurs fois par siècle, la famine chasse familles et troupeaux vers les plaines du Gharb. Les migrations de tribus, à la suite des guerres et des épidémies, activent encore ce perpétuel brassage. Le résultat de ces mouvements intérieurs est de faciliter la fusion des races, d'unifier la culture et de donner aux éléments qui forment le groupe « chleuh » des caractères communs qui le distinguent aisément des autres populations berbères.

VII. *Les chemins de l'Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas.* — Quelle que soit la richesse de la vallée centrale de l'oued Sous, que prolongent, entre les deux chaînes, le Zagmouzen, le Haut-Dra et le Dadès, ce n'est pas dans cette partie du Sud-Marocain que l'on peut observer les manifestations les plus originales de la vie sociale des Berbères. Ces derniers ne se trouvent pas à l'aise dans les qsour et les gros villages, au milieu des séguias et des jardins. Ils s'y rencontrent avec les « haraten » — descendants d'esclaves noirs — les

(1) Terres non irriguées.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Arabes entrés au service du Makhzen, les chorfa et les marabouts, attirés par la fertilité des terres. La population des oasis qui résulte de ce mélange des races perd bientôt toutes qualités guerrières et tombe le plus souvent sous la domination des chefs étrangers ou des tribus plus belliqueuses du voisinage. Le véritable territoire des autochtones reste la montagne et c'est en étudiant les groupes qui l'occupent et qui restent les plus actifs et les plus nombreux que nous parviendrons en même temps à comprendre quelles influences s'exercent sur la vie des habitants des plaines.

Le Haut-Atlas et l'Anti-Atlas ne constituent en aucune manière une barrière infranchissable. De nombreux cols les traversent, qui empruntent la ligne des vallées, par lesquels de constantes relations s'établissent entre les deux versants, de telle sorte que le déplacement des hommes, la migration des familles et des tribus se trouvent à peine arrêtés par l'obstacle des montagnes.

Dans l'Atlas occidental, le Tizi n Fedghat et le Tizi n Telwet, à près de 2.000 mètres d'altitude, font ainsi communiquer le pays des Skoura, le Haut-Dra, avec Demnat et Marrakech, par un chemin que les neiges d'hiver viennent parfois couper pendant quelques semaines. Plus à l'Ouest, le Tizi n Test, qui s'élève à 1.900 mètres, présente les mêmes difficultés ; il est suivi par les voyageurs qui se rendent de Taroudant à Marrakech, en suivant la vallée du Nefis. Le Tizi Ma'cho, dont l'altitude ne dépasse pas 1.400 mètres, est libre en toute saison ; il commande le passage de Taroudant à Imi n Tanout et à Mogador. Enfin, sur la piste côtière qui borde le pays des Haha, on ne trouve d'autre difficulté que la pente des dernières collines de l'Atlas et le lit des oueds à sec au voisinage de l'Océan ; c'est la voie naturelle des invasions entre les plaines du Sous et de Marrakech, qu'Arabes et Berbères ont si souvent empruntée au cours des siècles.

Ces routes du Deren ne sont elles-mêmes que le prolongement de celles qu'utilisent à travers l'Anti-Atlas les voyageurs, venus des palmeraies du Noun et du Bani et qui veulent gagner les villes du Nord. D'Aqqa et de Tatta, par les crêtes des Ida ou Kensous ou la vallée des Inda ou Zal, on parvient ainsi dans la plaine du Sous, au point même où la piste du Tizi n Test gravit le Haut-Atlas vers Marrakech ; de Tamanart par Amanouz et le Tizi n Taraqatin, on gagne le pays des Ida ou Gnidif et des Aït Mzal pour trouver devant soi le passage du Tizi Ma'cho, à travers le Deren. Entre

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

l'Océan et le massif occidental du Kest et des Ida ou Semlal, le territoire vallonné des Aït Ba 'Amran, la plaine de Tizmit et des Chtouka, offrent une route facile aux caravanes qui montent vers Mogador en suivant la piste des Haha.

Il existe beaucoup d'autres cols intermédiaires qui, sans être aménagés pour la marche des chameaux lourdement chargés, franchissent les crêtes élevées, entre les hautes vallées de chaque versant. Dans le Deren, les montagnards utilisent pendant la belle saison, avec leurs mules, jusqu'à plus de 3.000 mètres d'altitude, des chemins difficiles qu'anime en outre le passage des femmes, des enfants et des troupeaux.

La transhumance des moutons et des chèvres, l'échange des noix, de la laine et des amandes des hautes vallées, contre les grains, le thé, le sucre et les objets manufacturés des souks du Dir, entretiennent la continuité de ces relations. L'activité qu'on observe sur ces crêtes pendant les journées de printemps et d'été suffit à faire comprendre l'importance des liens qui unissent la plaine et la montagne.

En vain, le cloisonnement intérieur des vallées, que les gradins successifs de l'Atlas découpent en bassins séparés et ferment par des gorges, isole-t-il les uns des autres les villages. En dépit de l'hostilité réciproque des cantons berbères d'une même voie de passage, on voit s'établir à grande distance, du Nord au Sud, des alliances dans la direction suivie par les routes transversales de la montagne. Les petits états des sommets se trouvent de la sorte associés aux villages des dernières pentes ou de la plaine.

Au contraire, les relations sont difficiles entre les villages établis à même altitude dans des vallées parallèles, et seuls des sentiers de chèvres permettent de passer de l'une à l'autre ; comme, d'autre part, les échanges économiques entre des populations voisines qui vivent dans des conditions identiques demeurent sans intérêt, on comprend que l'horizon politique des petits états de montagne, si étendu vers le Nord ou vers le Sud, dans la direction de la plaine de Marrakech ou de la plaine intérieure du Sous, se limite au contraire pour chacun d'eux vers l'Est ou vers l'Ouest aux villages les plus rapprochés.

VIII. *Les massifs montagneux.* — Le rôle de ces grandes voies de passage qui franchissent les deux chaînes n'est pas seulement de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

faciliter le déplacement des hommes et l'activité économique. Ce sont elles qui découpent l'Atlas et l'Anti-Atlas en massifs séparés, à l'intérieur desquels la vie matérielle et sociale des tribus revêt des formes particulières, qui donnent à chacun d'eux une véritable originalité, et expliquent la part distincte qu'ont prise leurs habitants aux grands événements historiques du Sud-Marocain.

C'est, en effet, sur le chemin des cols que le passage des tribus et l'action du Makhzen ont eu pour résultat, depuis des siècles, de détruire les institutions locales et de faire de ces routes naturelles, au point de vue politique, une sorte de prolongement de la plaine au milieu de la montagne. Sur cette ligne d'étapes, jalonnée de kasbas, le Sultan fait avancer ses harkas lorsqu'il veut intervenir dans la vie du pays ; des chefs y naissent et grandissent qui servent la cause de l'Empire, cependant qu'à l'écart, dans leurs vallées inaccessibles, les tribus indépendantes s'unissent au contraire pour veiller à la défense de leurs frontières.

Tel est le groupe formé par les tribus des Glawa, des Ourika, des Ghighaya et des Ouzgita du Haut-Tifnout, dans la région difficile que limitent à l'est le Tizi n Fedghat et, à l'ouest, le Tizi n Test. Un large massif dont les sommets atteignent 4.300 mètres d'altitude à l'Wanoukrim et au Likoumt, domine toute cette partie de la montagne ; elle recèle le lac glaciaire d'Ifni, et les neiges de ses plateaux donnent naissance de toutes parts à des torrents. Sur les deux versants, s'échappent des vallées étroites et encaissées dans lesquelles l'homme se trouve comme écrasé par une nature trop puissante. Nulle part, dans l'Atlas, on n'éprouve une impression d'isolement aussi forte que dans des villages des Ourika ou du Haut-Tifnout, perdus sous les noyers géants que baignent les eaux froides des sommets. Seule, la présence du col de Telwet, donne quelque vie à ce rude pays, situé à l'écart des grands courants historiques et l'on comprend que ses habitants, une fois soumis au Makhzen, n'aient eu d'autre rôle que de donner leur appui à des chefs étrangers, maîtres du Haut-Dra ou de la plaine de Marrakech, ou qu'ils aient mis leur énergie obstinée au service des maîtres du grand col, appelés par leurs ambitions à de lointaines entreprises dans les steppes du sud.

Entre le chemin qui mène du Nefis au Tizi n Test et celui qui conduit d'Imi n Tanout au Tizi Ma'cho, une autre région s'étend dont l'aspect est moins rude et moins sauvage. L'Atlas s'y fait

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

plus humain et moins hostile; sans doute, près des crêtes de l'Erdouz, de l'Igdad et du Tichka, il conserve encore un caractère de sévère grandeur ; la ligne des sommets que la neige couronne jusqu'à l'été, s'y révèle même plus noble et plus belle peut-être que sur le dur plateau de l'Wanoukrim ; mais sur les pentes s'élèvent des forêts de chênes verts et de cyprès, et le réseau des rivières et des torrents, au bord desquels se pressent les villages, pénètre plus profondément au cœur de la montagne, par les vallées de l'Ogdemt, de l'Aghbar, de l'Asif el Mal et des Seksawa. Il semble ici que l'union des hommes et de la nature soit plus intime et plus parfaite, et que le rêve ait pu naître là d'un royaume berbère, isolé du monde, conscient de la force que peuvent constituer les habitants des hautes vallées lorsqu'ils parviennent un instant à s'accorder, en formant une seule alliance contre l'étranger des plaines. Aussi cette partie du Deren est-elle devenue un des bastions de la résistance berbère. C'est le petit bassin de Tinmel, dans la vallée supérieure du Nefis, qui a prêté son cadre aux premiers efforts des tribus almohades. Ce sont les villages des Seksawa qui ont vu naître les petits rois du XIIIe siècle, dont la puissance l'esprit d'intrigue et d'entreprise firent parfois trembler les Mérinides à Marrakech. De nos jours encore, le Makhzen est resté impuissant à soumettre les dernières tribus rebelles groupées autour des sommets du Tichka et les efforts des grands caïds ont dû s'arrêter au seuil des gorges qui défendent l'entrée du territoire de ces républiques demeurées libres au prix d'efforts millénaires.

Au delà du Tizi Ma'cho, le pays des Ida ou Tanan et des Haha vient prolonger jusqu'à l'Océan celui des tribus du Haut-Atlas. Les conditions générales de la vie, le peuplement et l'histoire ont donné à cette région des caractères qui la distinguent aisément du reste du Deren.

Dans cette partie extrême de l'Atlas, la grande chaîne ne se continue, au delà de la profonde coupure de l'Oued des Aït Mousi, que par deux lignes de crêtes étroites et dentelées, qui viennent atteindre l'Atlantique pour former deux promontoires et dessiner les deux baies d'Agadir et du cap Guir. Plus au nord, on ne trouve plus de grands sommets, mais seulement de vastes plateaux calcaires terminés vers le nord et l'est par des falaises abruptes entre lesquelles serpentent les gorges profondes des oueds à sec. Plus loin encore, vers Mogador, ce sont les collines desséchées des Haha, dont l'as-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

pect ne s'égaie que sur les rives de l'Oued Qsob. La forêt d'arganiers et de tuyas s'étend du sud au nord sur tout le pays, depuis la montagne jusqu'aux rives du Tensift. La tristesse et la solitude qui y règnent viennent ajouter encore à la désolation générale. La vie ne s'épanouit que dans le creux des oueds, aux points où l'eau vient affleurer par instants ; sur les berges se pressent alors de pauvres villages, tandis que dans les gorges des oueds, des touffes serrées de palmiers, qu'enlacent les vignes, sortent des ravins. Ailleurs, sur les plateaux, les sources font presque défaut ; chaque Berbère y construit une maison sur une colline isolée et creuse des citernes ; pour labourer, il défriche à l'entour la forêt, en brûlant sur de vastes espaces les arbres et les broussailles.

Il n'existe, surtout au nord et à l'ouest de ce pays, aucun obstacle difficile qui puisse arrêter le passage des tribus venues du Sahara ou de l'Anti-Atlas, chassées vers le Gharb par la famine. Aussi cette zone extrême de l'Atlas se trouve-t-elle peuplée en grande partie de familles originaires du sud. De la même manière, les Berbères n'ont pu offrir aucune résistance durable au passage des harkas du Sultan venues du nord. Les Haha, depuis longtemps réduits à l'obéissance, sont ainsi devenus les fidèles serviteurs de l'Empire et jusque dans les plaines du Sous, des Chtouka et des Aït Ba 'Amran, ils ont combattu pour faire respecter sa puissance. Seuls, les Ida ou Tanan, réfugiés dans la partie la plus inaccessible du territoire, se sont efforcés de préserver leurs libertés en s'écartant des chemins du Makhzen.

La montagne du Sirwa, que les vallées entourent de manière à dessiner un vaste cercle, tracé par le Zagmouzen, le Tifnout, le Tidili, l'Imini et les ravins des Aït 'Amer, constitue, elle aussi, un refuge naturel dont l'aspect est bien fait pour mériter le nom d' « Igherm » — de forteresse — que les Ait Waouzgit aiment à lui donner.

Cette masse étrange, aux teintes rougeâtres, est dominée par des pics isolés qui s'élèvent çà et là au milieu d'un vaste plateau volcanique. Des arêtes de basalte profilent dans le ciel leurs lignes fantastiques, tandis qu'à leurs pieds, de gros villages, dominés par d'immenses magasins, vivent sous un soleil ardent, au voisinage des sources alimentées par la fonte des neiges du printemps. C'est sur les flancs de ce volcan qu'est restée fixée depuis de longs siècles la confédération des Aït Waouzgit. Descendues du

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

plateau pour coloniser les vallées, les tribus du Sirwa se sont d'ailleurs mêlées à celles des deux grandes chaînes du voisinage, mais sans jamais abandonner complètement leurs traditions et leurs caractères propres.

Les diverses parties de l'Anti-Atlas sont plus difficiles à séparer les unes des autres. A l'est, la chaîne se trouve si usée que seuls, quelques pitons de roches éruptives subsistent comme témoins. C'est le pays des vastes plateaux des Zenaga et des Souktana dont les terres seraient fertiles si le ciel n'avait déjà l'inexorable limpidité du Sahara.

Plus loin, dans l'Anti-Atlas central, entre la vallée des Inda ou Zal et le territoire des Aït Abdallah et des Ilalen, la montagne se relève pour former les pics du Fidoust et de l'Adrar Wâklim, à 2.200 mètres d'altitude, cependant que, sur la ligne des crêtes, les plateaux s'étendent en pente douce sur les deux versants. Ici encore, la vie de l'homme est rude ; les meilleures moissons sont pauvres et seuls quelques villages entourés d'amandiers prospèrent près des sommets et des sources. Les oueds creusent vers le Sahara de profondes entailles et les sources qui apparaissent parfois dans leur lit desséché, font vivre des palmeraies déjà semblables, par leur aspect extérieur, à celles du Bani.

Dans un pays aussi difficile, le problème de la subsistance matérielle domine tous les autres. Il absorbe toutes les forces et, comme les ressources locales demeurent insuffisantes, l'émigration temporaire devient une impérieuse nécessité. L'énergie des hommes en arrive à s'user, au cours de cette lutte constante ; l'activité se détourne plus aisément de la vie politique et c'est plutôt par leur habileté commerciale que les Chleuhs de l'Anti-Atlas central se sont acquis, depuis de longs siècles, dans tout le Maroc, leur meilleure réputation.

Au contraire, dans les montagnes de l'ouest, la nature semble favoriser l'existence d'un groupe de tribus plus énergiques et plus guerrières. Le massif du Jebel Kest arrête sur ses pentes occidentales les pluies venues de l'Océan et de ses flancs sortent des rivières permanentes, dont les eaux transparentes parviennent jusqu'à la mer. Plus au sud, le grand cirque des Ammeln et des Ida ou Semlal, que domine le pic isolé de l'Adrar Meqqorn, assure à ses habitants un territoire inaccessible. Enfin, des gorges profondes dans un pays tourmenté, des sommets aux formes étranges, comme l'Adad

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Medni, servent de refuge aux fortes tribus des Ida Oultit, qui maintiennent en présence du Makhzen maître de la plaine, la longue tradition de l'indépendance berbère de la montagne.

IX. *La mer.* — Dans leurs territoires de montagne, aussi bien que dans les plaines irriguées, les Berbères du Sous donnent tous leurs efforts à la mise en valeur de leurs terres ; aussi leur activité ne se trouve-t-elle pas sollicitée par les aventures extérieures que la mer aurait pu offrir à une race plus entreprenante et moins absorbée par la conquête du sol. Il est vrai que la côte sud du Maroc, de Mogador à l'embouchure du Noun, est assez peu favorable au développement de la navigation locale. L'hiver, la houle de l'Océan vient battre avec une force dangereuse les falaises et les plages. Quelques abris naturels, à Imswan, au Cap Guir, à Agadir, permettent seulement aux pêcheurs d'utiliser de légères pirogues. Plus au Sud, les embouchures du Sous, des oueds de Massat, d'Aglou, d'Ifni et du Noun sont plus dures encore et demeurent impraticables, à l'exception des mois d'été. Aussi voit-on les marins attendre, pour armer leurs barques, les journées de calme et ne s'écarter de leurs petits ports qu'avec la plus grande prudence.

Par bonheur, la faune de l'Océan se trouve d'une prodigieuse richesse ; quelques heures suffisent pour capturer sur le sable, avec des filets primitifs, des milliers de thons et de bonites, qui se vendent, séchés ou cuits, à grande distance sur les marchés de l'intérieur. Mais, malgré l'intérêt que présentent pour ce pauvre pays les ressources complémentaires de la pêche, les bords de l'Océan restent presque déserts. La pénurie des sources, l'insuffisante activité des habitants et les dangers des abris et des plages contribuent à faire des rives de l'Atlantique un des types les plus classiques de « côte de dispersion ».

Les difficultés d'accès de la côte ont par ailleurs suffi à écarter le plus souvent les navigateurs étrangers. Comme dans toutes les autres régions atlantiques du Maroc, les maîtres de la mer qui cherchaient à prendre pied sur le continent, rencontraient, en effet, ici une double difficulté : ils devaient tout d'abord vaincre les périls de la barre et ensuite la résistance des tribus, dont l'habitat situé à l'intérieur échappait à leurs atteintes directes. Ces circonstances expliquent à la fois l'échec des interventions extérieures

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

et la faible vitalité des petits ports de l'Océan dont le rôle s'est limité à la petite pêche et au trafic commercial d'un pays pauvre, replié sur lui-même, et qui n'a longtemps demandé à l'Occident que des armes pour se défendre et mieux garder ainsi son isolement.

On n'a donc jamais vu naître sur les rives du Sous aucune civilisation maritime berbère, puisque les autochtones se sont montrés incapables de quitter le rivage sur leurs barques trop fragiles ; il ne s'est pas développé davantage d'activité étrangère durable qui ait modifié sensiblement la vie du pays. Les établissements phéniciens, fondés par Hannon au ve siècle avant notre ère, n'ont eu qu'une vie éphémère et ont disparu sans laisser de traces. Au temps de Juba, les Iles Fortunées — l'Archipel des Canaries — semblent avoir, beaucoup plus que les mauvais abris de cette côte du Sous, été l'objectif des flottes romaines. Plus tard, les marins arabes qui pratiquèrent jusqu'au XIIIe siècle les rives de l'Atlantique de Tanger au Sénégal, ne paraissent pas avoir donné une grande attention au sud du Maroc. Lorsqu'à la fin du XIVe siècle, Jean de Bethancourt s'empara des Canaries, où vivaient alors des populations d'origine berbère ou libyque, les Guanches, l'usage des barques demeurait inconnu dans les îles. Ce que nous savons de la vie des insulaires, d'autre part, indique que depuis de longs siècles, ils étaient restés entièrement séparés du continent.

L'intervention étrangère la plus résolue dans le Sous s'est produite au temps de la conquête chrétienne du XVIe siècle. Mais l'établissement des Portugais à Mogador et à Agadir a d'ailleurs eu surtout pour conséquence de déterminer à l'intérieur une puissante réaction maraboutique qui devait aboutir à leur défaite; le résultat de ces luttes fut ainsi de défendre le Sous plus jalousement encore, pendant plus de quatre siècles, contre la pénétration européenne.

Ici, comme sur toute la côte occidentale du Maroc, les longues vagues de l'Atlantique qui viennent mourir en se brisant sur les plages, en écartant du rivage les navires, enfermaient plus sûrement encore que les murailles les mieux gardées le vieil Empire musulman dans ses institutions archaïques. En même temps, dans cette province lointaine d'un pays que la nature suffisait déjà à isoler de l'Occident, les tribus berbères s'efforçaient dans leurs bastions montagneux, loin des chemins du Makhzen, de garder intactes

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

une langue, des traditions et des coutumes plus anciennes encore.

C'est à la faveur de cette double défense contre l'extérieur que les habitants du Sous devaient conserver sous nos yeux jusqu'à présent, dans leurs vallées retirées, la vie obscure et agitée que connurent sans doute les peuples de la Méditerranée avant le développement des cités et des Empires de la Grèce et de Rome.

[p. 24]

CHAPITRE II

La population du sud marocain

I. Le peuplement ancien du Sous (jusqu'au XIe siècle). — II. Les luttes ethniques des XIe et XIIIe siècles. — III. La domination et la décadence des Arabes. — IV. Les déplacements intérieurs. — V. Conséquences de la fixation au sol sur la cohésion des groupes sociaux. — VI. Forme des groupements humains (villes, villages, hameaux). — VII. La maison. — VIII. La famille. — IX. Les classes sociales. — X. La vie économique. — XI. La vie religieuse. — XII. La vie intellectuelle.

Isolé de la mer par la barre, limité par des chaînes de montagnes à l'intérieur desquelles la nature a ménagé aux hommes d'inaccessibles refuges, le Sous peut apparaître à première vue aux yeux d'un observateur étranger comme une région séparée du reste du Maroc, l'habitat d'un seul groupe humain de même origine qui aurait subsisté en gardant intactes, à l'intérieur de frontières inviolées, ses coutumes et ses lois. L'existence d'un type ethnique aux caractères assez bien définis pourrait, dans l'ignorance de l'histoire, entretenir cette illusion. Il se trouve, au contraire, que l'uniformité relative qui caractérise la vie humaine dans le sud du Maroc résulte du mélange intime de familles et de tribus d'origines diverses, du choc renouvelé des envahisseurs et des autochtones, de l'opposition des sédentaires des plaines et des montagnes et des nomades venus du désert par l'Anti-Atlas occidental, la voie des oasis du Dra et du Zagmouzen ou la route côtière des Haha.

Les phases successives du peuplement du Sous forment ainsi la trame cachée de l'histoire. Nous chercherons ici à les indiquer, en interprétant les documents souvent obscurs et incomplets qui nous sont parvenus ; nous essaierons ensuite de décrire les aspects les plus généraux de l'existence des hommes dans un pays qui a

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

Chart of positions of map inserted between pp. 24-25.
[facing p. 24-A]

Mogad

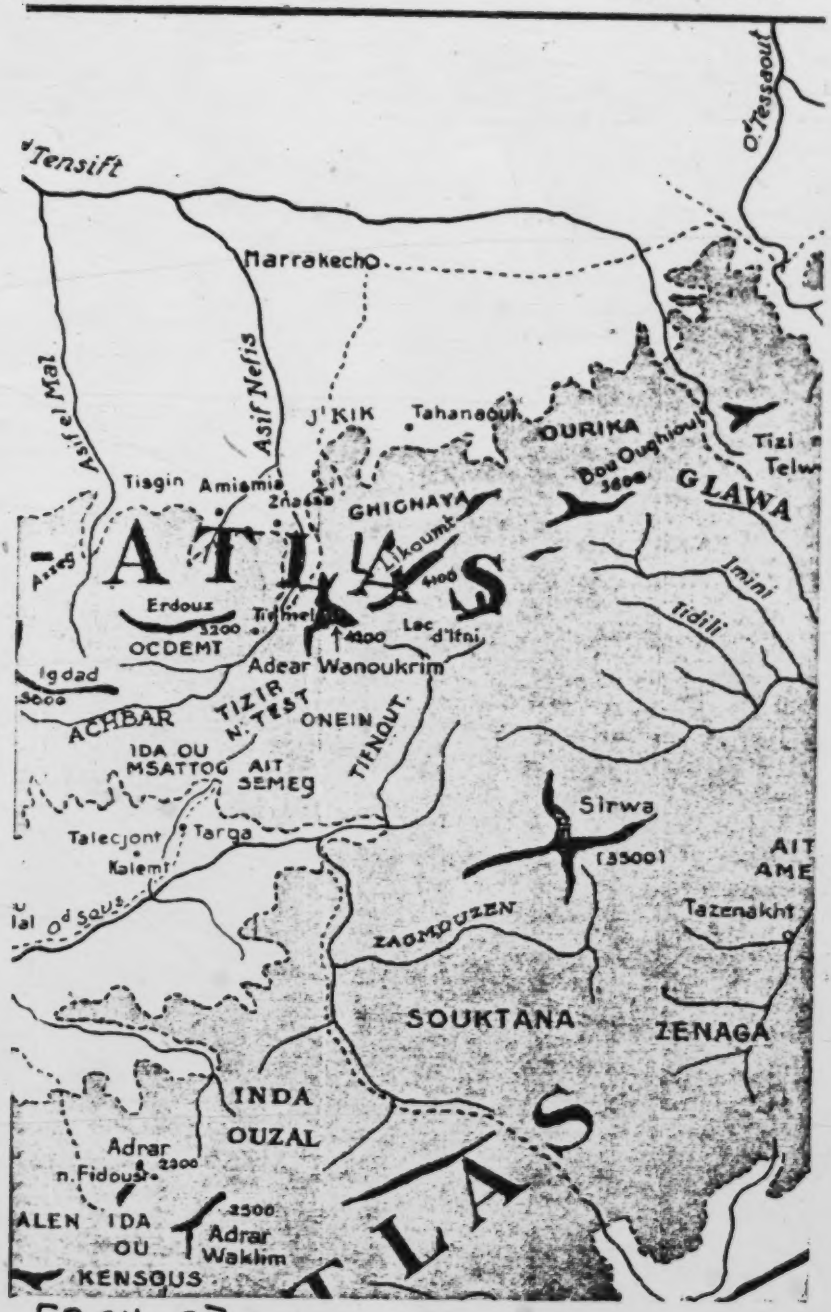
Imsw

C.Rir

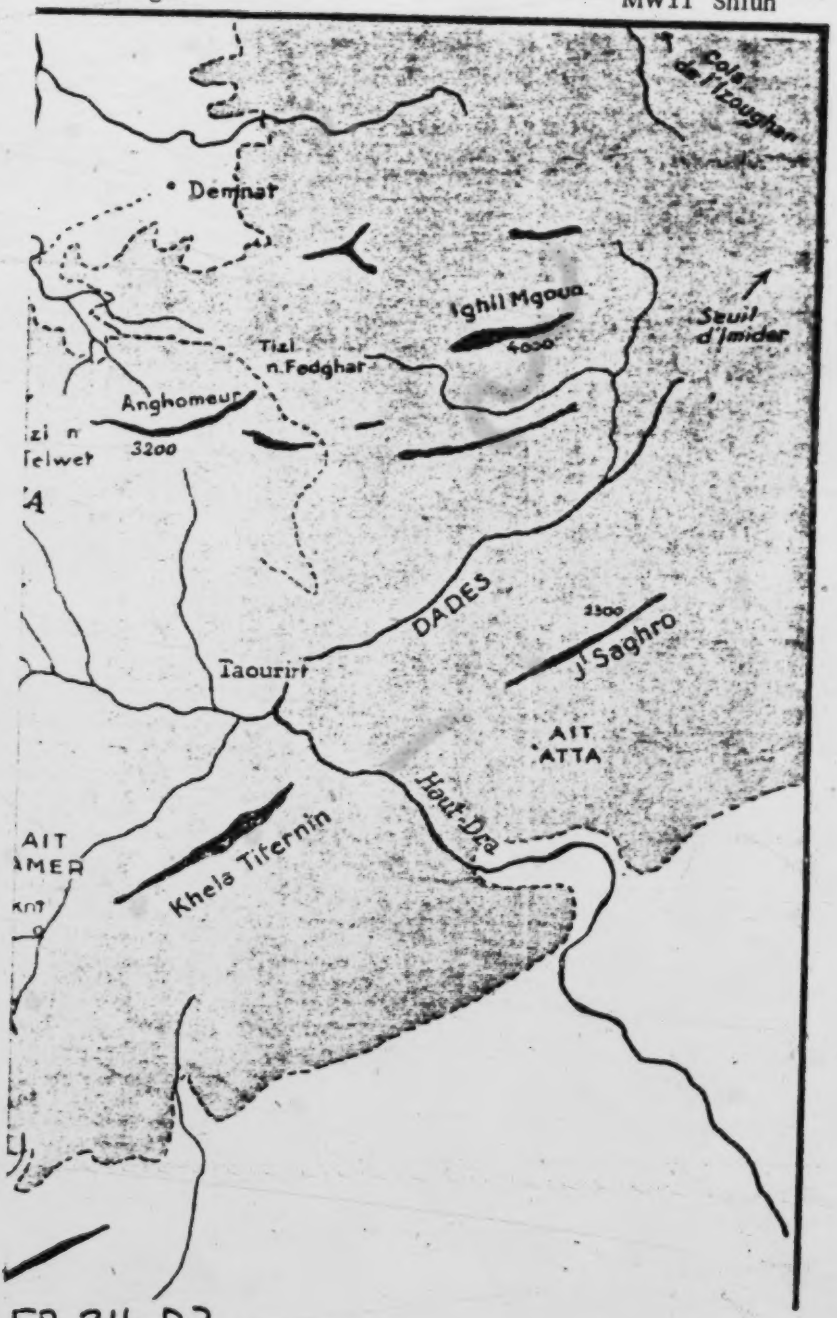
[P.24-A]

Agador
HAHA
HAUT-
Imin Tanout
Tizi
Macho
SEKSAOUA
1600
IDA
OU
TANAN
2100
Imswan
Asif n Aitamer
Tickha
3500
1800
Rir
Lmneizla
Bou
L'ajlat
Ikta ou
Gwaillal
Taroudant
Agadir
Plaine du Sous
Tidsi
CHTOUKA
AIT
MZAL
ILALEN

[P.24-B]


Tensift
O. Tessaout
Marrakech
Asif el Mal
Asif Nefis
J'KIK
Tahanaout
OURIKA
Dou Oughioul
3600
Tizi
Telw
GLAWA
Tisgin
Amismiz
Zhaba
GHIGNAYA
ATLAS
Likoumt
4100
Imini
Tidili
Erdoux
3200
Tichmel
4200
Lac d'Ifni
OCDEMT
Adear Wanoukrim
Igdad
3600
ACHBAR
TIZIR N. TEST
ONEIN
TIFNOUT
IDA OU MSATTOG
AIT SEMEG
Sirwa
(3500)
Talecjont
Targa
Kalemt
AIT AME
Tazenakht
Oud Sous
ZAGMOUZEN
SOUKTANA
ZENAGA
INDA OUZAL
Adrar n. Fidous
2300
ALEN
IDA OU
2500
Adrar Waklim
KENSOUS
ATLAS

[P. 24-C]

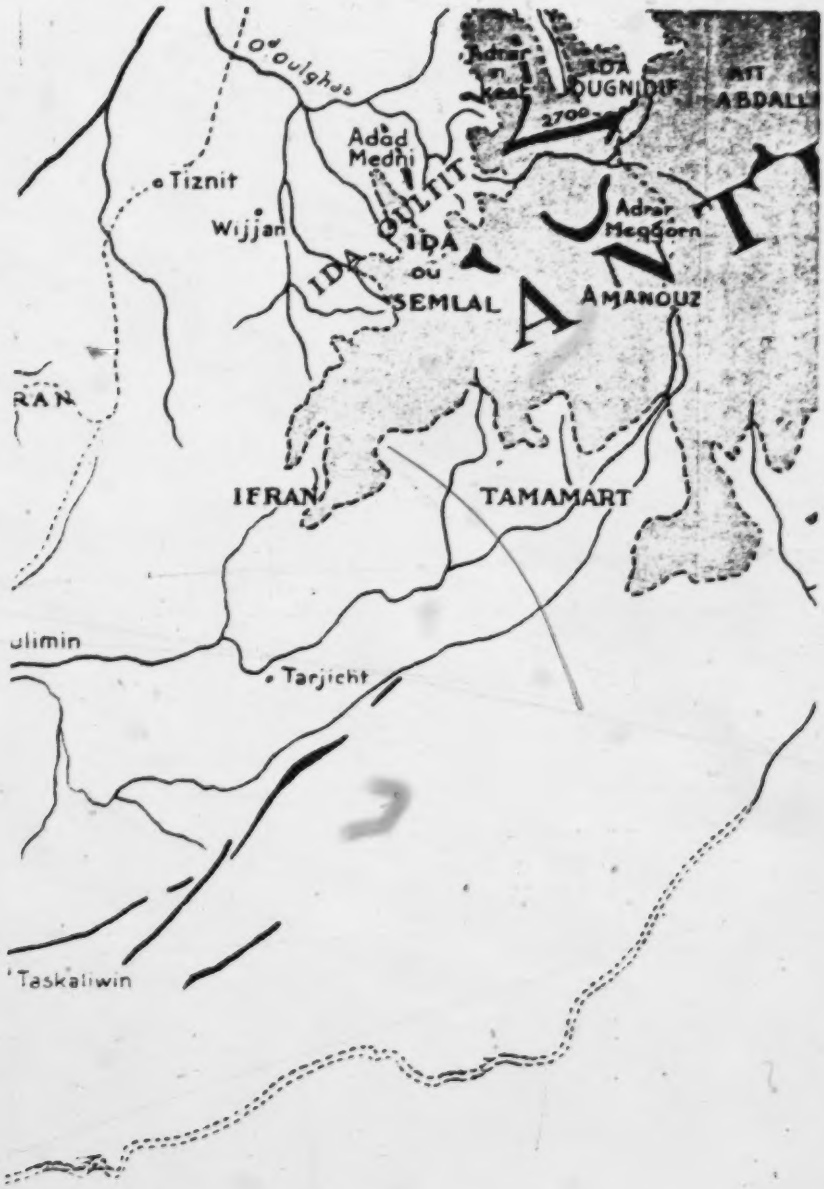

Col de l'Izoughar
Deminat
Ighil Mgoun
4000
Seuil d'Imider
Tizi n.Fedghar
Anghomeur
3200
Tizi n Telwet
DADES
2300
J'Saghro
Taourirt
AIT ATTA
Haut-Dra
AIT AMER
Khela Tifernin

[P. 24-D]

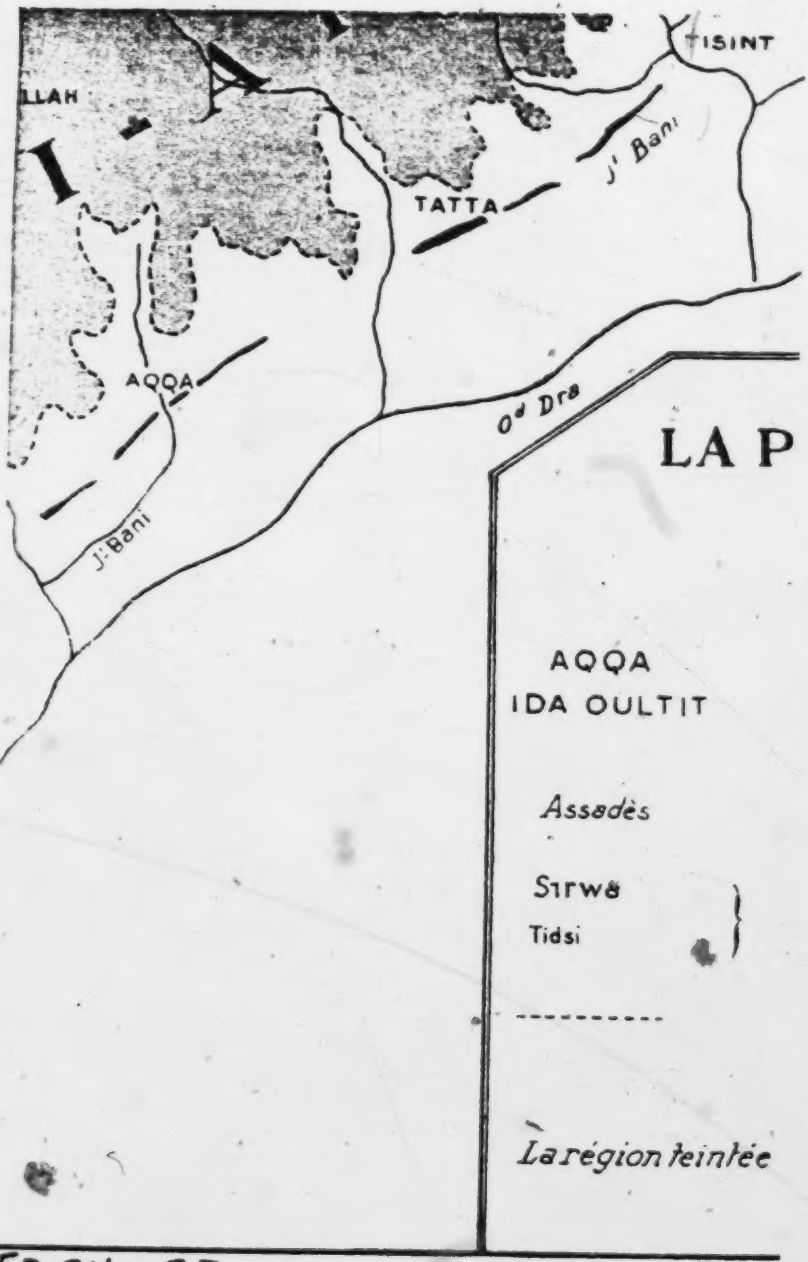
2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh

[P. 24 – E]


O. Oulghas
Adrar n Kest
IDA OUGNIDIF
AIT ABDALL
2700
Adad Medhi
Tiznit
Wijjan
OULTIT
IDA ou SEMLAL
Adrar Meqqorn
AMANOUZ
RAN
IFRAN
TAMAMART
ulimin
Tarjicht
Taskaliwin

[P. 24-F]


TISINT
ILAH
TATTA
j' Bani
AQQA
Od Dra
LA P
j'Bani
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Assadès
Sirwa
Tidsi
La région teintée

[P. 24—G]

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh

PROVINCE DU SOUS

CARTE PHYSIQUE

Echelle $\frac{1}{1000000}$

Nom de district
ou
de Tribu

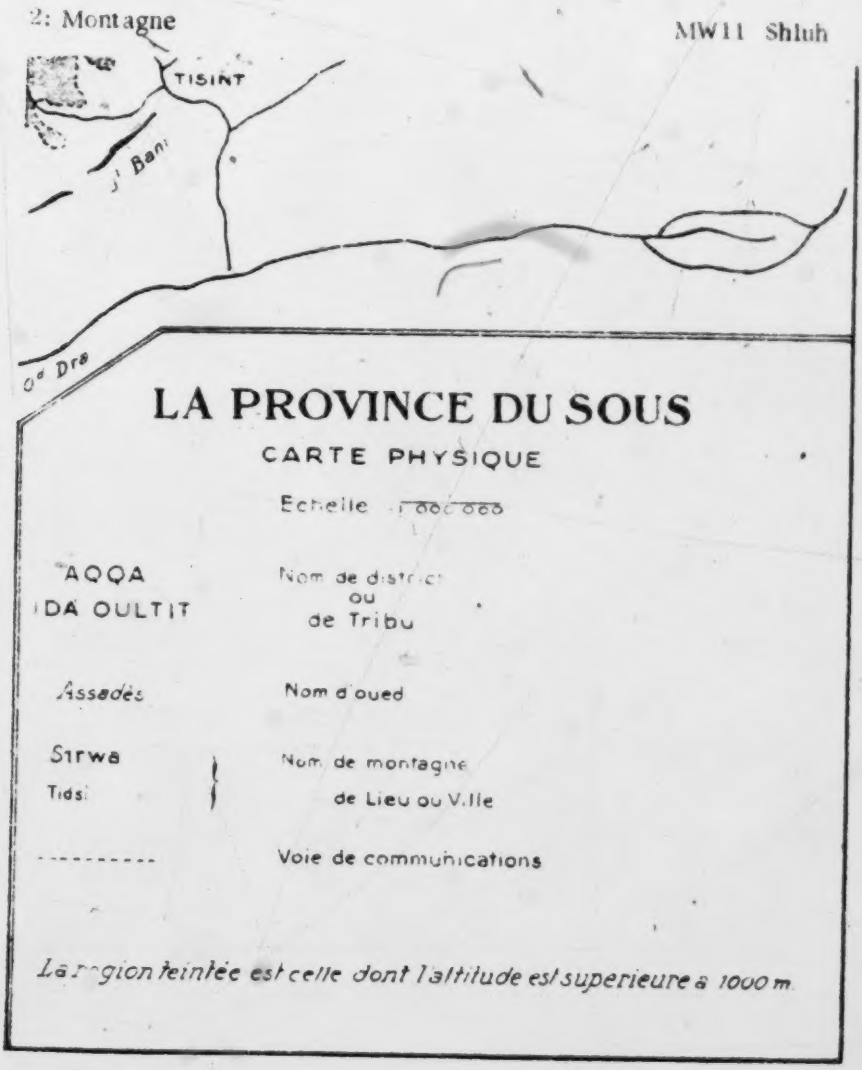
Nom d'oued

Nom de montagne
de Lieu ou Ville

Voie de communications

Ce est celle dont l'altitude est supérieure a 1000 m.

[P. 24-H]


2: Montagne
MW11 Shluh
TISINT
Bani
Oed Drâ
LA PROVINCE DU SOUS
CARTE PHYSIQUE
Echelle 1/1000000
AQQA
DA OULTIT
Nom de district
ou
de Tribu
Assadès
Nom d'oued
Strwa
Tidsi
Nom de montagne
de Lieu ou Ville
Voie de communications
La région teintée est celle dont l'altitude est superieure à 1000 m.

[f. 24 I]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

fini par acquérir, après de longues luttes intérieures, une unité de langue, de croyances et de culture.

I. *Le peuplement ancien du Sous (jusqu'au XIe siècle).* — S'il faut ajouter foi aux documents les plus anciens que nous possédions sur la côte du Maroc, — le périple d'Hannon au ve siècle avant notre ère (1) — trois groupes distincts de populations vivaient alors au voisinage de l'Oued Dra : les Lixites, les Troglodites et les Éthiopiens. Les Éthiopiens étaient ces hommes de race noire, bien connus d'Hérodote, dont les traces si nombreuses ont été retrouvées dans la plupart des oasis sahariennes, et qui subsistent encore de nos jours avec leurs techniques archaïques au cœur du continent africain dans le Borkou et le Tibesti (2). Les pasteurs Lixites, qui étaient sans doute semblables, par leur genre de vie, aux Touaregs de notre temps, étaient, on peut le croire, les prédécesseurs des Senhaja au litham, répandus dans les plaines et les déserts, ceux-là mêmes qui devaient, aux premiers siècles de l'Islam, envahir les plaines du nord du Maroc. Enfin, il est permis de penser que les Troglodytes sédentaires, établis dans les montagnes de l'Anti-Atlas et du Haut-Dra, utilisaient, dès cette époque reculée, les nombreuses cavernes creusées dans les falaises, que les Berbères attribuent de nos jours invariablement aux chrétiens, premiers habitants légendaires du pays.

On n'a pu jusqu'ici parvenir à retrouver la trace, sur les côtes atlantiques, des cinq ports fondés par Carthage entre le Cap Cantin et l'embouchure du Dra ; les colonies qui les peuplaient furent sans doute rapidement détruites par les autochtones. Les Éthiopiens devaient disparaître aussi presque complètement, si l'on en croit les traditions recueillies au temps d'Edrisi, sous les coups que leur portèrent les tribus du désert (3). Seuls subsistèrent Lixites et Troglodytes qui, selon notre hypothèse, auraient appartenu aux deux grandes familles berbères de nomades et de sédentaires qui ne cessèrent de s'opposer par la suite.

(1) Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, t. I, 3e éd., p. 295, 482, 499 ; Périple d'Hannon, I à VII ; Hérodote IV, 184 et 196 (Cf. recueil de textes, R. Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens*. Paris, 1924, p. 16 à 20).

(2) E.-F. Gautier, *Le Sahara*. Paris, 1923, p. 124. Peut-être faut-il les regarder comme les ancêtres des Haratan qui vivent de nos jours dans les gros qsour du Dra, du Dadès et du Ferkla, bien que, sans aucun doute, l'apport des esclaves soudanais ait en grande partie renouvelé au cours des siècles le sang des populations noires des oasis.

(3) Edrisi. *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* .Leyde, 1866, trad. Dozy et de Goeje, pp. 34-35.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

On sait que l'occupation romaine du Maroc n'a pas dépassé les plaines du nord et la limite méridionale de la Mauritanie Tingitane fut marquée approximativement par les rives du Bou Regreg. Il n'est pas étonnant dans ces conditions que les géographes latins ne nous apportent sur le Sous qu'une liste indéchiffrable de tribus et les noms des grands fleuves.

Il nous faut attendre près d'un millénaire, jusqu'à Ibn Hauqal (IXe siècle), El Bekri (XIe siècle) et Edrisi (XIIe siècle) pour obtenir de brèves indications qui permettent de connaître quelle était la répartition des populations du Sous aux premiers temps de l'Islam. Encore devons-nous, pour bien comprendre les circonstances dans lesquelles se mêlent ou se heurtent à cette époque reculée les grandes familles berbères, faire appel aux traditions qu'Ibn Khaldoun s'efforça tardivement — au XIVe siècle — de recueillir et d'interpréter.

On ne pourrait, sans risquer de fausser l'histoire du Maroc en la simplifiant à l'extrême, chercher à expliquer le peuplement du Maroc par la lutte de deux groupes ethniques, les Branès et les Botr, entre lesquels Ibn Khaldoun semble partager l'ensemble des populations berbères, et dont l'opposition séculaire en Afrique du Nord ne serait que l'éternel combat des sédentaires et des nomades (1). Mais si la signification exacte des classifications généalogiques établies par des lettrés arabes et berbères du moyen âge est sans doute destinée à demeurer pour nous toujours obscure, les grandes divisions ethniques que distinguent, à la même époque, les historiens et les géographes sous le nom de familles des Masmouda, des Senhaja et des Zenata, gardent entièrement leur valeur et toute la vie ancienne du Maghreb s'explique par leurs luttes.

Ces groupes, qui embrassent d'innombrables tribus et confédérations, souvent dispersées dans toute l'Afrique du Nord, constituent aux premiers temps de l'Islam de véritables nations. Les éléments qui les forment se sentent unis par un lien puissant, qu'ils tirent de la croyance — peut-être illusoire — à une origine commune. Ces frères de même race sont assez unis pour se prêter mutuelle assistance contre leurs ennemis, défendre ensemble leurs dynasties et combattre en même temps celles de leurs rivaux.

1) E.-F. Gautier, *Les Siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris, 1927, p. 202 et sqq.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les Masmouda représentent alors la presque totalité des sédentaires du Maroc, qui du Sous à Tanger, occupent les montagnes et les plaines voisines de l'Atlantique. Les Zenata sont des nomades qui viennent de l'Orient par vagues successives et se répandent dans les steppes centrales. Les Senhaja comprennent à la fois, dès les premiers siècles de l'histoire, des sédentaires anciens comme les tribus de Kabylie ou celles de Tanger et de Mazagan, et des nomades qui, sous le nom de Zenaga, vivent dans le Sahara occidental ou sur le versant méridional de l'Atlas central.

Bien que les indications des historiens soient souvent imprécises, nous pouvons essayer de tracer de la répartition des populations berbères des régions voisines de l'Atlantique vers le VIIe siècle, un tableau qui suffira à faire comprendre les grands événements de l'histoire jusqu'à l'époque de l'arrivée des Arabes.

Une masse homogène de tribus sédentaires est alors fixée dans l'Atlas occidental, des sources du Dra jusqu'aux rives de l'Océan, et forme le groupe le plus important de la famille des Masmouda. La plaine intérieure du Sous est peuplée d'agriculteurs Masmouda, mêlés aux Senhaja du sud, auxquels Ibn Khaldoun donne le nom de Zenaga, conservé jusqu'à nos jours chez une tribu au sud-est du Sirwa. Dans l'Anti-Atlas et sur les confins du Sahara, s'agitent les grandes tribus encore nomades — Gezzoula, Lamta et d'autres Zenaga — de la famille des Senhaja, qui ont exterminé les Éthiopiens du désert; elles attendent, pour pénétrer au pays des sédentaires, les occasions que l'histoire ne manquera pas de leur donner dans les siècles suivants. On sent planer sur le Sous, dès cette époque reculée, bien avant les invasions arabes. la menace de l'arrivée des nomades dans les vallées cultivées.

Au nord de l'Atlas s'étend la région que les historiens appellent le Sous inférieur — Sous el Adna — par opposition au Sous el Aqsa ou Sous extrême. Il comprend sans doute l'ensemble des plaines atlantiques, de l'Atlas occidental jusqu'aux abords de la chaîne côtière de la Méditerranée. Ce sont aussi pour la plupart des agriculteurs Masmouda qui l'habitent. Au sud de l'Oum er Rbi'a vivent, en effet, les Doukkala, Regraga et Haha, que le choc des tribus arabes brisera ou refoulera plus tard vers le sud ; au nord du même fleuve, arrivant jusqu'au voisinage de Salé et au territoire actuel des Tadla, ce sont les Berghwata qui vont bientôt fonder leur royaume hérétique avec de faux prophètes dont le

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

prestige sur les tribus vient du coran berbère qu'ils enseignent. Sur les rives du Sebou, vivent les Beni Hasan dont le territoire est contigu à celui des Ghomara.

Ce dernier groupe appartient aussi, s'il faut en croire Ibn Khaldoun, aux tribus des Masmouda ; il occupe alors les montagnes qui bordent la Méditerranée, en sorte que la plus grande partie des régions habitées par les sédentaires dans le Maghreb el Aqsa forme un peuple de même race, de mêmes traditions et de mêmes coutumes (1).

A peine, sur la côte, deux îlots de Senhaja, l'un au voisinage de Tit et de l'Oum er Rbi'a, l'autre aux abords de Tanger, viennent-ils interrompre la continuité du territoire masmoudien. Mais déjà, sur les confins sahariens du Sous, la grande famille rivale des Senhaja lance vers les plaines des essaims successifs de tribus conquérantes qui repoussent les Masmouda de la vallée du Sous et qui, plus à l'Est, franchissent l'Atlas et le Moyen-Atlas et font leur place en rejetant, à l'Ouest de la chaîne du Rif, les Ghomara des montagnes du Nord.

La grande lutte des Masmouda et des Senhaja, sans doute engagée depuis des siècles, au moment de la conquête musulmane, se trouve compliquée dès le VIIIe siècle et plus encore à partir du Xe, par l'apparition des Berbères Zénètes, nomades venus de l'Est sur les traces des conquérants musulmans, par la route d'invasion de Taza à Fez. Cependant que se crée et s'organise le royaume des Berghwata sous l'égide de ses rois-prophètes, au centre du Maroc, des principautés Zénètes se forment tout à l'entour : à Salé, au pays des Tadla, à Aghmat, etc. ; leurs chefs engagent, avec les hérétiques, une guerre sans merci. Les premiers Zénètes ne sont d'ailleurs que l'avant-garde d'une armée qui viendra plus tard et dont les derniers éléments seront, au XIIIe siècle, les tribus des Beni Merin (2).

II. *Les luttes ethniques des XIe et XIIIe siècles.* — C'est alors qu'apparaissent les conquérants almoravides, Berbères Senhaja de la tribu des Lemtouna, venus du Sénégal, qui entraînent avec eux les Lamta de l'Anti-Atlas (1053). La domination de Yousef

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, trad. de Slane, t. II, p. 135.
(2) L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIe siècle*. Alger, 1906, p. 140, 146.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Ben Tachfin marque la décadence de la puissance des Masmouda sédentaires ; elle précipite tout d'abord la ruine des Berghwata — déjà ébranlés par les coups que leur ont portés les Zénètes Beni Ifran — et cette disparition prend une grande importance, parce qu'ainsi se trouve brisée la continuité ethnique des tribus sédentaires, dont les territoires s'étendaient jusqu'alors de l'Atlas occidental au Rif ; le Deren lui-même est conquis et visité par les Almoravides dans ses moindres recoins (1) ; enfin, dans le Nord, les Ghomara sont menacés par la poussée sans cesse plus forte des Senhaja venus de l'Atlas central qui ont franchi les rives de l'Ouergha, et atteignent à présent les rives de la Méditerranée. Sans doute, à la même époque, dans le Sous-extrême, d'autres Senhaja, les Gezzoula s'avancent-ils déjà de l'Anti-Atlas vers le Sous, prenant la place laissée libre par les Lamta, et commencent à leur tour la lutte contre les Masmouda.

Bien que les historiens arabes ne nous disent pas dans quelles conditions fut réalisée la conquête almoravide, l'ensemble des événements dont nous devinons confusément l'enchaînement suggère à ce moment l'idée d'une lutte de races ; les rapides succès des Lemtouna, la puissance de leur domination s'expliquent, non seulement par l'effort énergique de leurs armées, capable de briser un à un les petits états berbères indépendants qui couvrent alors le Maroc, mais aussi par une alliance conclue entre tous les Senhaja du Maghreb extrême. Commencée sous un prétexte religieux, la conquête almoravide devint la guerre des Senhaja, arrivés des steppes et du désert, contre les Masmouda sédentaires des montagnes et des plaines fertiles ; l'antagonisme ainsi exaspéré des deux familles berbères ne fut pas une des moindres causes qui rendirent possibles, au XIIe siècle, la réaction almohade et le prodigieux succès des tribus du Nefis. Ces petits groupes de Masmouda, nous le verrons, surent, en trente ans, fonder un royaume au cœur de l'Atlas, puis vaincre dans tout le Maghreb extrême les armées almoravides ; enfin conquérir, avec le reste de l'Afrique du Nord, l'Espagne musulmane.

L'épopée des grands chefs almohades, Ibn Toumert et 'Abd el Moumen, eut pour première conséquence, de donner pour un siècle et demi aux populations de l'Atlas occidental une puissance

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p 71.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

et une richesse qu'elles n'avaient jamais connues ; mais l'effort d'organisation de l'Empire almohade, dont nous étudierons bientôt le caractère si particulier, contribua aussi à consolider la structure des groupes sociaux qui étaient alors fixés dans le Sud-Marocain.

Les nombreux documents historiques que nous possédons sur cette époque nous permettent de connaître les noms et les territoires de ces grandes tribus avec une précision suffisante. Dans la région des cols des Glawa et sur les deux versants de l'Atlas, du Dadès à Demnat, sont les Heskoura, dont les tribus aujourd'hui séparées les unes des autres, ont cependant conservé jusqu'à présent le même territoire qu'autrefois. Viennent à l'Ouest les Hintata, à présent disparus, puis les Gedmiwa encore sur place à l'ouest du Nefis ; les Genfisa, dont les Seksawa représentent actuellement le groupe le plus actif ; enfin, les Haha, au voisinage de l'Océan, dont l'habitat n'a subi qu'un faible changement.

Dès le XIIe siècle, nous voyons d'ailleurs des étrangers venus de la plaine du Sous ou de celle de Marrakech, comme les Demsira, les Ida Ou Mahmoud, les Ergita, ainsi que des fractions de Zenata ou de Doukkala, prendre place auprès des tribus almohades. On peut croire que c'étaient là des groupes repoussés de leur habitat par les invasions des plaines ou même, parfois, des émigrés politiques réfugiés dans le Haut-Atlas (1).

Sur le cours inférieur de l'oued Sous, vivaient en des lieux voisins de ceux qu'ils occupent encore Mesgina, Ksima et Chtouka. Dans l'Anti-Atlas, au sud de Taroudant, nous trouvons déjà, groupées autour des Arghen, les tribus des Ida Ou Nadif, Indouzal, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri. Plus à l'Est, les Ait Waouzgit entouraient le Sirwa, cependant que, sur les deux versants de l'Atlas central, s'agitaient les innombrables tribus des Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi.

Lorsque l'Empire, fondé par les Masmouda, se trouva consolidé, les grandes familles autochtones avaient déjà, dans leur ensemble, pris leur place actuelle dans le pays. A peine dans les plaines de l'Oum er Rbi'a, les Berghwata finirent-ils de disparaître sous les coups des Almohades eux-mêmes, tandis que dans l'Anti-Atlas, la marée montante des Gezzoula continuait de menacer la paix des sédentaires de la vallée du Sous.

(1) El Baidaq, *Documents inédits d'histoire Almohade*, trad. E. Lévi-Provençal. Paris 1928, p. 64-65.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Ainsi voyons-nous, jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle, se constituer peu à peu le peuplement du Maroc, sous des aspects que la répartition présente des tribus permet encore de retrouver. Il est vrai que jusqu'ici, ce sont des Berbères qui se disputent la possession du sol. A peine quelques Arabes venus d'Orient ou d'Andalousie s'établissent-ils dans les villes. L'Occident au temps des Almohades reste encore le domaine presque exclusif de la vieille race africaine tandis que depuis deux siècles déjà, la grande vague des invasions hilaliennes a bouleversé l'Ifriqiya et le Maghreb central.

III. *La domination et la décadence des Arabes.* — C'est sous le règne de Ya'qoub el Mansour qu'apparaissent pour la première fois au Maroc, en 1187, les tribus arabes déportées par le souverain almohade après avoir fomenté des révoltes en Ifriqiya (1).

La première conquête musulmane, dirigée par Oqba ben Nafia, n'avait amené, on le sait, que d'infimes modifications ethniques dans la Berbérie occidentale. Plus importantes par leurs conséquences furent les déportations successives des tribus hilaliennes, transplantées dans les plaines du Gharb et sur le territoire des Berghwata par ordre des khalifats almohades. C'est alors que se constituent de véritables tribus à la recherche d'un habitat définitif : ce sont les Jochem, dans les plaines du nord, au voisinage du Loukkos ; les Beni Jabir, au pays des Tadla ; les Atbej, voisins des Doukkala, et, plus près de l'Atlas, pénétrant sur le sol berbère chez les Haha, les Haret et les Nader. Ces groupes nomades ne devaient pas cesser de se déplacer au cours des siècles suivants au milieu des tribus sédentaires, jusqu'au moment où elles prirent le parti de se fixer à leur tour dans les plaines du nord.

La conquête du pouvoir par les Zénètes Mérinides n'altère pas, par elle-même, d'une manière appréciable, le peuplement du Sud-Marocain ; mais, au même moment, à la fin du XIIIe siècle, fond sur toute cette région, une terrible tempête, dont les effets ne se dissiperont pas avant trois cents ans : l'invasion des Arabes Ma'qil.

Les Ma'qil, d'origine inconnue, frères cadets sans doute des Hilaliens dont ils suivent les traces dans le désert depuis le sud de l'Ifriqiya, nomadisent alors dans les steppes de la Moulouya. Vers

(1) G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*. Paris, 1913, p. 200 et *passim*

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

1250, 'Ali Ibn Yedder, un petit chef almohade de la haute vallée du Sous, révolté contre les derniers successeurs d''Abd el Moumen, fait appel à ces Arabes pour se constituer une armée et repousser les Gezzoula de l'Anti-Atlas. Imprudente démarche qui attire bientôt auprès des premiers alliés d''Ali Ibn Yedder, d'innombrables familles venues du désert : des tribus entières envahissent le pays ; au nord du fleuve du Sous, se répandent les Chebbanat ; au sud, les Dwi Hassan. Lorsque les Mérinides prennent le pouvoir vers 1275, les Ma'qil sont déjà assez puissants pour leur payer un tribut de dix-huit mille chameaux après une défaite (1). Sauf pendant les courtes périodes de la domination du Makhzen Mérinide dans le Sous, ce sont eux les véritables maîtres du Sud.

La masse des tribus Ma'qil, sans cesse accrue, submerge la plaine du Sous; bientôt, les petites tribus berbères nomades, Lamta, Zeggen, Lakhes, qui vivent au sud des Haha, se trouvent absorbées par les Chebbanat, tandis que les Dwi Hassan refoulent les Gezzoula. Quelques éléments hilaliens, des Sofian, venus de la plaine du nord et qui forment les tribus des Haret et des Kelabiya, traversent la zone côtière et viennent jusqu'à la vallée du Sous faire paître leurs troupeaux. Enfin, au XIVe siècle, les Berbères ne sont plus partout que les confédérés des Arabes ; et lorsque les Chebbanat et les Dwi Hassan, établis de part et d'autre du fleuve, mesurent leurs forces, on voit chaque parti entraîner à sa suite les groupes berbères de son territoire.

Cependant, la suprématie des Arabes dans la vallée du Sous ne pouvait se prolonger. Incapables de soutenir un royaume berbère — nous les voyons, en effet, précipiter la ruine des Beni Yedder — impuissants à faire sortir du sein de leurs tribus déchirées par des querelles de famille un chef qui les commande, ils n'avaient d'autre rôle que d'entretenir l'anarchie. D'autre part, vivant dans une région impropre au nomadisme, entourée de montagnes restées aux mains des sédentaires, ils étaient par avance condamnés à disparaître sous les efforts que faisaient les Berbères pour s'assurer la possession des terres cultivables.

Au cours de la nuit du XVe siècle, cette longue période sur laquelle nous ne possédons aucun document historique, se consomme en effet la ruine des Ma'qil. Rien ne nous permet de connaître les

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 132.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

phases successives de ce renversement des forces en présence (1). Mais, lorsque le Sous reparaît au début du XVIe siècle à la lumière de l'histoire, le peuplement du Sud-Marocain se trouve presque entièrement réalisé sous la forme que nous lui connaissons à présent, avec une prépondérance marquée des éléments berbères.

Au cours des siècles suivants, l'évolution s'accentue ; le désert tend à redevenir le véritable habitat des Arabes. Tandis que leurs groupes établis à demeure dans les plaines irriguées de l'oued Sous, du Dra et de Marrakech, se laissent gagner par les habitudes de la vie sédentaire, tout en conservant encore, lorsqu'ils forment des tribus entières, une vie sociale et politique qui les distingue des Berbères, plus au Sud, sur le Moyen Dra, le Noun et la Seguiet el Hamra se rassemblent ceux que l'on nomme de nos jours les Oulad Ma'gel — descendants des anciens Ma'qil — fidèles aux traditions séculaires du nomadisme. Le Sahara, où vivent leurs nombreux troupeaux de moutons et leurs chameaux, est resté leur vraie patrie et dans les oasis qui s'y trouvent, ils se contentent d'exploiter, dans des qsour misérables, le travail des haraten. C'est pendant les mauvaises années seulement qu'on les voit entrer avec leurs familles et leurs animaux par groupes isolés dans la plaine intérieure du Sous et l'Azaghar de Marrakech, lorsqu'ils viennent humblement demander aux sédentaires un asile provisoire. Parfois dans ces périodes de disette, quelques-uns d'entre eux se laissent attirer par la sécurité — bien relative d'ailleurs — de la vie sédentaire au pays des Chtouka ou des Haha. Un village d'Oulad Ben Seba', d'Oulad Dlim se fonde, qui conserve encore avec le désert, pendant les premières générations, d'actives relations. Mais les nouveaux arrivés sont vite gagnés aux coutumes locales. Un siècle suffit pour rendre ces misérables Arabes semblables par le genre de vie, les pratiques religieuses et magiques et la langue même, aux Berbères chez lesquels ils se sont établis.

Au XVIIe siècle, le domaine de prédilection des Arabes reste la vallée de l'Oued Sous, où les Oulad Yahya et les Menabha, descendants des Ma'qil, sont aujourd'hui fixés, mêlés à présent aux Howara, Berbères arabisés, qu'amenèrent peut-être dans cette région les Saadiens.

D'autres grandes tribus Ma'qil, les Ahlaf et les 'Amarnat

(1) L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

vivent au XIVe siècle dans les steppes qui bordent le Haut Dra. De même que les Hilaliens du pays des Tadla, ils se mêleront aux Berbères Heskoura et aux Seddrata, Berbères arabisés, qu'on trouve de nos jours sur le Haut-Dra et le Dadès. Ces Arabes sont d'ailleurs restés longtemps des étrangers au pays ; en cette qualité, ils sont toujours prêts à entrer au service des prétendants, des agitateurs ou même des chrétiens. C'est sur les Ma'qil du Sous et du Dra que s'appuiera au XVIe siècle la politique portugaise : des intrigues se noueront depuis Santa-Cruz, la ville actuelle d'Agadir, jusqu'au pays des Mezwar du Dra dans le district de Tinzoulin, cependant que dans les plaines du Nord les Hilaliens des tribus Sofian et Jochem, alliés aux Portugais de Safi et de Mogador, ravageront les cultures des Berbères au pied de l'Atlas jusqu'aux portes de Marrakech. Mais peu à peu, les Arabes du Dra se trouveront, eux aussi, repoussés dans le Sahara. De nos jours, les Oulad Yahya de la Khela Tifernin, les 'Arib et les Roha du coude du Dra ne prennent plus qu'une part réduite à l'activité des grandes vallées.

Ainsi se consomme, dans le Sud-Marocain, le triomphe des sédentaires sur les nomades, la lente assimilation des étrangers par les autochtones ; par groupes ou par familles isolées, les derniers venus se fixent au sol et l'on ne retrouve plus, dans la solitude du désert, que des éléments irréductibles dont la faiblesse et la misère présentes nous permettent difficilement d'imaginer ce que fut jadis la puissance des Ma'qil.

IV. *Les déplacements intérieurs.* — Alors même que le peuplement de la région du Sous paraît achevé, des mouvements intérieurs continuent d'agiter la masse des tribus sédentaires. Des déplacements de petits groupes sociaux finissent de réaliser le mélange intime des éléments de provenances diverses, déjà préparé par le choc des grandes familles berbères ou arabes.

Ce phénomène de « brassage » se poursuit sous deux formes. Nous avons dit plus haut l'attirance exercée par les vallées irriguées et les oasis du Dir sur les habitants des montagnes ou des plaines infertiles. Mais il se produit aussi un déplacement de tribus vers le Nord, qui indique bien, par la constance même de sa direction, l'existence d'une inquiétude permanente des hommes obligés de vivre dans ce dur pays. Nombre de tribus de l'Anti-Atlas ou

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

du versant sud de l'Atlas ont ainsi poussé des colonies sur les pentes septentrionales du Deren ou dans le pays des Haha. Souvent d'ailleurs, le souvenir du lien ethnique qui unissait la fraction détachée à la tribu-mère a disparu. Seul le nom subsiste qui nous indique la provenance de ces groupes favorisés, qui ont de la sorte réussi à se fixer plus au Nord dans des régions moins hostiles à la vie humaine. Tels sont les Souktana, établis depuis peu à une journée de marche de Marrakech, sur les premières pentes des collines du Kik et qui sont les frères des Isouktan de l'Anti-Atlas oriental ; les Ouzgita du Jbel Kik, parents des Ait Waouzgit du Sirwa, les Aït Semmeg du Dir sud de l'Atlas, au nord-est de Taroudant, venus sans doute du pays des Aït Semmeg du versant nord de l'Anti-Atlas ; les Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït 'Amer, Aït 'Aisi, dans le sud des Haha, originaires des tribus du même nom qui sont encore fixées dans la plaine ou le Dir des Chtouka.

En réalité, nous le verrons, chacune des petites tribus qui vivent ainsi à grande distance au nord du territoire du groupe social qui leur a donné naissance et dont elles conservent le nom, n'est pas exclusivement constituée de familles de même sang ; beaucoup d'étrangers arrivés de toutes directions, sont venus grossir la masse des émigrés. Mais la fondation de ces colonies n'en demeure pas moins, à l'origine, une manifestation de ce grand mouvement historique de migration vers le nord des tribus venues du Sahara et des steppes, qui s'achève à présent sous nos yeux par d'insensibles déplacements de familles dans un pays désormais conquis à la vie sédentaire.

V. *Conséquences de la fixation au sol sur la cohésion des groupes sociaux.* — Au moment où s'affirme, dans le Sud-Marocain, la prédominance des agriculteurs berbères sur tous les éléments d'origine extérieure, il n'est pas inutile d'observer combien se trouve alors affaibli le lien jadis si fort qui unissait entre elles les tribus dont étaient faites les grandes familles des Masmouda et des Senhaja. Depuis le XVIe siècle, après le passage des Arabes et la réaction maraboutique, il semble que l'hostilité des deux races ait disparu. En effet, désormais, les historiens ne nous citent plus leurs noms que pour montrer la science qu'ils ont du passé ; de nos jours, le terme même de Masmouda n'est plus compris dans le Deren que par les lettrés. Dans l'Anti-Atlas on ne désigne plus.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

par le nom de « Gezzoula », une grande famille berbère, mais simplement un parti politique, un « leff » qui s'oppose à celui des « Souktana ». L'histoire du Sous est maintenant remplie par la lutte de groupes sociaux beaucoup plus faibles qu'autrefois : ce sont des confédérations, des tribus ou même de simples fractions de tribus, qui se disputent entre elles la prééminence. De nouvelles alliances s'établissent dans lesquelles la disposition des territoires joue sans doute un rôle plus important que la notion de parenté. A mesure que se poursuit la conquête et l'appropriation du sol par les Berbères, il semble que la terre elle-même retienne les hommes, les emprisonne dans des frontières naturelles de plus en plus resserrées : les limites géographiques des petits états qui se constituent ainsi brisent l'unité de ces grandes masses jadis homogènes, dont les combats nous donnaient l'explication cachée des événements du haut moyen âge.

Il se produit ainsi une sorte de reconstruction de la société berbère par le dedans : de minuscules unités sociales concentrent toute l'activité politique des sédentaires, dans les régions où jadis sans doute des liens de solidarité ethnique unissaient à grande distance des peuplades en mouvement.

En même temps s'affaiblit peu à peu la tradition berbère commune à tous les peuples de l'Orient, d'ancêtres éponymes par lesquels on explique l'alliance des éléments dont sont formées les grandes confédérations et les tribus (1) ; on n'imagine plus de nos jours, comme aux temps d'Ibn Khaldoun, de savantes généalogies pour faire comprendre les relations des tribus entre elles ; seule subsiste la croyance, assez vague d'ailleurs, à la fraternité de sang de tous les membres des petits cantons entre lesquels se trouvent à présent fractionnées les masses ethniques autrefois plus cohérentes. Encore verrons-nous comment l'apport constant d'éléments étrangers à l'intérieur des frontières des États autonomes de la montagne altère sans cesse davantage la notion primitive de parenté, qui tend à disparaître pour faire place à la solidarité des familles unies dans la possession d'une même vallée.

VI. *Forme des groupements humains (villes, villages, hameaux).* — Désormais fixée au sol, la population du Sous se concentre,

(1) Masqueray décrit en Kabylie (*Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie*, Paris 1886, p. 102) une situation semblable.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

selon les régions, en villes, en gros villages, en hameaux dispersés.

A la vérité, les villes, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, bien que peuplées en majorité de Berbères, sont demeurées malgré l'importance des liens politiques et économiques qui les unissent aux tribus du voisinage, des organismes étrangers.

Marrakech, la plus grande ville du Maroc, dont la population atteint de nos jours cent cinquante mille habitants, est sans doute un centre urbain puissant qui exerce son attirance sur les tribus les plus lointaines du Sous. Mais cette ville, fondée par les Almoravides, en un site choisi par eux à grande distance de l'Atlas afin d'échapper aux attaques des Masmouda, est demeurée, malgré les efforts des dynasties almohade et saadienne, une simple résidence du Makhzen et un grand marché permanent. Les nombreuses familles originaires du Sud qui s'y trouvent fixées n'y exercent que d'humbles métiers et subissent les lois de cette cité musulmane, sans avoir jamais tenté de les modifier selon le génie propre de la Berbérie.

Mogador, construite au XVIIIe siècle pour servir de port aux tribus du Sud, voisines de l'Atlantique, sous le contrôle permanent du Sultan, est une création plus artificielle encore. Les chleuhs qui l'habitent, dont l'activité commerciale se trouve paralysée par la présence d'une importante colonie israélite — douze mille habitants, plus de la moitié de la population totale — restent confinés dans les professions inférieures et ne parviennent pas à jouer le rôle de citadins.

Enfin, Taroudant s'élève en un site favorable parmi des jardins que fertilise l'eau du fleuve, au milieu de la plaine triangulaire que bordent l'Atlas et l'Anti-Atlas. La croisée de deux grands chemins naturels, celui de la vallée même du Sous et la route des oasis d'Aqqa et de Tisint au Tizi n Test et à Marrakech, en fait un centre destiné, semble-t-il, par la disposition générale du pays, à devenir une véritable capitale berbère. Cette ville tient d'ailleurs la place d'une autre cité identique, Igli, disparue depuis l'époque des Almohades. Cependant Taroudant est demeurée avant tout la résidence du Makhzen dans le Sous, le siège des gouverneurs arabes. Ruinée et mise à sac plus de dix fois au cours de l'histoire, elle a été le plus souvent repeuplée, grâce à des étrangers, Arabes, esclaves noirs et rifains, et l'on ne trouve à présent, derrière ses

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

vieux murs crénelés, que huit mille habitants confinés dans une existence misérable.

Le Sous a connu jadis d'autres cités de moindre importance qui furent sans doute des créations spontanées des autochtones et vécurent exclusivement sous des lois berbères. Telles furent vraisemblablement Aghmat et Nefis au pied du Dir septentrional de l'Atlas. Mais ce furent là de simples agglomérations villageoises établies autour d'un marché, dans des oliveraies prospères, comme le sont aujourd'hui Amismiz et Imi n Tanout. Les chefs des premières dynasties du Sud, les Maghrawa et les Idrissites s'appliquèrent à les développer et à les embellir jusqu'au moment où la fondation de Marrakech par les Almoravides entraîna peu à peu leur décadence économique et politique.

Léon l'Africain nous décrit aussi, au début du XVIe siècle, d'autres petites villes dans lesquelles les habitants abritaient leurs récoltes et qui étaient entourées de remparts en pierre sèche (1). Telles furent les petites forteresses des Haha, groupées surtout sur les bords de l'oued Qsob et du Tensift, qui disparurent sous l'effort combiné des Arabes et des Portugais. Chacune d'elles possédait quelques milliers d'habitants qui se gouvernaient selon les mêmes règles qu'observent de nos jours les tribus indépendantes de la montagne. On peut se demander d'ailleurs si l'existence de ces petites cités ne s'explique pas surtout par l'impérieuse nécessité dans laquelle se trouvèrent, du XIIe siècle au XVIe siècle, les sédentaires des plaines de défendre leurs biens et leurs récoltes contre les attaques des nomades. Par la suite, lorsque les Arabes eurent cessé d'agiter le pays par leurs courses, se furent dispersés parmi les tribus berbères et attachés au sol à leur tour, on ne vit plus reparaître les petites villes « ceintes de pierre crue » que les guerres portugaises avaient fait disparaître et dont l'utilité ne se faisait d'ailleurs plus sentir; toute la population se dispersa dès lors dans la même région en maisons isolées et en minuscules hameaux, ainsi qu'il nous est facile de l'observer à présent.

A défaut de grandes villes, dans lesquelles les Berbères ne sont que des étrangers, ou de petites cités qui n'ont pas résisté à la guerre, le Sous ne connaît de nos jours d'autres centres importants que ceux qui apparaissent au pied même de l'Atlas, sur la ligne des

(1) Léon l'Africain, *Description de l'Afrique*, Édit. Schefler, t. I, p. 134-235.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

sources ou à l'entrée des grands chemins du Deren ; telles sont par exemple Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat et Talekjont dont la prospérité dépend de la richesse de leurs cultures et de l'activité de leurs marchés, au point de jonction de la plaine et de la montagne. Mais ces gros villages, dont la population atteint un millier d'habitants, sont le plus souvent formés de plusieurs quartiers distincts, de hameaux séparés qui constituent de petites unités politiques opposées les unes aux autres (1).

Les villages berbères ne sont pas tous semblables les uns aux autres.

Lorsqu'on quitte les plaines pour pénétrer en montagne, on voit se succéder tout d'abord les villages du Dir, sur les premières pentes, puis les petits hameaux des vallées et parfois, plus haut encore, quelques gros villages des sommets.

Sur le Dir, les groupements humains prennent souvent un aspect défensif. Les maisons se pressent sur le flanc de la montagne tandis que les cultures s'étendent dans la plaine. Lorsque la sécurité le permet, il existe à la fois un village de montagne solidement construit en pierre et, au milieu des cultures irriguées et du « bour », des « 'azib » hâtivement édifiés, où s'abritent les troupeaux et les travailleurs des champs. Si le Makhzen fait régner la paix dans le pays, ces constructions légères de la plaine deviennent bientôt à leur tour de véritables villages (2).

Dans les vallées étroites de l'Atlas, la pauvreté du sol, l'exiguïté des champs disposés en petites terrasses ne peuvent suffire à faire vivre une population nombreuse. Les hommes se dispersent alors en petits hameaux de dix à vingt feux qui s'égrènent le long des torrents, séparés par une distance de deux ou trois kilomètres et parfois davantage. Ces groupements de maisons s'étagent habituellement sur les pentes de la vallée. Leur site n'est pas toujours

(1) Nulle part le caractère de divisions intérieures de ces petites unités n'est plus apparent qu'à Tisgin des Gedmiwa où sont juxtaposés, au centre d'une oliveraie, une douzaine de hameaux formant quatre groupes politiques différents.

(2) Le double établissement en plaine et en montagne des tribus du Dir peut être observé surtout chez les Gedmiwa, Dwiran et Mzouda. Villages de montagne et azibs de plaine portent souvent le même nom. Le territoire de la tribu dans l'Atlas se trouve ainsi complété par une vaste étendue cultivée dans l'Azaghar. Le fractionnement intérieur et les divisions politiques de la tribu qui existent en montagne se trouvent comme projetés dans la plaine et les mêmes luttes s'y poursuivent entre les mêmes partis. Lorsque l'insécurité apparaît et se prolonge, le plus souvent à la suite de guerre avec les tribus arabes du voisinage, chacun regagne sa maison de montagne, à l'intérieur de laquelle il garde précieusement en tout temps ses provisions.

Le même disposition des villages associés de montagne et de plaine existe sur le Dir du Nord de l'Anti-Atlas, chez les Chtouka.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

un emplacement favorable à la défense, car dans un pays où les difficultés d'accès sont si grandes, on n'a pas à craindre d'attaque des étrangers et le seul péril vient des luttes intérieures. Aussi l'exposition des maisons au soleil, le voisinage des cultures, les nécessités de l'abri des troupeaux, de la conservation des grains, de l'usage des aires à battre, sont pour la fondation des hameaux des circonstances qui l'emportent sur le souci de la sécurité. Seuls les chefs, pour se défendre de leurs sujets plus souvent que de leurs ennemis, se préoccupent d'édifier des enceintes et des tours élevées.

Par contre, dans les régions d'accès facile, sur les plateaux montagneux de l'Anti-Atlas ou dans le pays des Haha, les hameaux doivent veiller à leur propre sécurité. Ils s'entourent de haies épaisses de jujubiers et se protègent par des tours de guet ou des postes de défense. Lorsque les maisons, par groupes de deux ou trois, se dressent sur le sommet des collines, elles deviennent de véritables petites forteresses aux murs épais, aux meurtrières étroites et les familles qui les habitent, associées par des liens du sang, peuvent s'y prêter assistance et soutenir un long siège.

D'autres fois aussi, dans les régions plus riches — au fond des cuvettes plus fertiles qui apparaissent çà et là dans l'Anti-Atlas — des groupes de hameaux sont établis autour des magasins collectifs, à l'intérieur desquels chaque foyer garde ses provisions. La masse même des maisons forme alors, autour de ces greniers, une défense naturelle.

Enfin, près des sommets, les gros villages, presque inconnus sur les pentes de l'Atlas, reparaissent à la tête des ravins au voisinage des plateaux favorables à la vie des troupeaux. Tels sont, par exemple, Tassa des Aït Haddiyous, et Tasgint des Ida ou Mahmoud, près du Tichka, ou Amasin des Ikhozamen, près des pics du Sirwa. Ces agglomérations de cent à deux cents feux, souvent dominées par de grands magasins aux allures de forteresses ne sont d'ailleurs en réalité que des villages d'hiver situés à plus de deux milles mètres d'altitude. Chacun vient s'y abriter lorsque tombent les premières neiges ; mais, pendant la belle saison, les habitants se dispersent par groupes de quelques familles, au milieu des pâturages des sommets et cultivent çà et là de pauvres champs de seigle et d'orge autour des enclos de pierre sèche qui leur servent de maisons.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

La plupart de ces agglomérations berbères — petites cités aux apparences villageoises, hameaux des vallées, villages d'hiver des sommets — présentent un double caractère commun. Elles sont établies presque toujours auprès des cours d'eau, parce que la vie humaine dans le sud du Maroc se trouve étroitement liée à l'utilisation des sources et des séguias. Elles n'occupent que d'une manière exceptionnelle des emplacements défensifs naturels sur le sommet des pitons à la manière des villages de la Kabylie du Djurjura.

Si l'on observe avec attention l'aspect extérieur de ces divers groupements, petites villes ou villages, on aperçoit l'importance qu'y prend presque toujours le hameau habité par un groupe patriarcal de dix à vingt feux. Toute maison isolée tend à se développer, si la famille qui l'habite parvient à prospérer, de manière à former, par la juxtaposition des chambres séparées construites par les fils et les alliés, une association assez forte pour assurer sa propre défense et exploiter ses terres en sécurité. De même, un gros village n'est que la réunion de plusieurs hameaux. Chacun d'entre eux appartient à un groupe familial distinct et il suffit souvent pour connaître le nombre de ces petites unités sociales élémentaires qui constituent une petite république berbère de compter sur le sol le nombre des quartiers séparés (1).

VII. *La maison.* — Il n'existe pas, il est à peine nécessaire de le dire ici, une « maison berbère » de type uniforme, dont la disposition puisse être opposée à celle de la « maison arabe ». Le plan, la construction, l'aménagement de la demeure de l'agriculteur du Sous diffèrent selon que celle-ci se trouve isolée ou perdue dans un groupe, en plaine, sur le Dir ou en montagne, dans une région d'accès difficile ou au contraire sur le passage d'une voie naturelle

(1) Au voisinage du désert dans les oasis du Noun et du Bani, dans le moyen Dra et le Dadès, il est fréquent d'observer l'existence de gros qsars dont les maisons se rapprochent en se protégeant mutuellement. Souvent même, le village est entouré d'un rempart ; c'est qu'ici le voisinage des nomades, la division de la population en haratan cultivateurs, et pasteurs arabes ou berbères — qui jouent souvent le rôle de protecteurs — modifient considérablement les conditions d'existence que nous avons observées à l'intérieur de la province du Sous.

On a souvent signalé le caractère urbain de la construction des qsars. Il semble même qu'il existe dans le Dra et le Dadès une tradition architecturale particulière et une technique plus savante et plus parfaite que dans tout le Sud-Marocain. C'est sans doute à l'influence artistique du Dra que l'on doit les belles « tighremt » rencontrées à Telwet et chez les Imeghran.

Les constructeurs les plus réputés de ces « tighremt », ainsi que des kasbas seigneuriales de l'Atlas proviennent de la tribu des Ait Bou Yahya, au Nord de Tisint.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de pénétration. L'état social et politique de la tribu fait aussi sentir son influence, en imposant à l'aspect extérieur une grande simplicité dans les régions où subsistent les institutions républicaines, tandis que se développe, au pays des chefs temporels, le goût du décor et de l'ornementation. On peut cependant, pour simplifier, s'en tenir aux distinctions essentielles et opposer la maison de plaine à celle de montagne.

En plaine, dans la vallée du Sous, au pays des Chtouka et des Haha, prédomine un type de maison sans étage constituée par des chambres qui s'ouvrent à l'intérieur d'un enclos carré. La protection extérieure est habituellement assurée par un mur de terre battue que l'on construit au pilon dans un coffrage en bois (1) ; la partie inférieure de la muraille est souvent faite de pierre, car elle donne une meilleure assise à l'ensemble et, d'autre part, le travail des voleurs qui percent les murailles la nuit est rendu plus difficile ; dans certaines régions, le mur est remplacé par une haie d'épines de jujubier, qui dépasse deux mètres de hauteur, cependant qu'une ou deux tours de guet construites aux angles permettent de faire la veille ; au coin des murs, de vieux pots renversés et des crânes de bovidés détournent le mauvais œil et chassent au loin les mauvaises influences.

Les troupeaux sont conservés dans la cour centrale, sur laquelle prennent jour les diverses pièces séparées de la maison ; au milieu d'un côté de l'enclos, une lourde porte, fermée par une serrure en bois, flanquée de larges piliers de maçonnerie, défend l'entrée. Cette porte s'ouvre sur une pièce basse, utilisée à la fois comme vestibule et comme magasin. Lorsque les fils sont mariés, chaque pièce est habitée par un ménage. Un peu à l'écart des autres pièces, s'élève souvent une petite chambre en étage, c'est la « tamesrit », où l'on reçoit les hôtes, qui y accèdent par l'extérieur.

Les maisons de montagne sont plus modestes. Elles sont faites de petites unités séparées auxquelles on accède par l'extérieur. On les construit en pierre, maçonnées avec un peu d'argile ; leurs terrasses sont en terre et bordées de lourdes pierres plates. Chacune d'elles possède un étage, si peu élevé qu'on s'y tient debout avec peine ; en bas, vivent les chèvres et les moutons ; la partie supérieure est réservée aux provisions et à l'habitation des hommes.

(1) En raison de ce procédé de construction, au moyen d'un coffrage en planches (louh), on donne souvent au mur lui-même le nom de « louh ».

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les portes d'entrée sont légères et fragiles, car l'on n'a pas à craindre les voleurs étrangers. Une grande pièce carrée, sans étage, couverte d'une terrasse au centre de laquelle est ménagée une large ouverture, sert de cuisine et de gynécée. Tout à l'entour s'étendent les aires à battre limitées par des pierres dressées. Afin d'éviter le froid et l'humidité, on no perce dans les murs que de minuscules fenêtres ; dans les régions agitées par la guerre, ces ouvertures prennent l'aspect de meurtrières et l'on prend soin de les disposer de telle sorte que les habitants ne puissent être atteints par une balle tirée de l'extérieur. Enfin, sur les terrasses, des galeries fermées par des claies de branches de lauriers roses, permettent de vivre au grand air, à l'abri des rayons presque verticaux du soleil.

Ces pauvres maisons des hautes vallées, toutes semblables les unes aux autres, étagées sur une pente, ressemblent souvent aux alvéoles d'un nid de guêpes.

Tristes sous la pluie et la neige, lorsque les habitants grelottent dans la vermine et que les nuages s'attardent sur le flanc des montagnes, ces petits hameaux s'animent au soleil. Dans le ciel éclairci, les fumées s'élèvent par l'ouverture béante des cuisines ; les hommes s'assemblent sous les galeries pour deviser ; sur les terrasses, sèchent les grappes dorées de maïs et les piments écarlates. Les troupeaux sortent des enclos, guidés par les enfants, cependant que les femmes, qui montent vers la forêt pour y chercher leurs lourdes charges de bois mort, oublient avec courage leur existence misérable et lancent dans la lumière la note aiguë de leur chant.

VIII. *La famille.* — Chaque hameau isolé, ou chaque partie d'un village est habitée, nous l'avons vu, par un groupe familial, patriarcal et agnatique auquel on donne dans le Sous le nom d' « ikhs ». C'est l'unité la plus petite, mais aussi la plus vivante, qui contribue à former des groupes sociaux plus vastes en pays berbère.

L'« ikhs » se constitue spontanément par le développement naturel de la famille qui habite une maison isolée. En effet, le Chleuh, presque toujours monogame, surtout s'il est pauvre, vit avec ses fils dans l'indivision ; ses cousins s'établissent auprès de lui. Des étrangers, venus dans le pays comme travailleurs à gages, ou des frères de tribu, épousent les filles. En trois ou quatre géné-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

rations se forme un groupe nombreux et puissant, souvent dirigé par un vieillard, qui est le chef naturel de ce nouveau hameau.

Les divers membres de l' « ikhs » ne se trouvent pas réunis au cours de l'existence journalière. Chaque génération vit, en effet, à l'écart de celle qui la précède ou qui la suit ; le père et le fils ne prennent pas ensemble leurs repas, du moins en public. Les hommes et les femmes, d'autre part, forment deux sociétés distinctes qui ont des traditions, des croyances, un vocabulaire différent. Les hommes s'efforcent d'observer les lois de l'Islam ; les femmes, au contraire, restent attachées à des pratiques magiques qui sont une survivance des croyances les plus anciennes. Les marchés mêmes sont parfois séparés (1). Enfin, au cours des pèlerinages et des foires annuelles, les deux sexes se réunissent souvent à part. Les fêtes des femmes, à l'occasion desquelles se trouvent conservées des traditions licencieuses antérieures à l'Islam, accentuent encore davantage l'organisation séparée des deux groupes.

La femme berbère, sans avoir dans cette région, l'indépendance qu'elle a gardée dans le Maroc central, n'est cependant pas placée sous l'étroite tutelle et dans la demi-servitude que l'on observe chez les tribus arabisées de la plaine et qui est une conséquence de l'islamisation complète. Il n'est pas rare de voir apparaître dans l'histoire des tribus du Sud quelque mère énergique qui défende les biens de ses enfants orphelins et parfois même dirige secrètement la politique d'un canton.

XI. *Les classes sociales.* — Cette société, formée de groupes familiaux distincts, entre lesquels les constitutions politiques s'efforcent de faire prévaloir le principe de l'égalité n'est cependant aucunement démocratique. Elle comprend, au contraire, des classes que l'on peut, selon la considération dont elles jouissent, ordonner hiérarchiquement. La plus respectée est celle des marabouts et des chorfa. Ces personnages sont, en principe, les descendants des saints, célèbres par leurs vertus ou leur science et ceux des membres de la famille du Prophète. En réalité, la plupart des familles qui peuvent se réclamer d'ancêtres arabes prétendent à une origine chérifienne, tels les Oulad ben Seba', qui sont seulement des Ma'qil, ou encore les Berbères Ilalen dont le nom transcrit sous la forme

(1) Il existe des marchés spéciaux pour les femmes dans la région des Haha et la plaine des Chtouka.

arabe d' « Hilala » prête à confusion avec celui des envahisseurs « Banou Hilal ».

Les marabouts qui vivent groupés autour du tombeau d'un ancêtre connu et respecté forment de petits groupes séparés qui se gouvernent par eux-mêmes et qui demeurent le plus souvent soustraits aux rivalités politiques des autres « ikhs » berbères. Fixés sur les meilleures terres, au voisinage des sources et dans les vallées les plus riches, leur nombre atteint, selon les régions, le cinquième ou le dixième de la population totale, et ils constituent parfois de véritables petits états séparés à l'intérieur des tribus.

Vient ensuite l' « 'amma », qui est la masse des autochtones, dans laquelle se fondent peu à peu tous les éléments étrangers. Elle se divise en confédérations, tribus, fractions, et sous-fractions, dont nous étudierons plus loin la structure et l'évolution politique.

Inférieurs aux gens du commun sont les haraten, particulièrement nombreux, nous l'avons vu, dans les vallées du Sous et surtout du Haut-Dra et du Dadès, ainsi que dans les oasis du Noun et du Bani. D'origines diverses, ils sont peut-être le résultat du croisement des anciennes populations noires du Sahara et des esclaves du Soudan, amenés en grand nombre par les conquérants berbères ou achetés par les Sultans aux traitants arabes. Le Makhzen a été, en effet, de tout temps un grand importateur de noirs. Aussi les trouve-t-on en grand nombre au voisinage des kasbas de caïds ou près des forteresses chérifiennes. Dans l'Anti-Atlas, ils se sont mêlés sans difficulté aux tribus des Igezzoulen (1), sans toutefois se confondre complètement avec l' « 'amma ». Dans le Haut-Atlas, les Masmouda ont résisté davantage, mais on voit, dans les années de misère, les haraten, pour la plupart forgerons ou artisans, épouser les filles des notables. Les petits chikhs des hautes vallées possèdent presque tous deux ou trois esclaves noirs qui se marient dans le pays et dont les enfants prennent place peu à peu parmi les hommes libres.

Les Juifs forment la classe la plus méprisée en pays berbère. Cependant, eux aussi, finissent par entrer en partie dans les rangs

(1) « Malgré cette égalité politique, malgré cette communauté d'origine reconnue, les Chellaha se regardent comme supérieurs aux Haratin et ceux-ci ont le sentiment de leur infériorité. Ils cherchent à se relever en épousant des femmes de couleur claire ». « Pense-t-on mariage, dit le proverbe, l'Arabe demande : est-elle de bonne maison? le chleuh : est-elle riche ? le hartani : est-elle blanche ? » De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, p. 88.

de l' « 'amma ». Sans doute, il existe encore d'assez nombreux mellahs — Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout — en relations étroites avec le grand centre juif qui prospère à Mogador en monopolisant le commerce du Sud. Mais les nombreuses traditions recueillies chez les Haha, dans l'Anti-Atlas central et occidental, ainsi que le Haut-Dra chez les Skourra et les Glawa prouvent l'existence ancienne de nombreuses familles d'origine juive, converties à l'Islam depuis quelques siècles. Au temps de Léon l'Africain, on voyait encore, dans le Sous quelques communautés israélites prendre part aux guerres de tribus pour défendre leurs terres et garder leur religion (1). Il est permis de penser que c'était là ce qui restait alors des vieilles tribus berbères judaïsées de l'Extrême-sud, que la conquête des Igezzoulen avait dû contraindre à accepter l'Islam. De nos jours encore, il n'est pas rare de trouver dans l'Anti-Atlas des familles converties depuis moins d'un siècle, de même que l'on montre la place d'anciens villages et d'agadirs ruiués dont la population juive a été vaincue, islamisée de force et dispersée par les musulmans du voisinage.

X. *La vie économique.* — Nous avons dit les conditions difficiles dans lesquelles se développe la vie humaine dans le Sous. Tantôt, comme dans l'Anti-Atlas, les pluies sont trop rares pour fertiliser les vastes étendues des plateaux sur lesquelles peut passer la charrue berbère ; tantôt, comme dans le Deren, où l'eau est plus abondante, c'est la terre qui fait défaut sur le flanc rocheux des montagnes ou dans les gorges étroites des torrents ; ailleurs, en plaine, les sources et les séguias suffisent à peine pour faire naître les petites oasis du pied du Dir ou le mince cordon de jardins au fond des grandes vallées.

Jadis, cependant, dans l'isolement de cette région, il s'était établi ici un régime d'équilibre ; au prix de quelques privations, une population qui restait repliée sur elle-même parvenait à se suffire, surtout en montagne ; elle n'avait à faire appel à l'extérieur pour accroître ses ressources — sous forme d'émigration temporaire des hommes valides — que lors des périodes de famine. Les bénéfices que les Chleuhs savent en outre retirer du commerce qu'ils pratiquent dans les villes donnaient même à certaines tribus —

(1) Léon l'Africain, *Description de l'Afrique*, Édit. Schefler, t. I, p. 163-164.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les Aït 'Aisi et les Aït Mzal par exemple — une véritable prospérité.

Mais cette économie fragile devait être bouleversée par l'ouverture du Maroc aux marchés européens au XIXe siècle. Un pays aussi pauvre était, en effet, tenté d'améliorer par l'importation de denrées alimentaires, de vêtements et d'objets manufacturés ses conditions difficiles d'existence ; mais en même temps ces achats contribuaient à l'épuiser. Comme, d'autre part, l'établissement du pouvoir des grands chefs et des caïds sur les communautés indépendantes avait pour conséquence d'imposer aux tribus de lourdes charges, la ruine économique du Sous devait se trouver réalisée en deux générations d'hommes.

A la vérité, les diverses parties du pays se sont trouvées inégalement atteintes par cette transformation, selon leur état initial de pauvreté, le genre de vie de leurs habitants et leur degré de pénétration par l'économie moderne.

Dans les régions montagneuses, là du moins où l'évolution politique n'a pas sensiblement altéré la condition primitive des hommes, il n'existe pas de vrais pauvres ni de vrais riches. Chaque Berbère possède un petit troupeau de moutons et de chèvres, et dans le fond de la vallée quelques terrasses cultivées, de grands noyers irrigués par les séguias et des amandiers sur le flanc de la montagne. L'orge, le seigle, le maïs, les nuvets dont les longues guirlandes sèchent pendues le long des maisons, suffisent à la subsistance journalière. On ne sacrifie des chèvres ou des moutons qu'aux jours de fêtes ou lorsque passe un hôte. Le vêtement n'exige point de grandes dépenses. Celui des femmes est fait d'une très longue pièce de laine brune avec laquelle le corps est savamment drapé et que des fibules d'argent, de bronze ou d'épine fixent au-dessus des seins. Les hommes s'enveloppent d'une pièce de laine plus courte, à moins qu'ils ne portent — c'est de nos jours le cas le plus fréquent — une longue chemise et une culotte de cotonnade. Un ample manteau noir, « akhnif », muni d'un capuchon et décoré par derrière d'un étrange motif rouge, complète le costume du montagnard.

Le Haut-Atlas est presque entièrement dépourvu d'industries locales ; par contre, dans l'Anti-Atlas et le Sirwa, subsistent plusieurs foyers d'activité, dont l'origine et les traditions sont encore mal connues et mériteraient sans doute d'être étudiées. Des arti-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

sans savent y fondre les minerais de fer et de cuivre, que l'on trouve en gîtes métalliques de faible importance, et dont la présence a suffi à consacrer la réputation de richesse minière du Sud. Des maîtres ouvriers, presque tous descendants d'esclaves noirs, fabriquent des fusils et des poignards incrustés d'argent. D'autres, juifs ou musulmans, conservent la tradition du travail des bijoux de bronze, d'argent et d'or. Nul doute d'ailleurs que ces petits centres industriels ne soient déjà frappés de décadence.

Depuis vingt ans, le développement du commerce dans l'ensemble de l'Empire et l'afflux des denrées et des objets manufacturés de l'Occident font sentir leurs conséquences jusqu'au fond des hautes vallées. Pour acheter ces nouveautés, le montagnard vend sur les souks du Dir ses récoltes de noix et d'amandes et une partie de son troupeau, et il envoie ses fils travailler dans les villes du Gharb, en Algérie et en France.

En plaine, la distance s'accroît plus rapidement encore, entre les riches et les pauvres. Les premiers possèdent les jardins ; les autres les cultivent. Les champs irrigués donnent en abondance les céréales, les légumes et les fruits. L'huile d'olive et d'argan constitue une autre richesse qu'on transporte dans des outres jusque dans les villes du Nord. La proximité plus grande des marchés facilite l'introduction des produits étrangers de telle sorte que l'existence matérielle d'un notable de la plaine du Sous tend à devenir semblable à celle des autres provinces où le Makhzen a de tout temps régné. Mais en même temps la vie des ouvriers des jardins, des « khemmas », est de plus en plus misérable. Seule, une émigration temporaire dans les villes du Maroc, en France ou en Algérie, permet aux hommes adultes de gagner, par de durs travaux, l'argent nécessaire à la subsistance de leurs familles restées au pays.

XI. *La vie religieuse.* — Le Sous s'est trouvé — la suite de son histoire nous fera comprendre par quelles circonstances — profondément soumis aux influences religieuses islamiques. L'œuvre millénaire des réformateurs, des chefs de confréries et des saints personnages dont les coupoles blanchies à la chaux frappent si souvent en ce pays les regards du voyageur, a été couronnée de succès et l'on chercherait en vain jusque dans les vallées les plus lointaines, un hameau sans mosquée.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les grandes obligations religieuses, la prière, le jeûne, l'aumône, sont observées avec soin. Le pèlerinage même est fréquemment accompli par les notables, les marchands et les hommes de bien, surtout dans les tribus des plaines et des montagnes du Sud, chez lesquelles persiste jusqu'à présent un vif attachement pour la religion, accompagné d'ailleurs de la haine et du mépris du chrétien.

Mais quel que soit l'attachement des Berbères du Sous à l'Islam, ils aiment cependant à le concevoir dans les limites étroites de leurs petits états. C'est à leurs marabouts, à leurs savants et à leurs talebs qu'ils réservent le bénéfice de leurs dîmes.

Comme dans tout le reste de l'Afrique du Nord le culte des saints se manifeste ici sous ses aspects familiers si souvent décrits. On peut même observer que la vénération des Chleuhs pour leurs marabouts sait se modeler aux formes diverses de leur organisation sociale. Nous verrons bientôt l'importance de ces petits états superposés que sont la fraction, semblable à un canton, la tribu dont le territoire embrasse plusieurs vallées, la confédération qui s'étend parfois sur tout un versant de la montagne. Or, il est permis de dire que chacun de ces groupes possède ses saints patrons. Par exemple, les sanctuaires les plus vénérés, ceux de Moulay Brahim du Kik, Lalla 'Aziza des Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi de Taroudant, Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im des Haha et surtout Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa du Tazerwalt, voient, chaque été, autour de leurs toits de tuiles vertes, se rassembler de nombreuses tribus de même race. Ces saints appartiennent ainsi à des groupes sociaux très vastes, formés d'une ou plusieurs confédérations. C'est eux qu'on invoque à grande distance pour implorer leur protection ou pour vouer un ennemi à une vengeance certaine. Les caïds et les chefs chassés de leur maison, les assassins en fuite, viennent près de leurs tombeaux chercher refuge, et les poètes qui s'adressent à un vaste auditoire ne manquent pas de rappeler leurs noms avant d'improviser leurs chants.

Les marabouts des tribus sont moins célèbres, mais leur rôle reste considérable. Ils ont souvent laissé près de leurs tombeaux de nombreux descendants héritiers de leur « baraka », qui sont invoqués comme arbitres dans les luttes intérieures. Leurs qoubbas sont le rendez-vous des co-jureurs que le droit berbère oblige à réunir dans les cas de meurtre ou de vol.

Viennent enfin les saints des cantons et des villages dont les

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

noms sont parfois obscurs et énigmatiques. Ceux-ci ne révèlent parfois leur présence que par l'existence d'arbres magiques, de sources sacrées ou de simples tas de pierres. Mais leur utilité n'est pas moindre. Ils protègent les moissons, effraient les voleurs et l'on place sous leur garde le bois coupé, les charrues ou, sur la côte, les avirons des barques et les filets ; ils font mûrir les noix et les olives, pourvu qu'on vienne de temps à autre célébrer auprès d'eux un repas en commun, accompagné de danses et de chants. Sur leurs tombeaux, les fillettes viennent dormir pour apprendre à filer sans effort ; les mariées, montées sur une mule, tournent sept fois autour d'eux pour échapper aux influences mauvaises. C'est par ces petits saints sans histoire que devient manifeste le lien de l'Islam berbère avec les croyances anciennes, conservées plus fidèlement par la mémoire des femmes que par celle des talebs.

Il s'en faut, en effet, que la nouvelle religion ait réussi à faire disparaître entièrement les vieux cultes naturistes d'autrefois qui sous la forme de rites agraires se sont conservés dans le Sous, comme dans les autres régions montagneuses de l'Afrique du Nord avec une étonnante fidélité. On peut dire cependant que ces survivances apparaissent de nos jours beaucoup plus comme des traditions que comme des croyances. Leur importance est limitée par l'esprit pratique des Chleuhs, préoccupés avant tout de rendre la nature favorable à leurs entreprises, plutôt que de donner un sens symbolique ou une valeur religieuse à des coutumes dont l'origine et la signification leur échappe. Aussi voyons-nous la magie plus que la religion, continuer de jouer, malgré la décadence des rites anciens, un rôle important dans la vie courante. C'est elle qui permet de résoudre aisément les problèmes qui se posent chaque jour. Par exemple, lorsque les oiseaux et les insectes nuisent aux récoltes, il suffit de prendre l'un d'eux que l'on considère comme le roi et de l'exécuter en suivant un cérémonial précis. Si les chacals dévorent trop souvent les agneaux du pays, le plus simple pour détourner le mal sur une tribu voisine est de déposer, sur l'herbe que broutent les moutons, de minuscules chacals en argile.

La magie des femmes est moins inoffensive : elle ne se contente pas de faire appel aux principes cachés qui, pour des primitifs, règlent la vie de l'univers; ses sources sont plus obscures et plus mystérieuses. Mise au service de la passion, elle sait provoquer la mort ou la folie. Elle se rattache sans doute par des liens cachés aux

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

anciennes croyances et l'on comprend que les vieilles femmes habiles aux envoûtements et à la divination, dont la mémoire garde dans ses replis secrets les traditions oubliées des hommes, méritent la malédiction des vrais musulmans, et soient regardées comme les alliées de Satan.

Il existe enfin d'autres pratiques magiques qui n'appartiennent pas exclusivement au vieux fonds berbère, mais proviennent sans doute des anciennes civilisations de l'Orient, amenées peut-être par l'Islam lui-même : la science des présages, l'art de distinguer pour les imiter, les hommes de bon augure, et de fuir au contraire ceux qui portent malheur ; il n'est pas jusqu'au livre saint lui-même qui ne donne aux talebs du Sous des formules puissantes pour évoquer les génies et les contraindre de livrer aux hommes leurs trésors cachés dans le sol et leurs prodigieuses richesses (1).

La magie se laisse de la sorte pénétrer peu à peu par les influences religieuses. Par suite, on peut dire, si l'on excepte quelques pratiques dont l'importance apparaît surtout dans la vie domestique et familiale, que le manteau de l'Islam recouvre presque complètement dans le Sous les survivances du temps de la « jahiliya » — de l'ignorance païenne. — Il n'y a pas de cérémonie, d'initiation, de réjouissance, de conseil de guerre, de traité de paix, de discussion pour le choix d'un chef qui ne commencent et ne se terminent par une invocation à Dieu, à son Prophète et à l'un des deux grands saints du Sous : Moulay Brahim du Kik, sur la frontière du Nord du pays berbère, et Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa du Tazerwalt, patron des voyageurs et chef de la famille des rois des Gezzoula.

XII. *La vie intellectuelle.* — L'islamisation n'a pas entraîné la décadence de la langue berbère dont la vitalité ne cesse de se manifester et qui continue d'exprimer le génie propre des habitants du Sous. Les tribus arabes elles-mêmes, fixées dans la vallée centrale, comprennent le parler des montagnards et les petits groupes des descendants des Ma'qil du Sahara qui viennent s'établir dans la plaine des Chtouka et des Haha ne tardent pas à oublier leur dialecte bédouin pour adopter celui du pays. L'arabe est cependant compris des commerçants, des agents du Makhzen et de tous ceux, dont le nombre va aujourd'hui croissant, que l'émigration temporaire

(1) Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*. Alger, 1909, p. 220-306.

2: Montagne MW14 Shluh

entraîne dans les tribus et les villes du Gharb. Mais il n'est pas rare de trouver encore de vieux savants, réputés dans la connaissance de la religion et du droit, qui lisent aisément la langue du Coran, et sont cependant incapables pour s'exprimer d'utiliser les parlers arabes qu'emploient, dans tout le reste de l'Empire, les vrais sujets du Sultan.

La lutte se poursuit d'ailleurs sans trève entre les deux langues arabe et berbère. Dans ce duel, celle-là présente l'avantage d'être le véhicule d'une civilisation universelle et de se prêter à l'expression d'une pensée religieuse ou politique. Celle-ci tient de si près à l'âme populaire et par des liens si forts que de longs siècles n'ont pu réussir encore à la détruire.

C'est à l'étude de cette langue berbère, si vivante encore dans le Sous, qu'il faut demander de nous faire connaître les aspects essentiels de l'humble civilisation primitive des tribus. Ainsi, l'archaïsme des formes grammaticales suggère aux linguistes de précieuses comparaisons avec l'état des langues indo-européennes, aux temps les plus reculés que nous puissions atteindre et témoigne de l'esprit obstiné de conservation et de tradition que l'étude des rites et des croyances rend par ailleurs si évident. L'incapacité d'abstraire se manifeste par l'usage d'un vocabulaire concret dans l'expression même des sentiments. C'est ainsi qu'on exprime le courage par : « tasa » (le foie), l'ambition guerrière par : « ifadden » (les genoux) (1).

En même temps, l'aptitude si caractéristique de la Berbérie à faire des emprunts aux civilisations étrangères apparaît dans l'introduction des mots les plus nouveaux : mandat, banque, automobile, ont déjà pris place dans le vocabulaire des Chleuhs.

Enfin, rien mieux que l'art des poètes et des conteurs ne donne la mesure des qualités et des défauts de la race. Incapables de chanter des épopées, dont la composition dépasserait leur imagination bornée, les Chleuhs excellent dans l'invention de minuscules poèmes et parviennent à exprimer, en deux ou trois vers, une pensée pleine de finesse, avec des mots dont les sens gardent la fraîcheur de la vie, dans une langue que les efforts des écrivains n'ont pas encore desséchée.

C'est, au cours des soirées de repos, lorsque les Berbères

(1) Les genoux servent au cavalier pour se maintenir en selle ; on compare le chef au cavalier, la tribu soumise au cheval.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

s'assemblent pour chanter autour des verres de thé, qu'il faut chercher à comprendre l'âme du Sous. Le « gembri » — mandoline grossière d'où l'artiste sait tirer des sons assourdis et nostalgiques — prélude au jeu des poètes. Puis leur chant s'élève, rythmé par le battement d'une timbale de bronze, mêlé d'improvisations et de lieux communs, exprimant les sentiments de leur cœur, parfois simple, mais plus souvent mystérieux et compliqué comme celui des primitifs. Les vers sont enveloppés pour nous d'obscurités ; ils sont cependant remplis d'allusions discrètes, que tous saisissent ; ils disent à la fois la délicatesse de l'amitié, la force de l'amour et la dureté de la vie. En même temps, s'y révèlent la passion immodérée du Chleuh pour l'argent, le goût de l'intrigue, le respect de la force ; on y célèbre parfois la puissance guerrière des chefs, moins cependant que le prestige de la richesse, et bien souvent dans les contes, l'habileté de la ruse vient à bout du courage des héros.

Ces divers aspects de la Berbérie du Sud-Marocain concourent à nous composer le tableau d'une vie sociale demeurée très archaïque par sa forme, et qui nous offre encore aujourd'hui le spectacle que donnaient il y a trois millénaires les plus anciennes civilisations de la Méditerranée. Mais l'économie, les croyances et la langue des montagnards du Sous ne sont pas seules à suggérer ces comparaisons ; l'étude de leurs petits états et de leurs transformations politiques laisse apercevoir des analogies plus précises encore et nous reporte au temps lointain des civilisations primitives du monde antique.

Masqueray a tenté de montrer, en Algérie, comment les hameaux de l'Aurès, les villages de Kabylie, les petites villes du Mzab présentaient l'image des étapes successives de la fondation et du développement des cités anciennes d'Occident; nous verrons de même ici apparaître, au sein des tribus, des chefs semblables aux tyrans des premiers temps de la Grèce, qui parviendront comme eux à fonder leurs principautés sur les ruines des petites républiques dominées et asservies.

A la vérité, il manque à la Berbérie la profonde vitalité du monde occidental au temps de ses origines ; les grands mythes capables d'associer les cultes locaux aux brillantes destinées des dieux des cités y sont toujours demeurés inconnus ; on ne trouve avec peine, dans ces misérables bourgades de l'Afrique du Nord,

2: Montagne Will Shluh

que quelques traces d'un art sans finesse, et d'où l'imagination et le sentiment paraissent absents. La décoration, la technique des bijoux, des armes, des étoffes demeurent rudimentaires et semblent emprisonnées dans une tradition immuable qui se conserve dans les étroites limites d'une tribu ou d'une vallée. Seule, la pensée franchit de plus vastes espaces et les improvisations des poètes, répétées à grande distance, expriment l'âme populaire sous une forme qui n'est pas toujours indigne d'être comparée aux vers élégiaques de la Grèce du VIIe siècle. Mais, le plus souvent, la vie berbère demeure attachée à la terre d'un village ; ses humbles désirs parviennent à se satisfaire dans les frontières d'un canton. On comprend dès lors que nous apparaisse, en étudiant l'évolution politique des tribus, l'impuissance des hommes à fonder de véritables royaumes, à moins que des influences étrangères au génie de la race ne viennent s'exercer pour briser les cadres nombreux de leurs petits états divisés par des luttes intérieures. Livrés à eux-mêmes, les sédentaires des montagnes du Sud du Maroc ne savent qu'esquisser les premières phases de la fondation des empires : la conquête de la tribu par un chef de guerre heureux.

A défaut des religions poétiques nées dans les cités qui achevèrent par le moyen de fêtes et de jeux l'unité du monde grec, c'est l'Islam qui apporte ici l'idée de l'État. Cette religion sévère et formaliste poursuit d'abord avec une infinie patience la ruine des croyances anciennes, si profondément liées à la vie locale ; elle donne aux hommes de divers pays, opposés par des intérêts irréductibles, les mêmes devoirs et la même langue ; elle vient enfin favoriser la soumission au Makhzen, la reconnaissance par les communautés indépendantes d'un gouvernement de droit divin, seul capable de terminer par son œuvre politique l'ébauche toujours inachevée de la royauté berbère.

[P. 55]

CHAPITRE III

La province du Sous au cours de l'histoire

Des origines au xve siècle

I. L'histoire ancienne du Sous. — II. Les premiers essais d'organisation musulmane. — III. La poussée des Sanhaja Almoravides. — IV. L'épopée masmoudienne des Almohades. — V. Une organisation berbère à la base d'un empire. — VI. Les éléments de résistance. — VII. La désagrégation de l'Empire Almohade. — VIII. La domination mérinide dans le Sous. — IX. L'organisation des tribus de l'Atlas sous les Mérinides. — X. Un grand caïd au xive siècle. — XI. Le royaume indépendant du Sous.

Chercher à écrire sans lacunes ni obscurité l'histoire d'une province du Maroc au cours des siècles, en faisant appel à tous les textes arabes, aux archives européennes et aux récits des voyageurs, serait une vaine entreprise que les plus patientes recherches ne sauraient permettre de mener à bien. C'est, qu'en effet, les documents dont nous disposons pour connaître le passé, sont à la fois insuffisants par leur nombre et leur valeur.

Tout d'abord les sources, abondantes à certaines époques, font, au contraire, entièrement défaut à d'autres périodes. Par exemple, l'histoire se trouve masquée aux premiers siècles de l'Islam par des légendes dont le sens et la valeur nous échappent ; elle est illuminée à d'autres reprises, du début du xiie siècle à la fin du xive siècle, par la gloire des dynasties almohade et mérinide, puis s'obscurcit à nouveau lors des grandes luttes anarchiques des tribus pendant tout le xve siècle et au milieu du xviie siècle, après la chute des Saadiens.

Plus tard, lorsque le Maroc ferme ses frontières et vit à l'écart du monde occidental, les rares écrivains qui consentent encore à tenir la chronique des événements survenus dans un Empire déjà ruiné, méritent à peine le nom d'historiens ; ils limitent leur effort

à l'apologie des souverains ou fondent leurs jugements sur les règles d'un étroit formalisme religieux (1).

D'autre part, tous les livres que nous ont laissés les auteurs arabes nous montrent seulement l'aspect le plus officiel des institutions, telles qu'elles peuvent apparaître à des lettrés des villes, fidèles serviteurs du Makhzen; ils ne nous disent presque jamais quelles furent la politique des chefs, la réaction des tribus, la lutte des influences entre lesquelles se partage le pouvoir dans une région souvent abandonnée à l'anarchie. Les textes européens sont plus précis et contiennent parfois de précieuses indications, mais il est rare qu'ils soient l'œuvre de voyageurs assez expérimentés pour avoir pénétré profondément le jeu obscur et compliqué de la politique berbère.

Dans ces conditions, il est inutile d'espérer parvenir à connaître, dans tout leur développement, les grands mouvements politiques qui ont agité la vie du Sud-Marocain, puisque nous ne saurions interpréter avec certitude les documents dont nous disposons, ou les réunir en nombre suffisant pour composer un tableau assez exact du passé. Il nous suffira de choisir ici, dans le nombre des petits faits dont le récit nous est parvenu ceux qui sont le plus chargés de sens, de les apprécier à leur valeur et de les relier entre eux pour esquisser, à grands traits, la courbe d'une évolution dont nous devons renoncer à connaître les inflexions plus précises. La vue d'ensemble à laquelle nous parviendrons aura suffira peut-être à mettre en évidence quelques-uns des caractères permanents de la vie sociale et nous aidera à mieux comprendre le présent.

I. *L'histoire ancienne du Sous.* — Nous ne savons presque rien sur l'histoire et la géographie ancienne du Sous avant l'Islam. Le périple d'Hannon, nous l'avons dit, nous permet seulement d'imaginer quelles pouvaient être les populations du Sous-extrême: Éthiopiens, Lixites et Troglodytes, au ve siècle avant notre ère. On sait que l'occupation romaine de la Maurétanie tingitane ne s'est pas étendue dans le nord du Maroc au delà de la plaine du Gharb, puisque le « limes » s'arrêtait au voisinage de Rabat. Au delà, il n'existait plus sans doute que des postes de garde pour la protection des marchands. Plus loin, vers le Sud, le « Pyramus

(1) E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris, 1922, p. 21 et suiv.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

torium Solis » où les Phéniciens avaient jadis dressé un autel à Poseidon, peut être encore identifié avec le Cap Cantin, mais déjà au temps de Strabon, les comptoirs fondés par Hannon avaient disparu sans laisser de traces (1).

C'est Pline l'Ancien qui peut seul nous permettre de savoir, avec une grande indigence de détails, sous quels aspects apparaît alors aux navigateurs étrangers cette côte mystérieuse du Sud-Marocain. Entre le littoral et l'Atlas vivaient les « Getules Autololes » ; puis venaient le fleuve Qosenus et les Selatites, peut-être sur les rives du Sous ; les Masates et leur fleuve, que nous pouvons identifier avec l'oued Massat ; la vallée du fleuve Darat, notre Dra actuel, peuplée d'Éthiopiens Daratites. Plus loin encore, c'étaient les Éthiopiens Perorsis avec lesquels les commerçants faisaient des échanges, tandis que d'autres Gétules, les Dariens, se tenaient à l'intérieur du continent (2).

Quant à l'Atlas, le « Deron » ou « Deris », sa distance et les prodiges qui s'y manifestaient le mettaient hors de portée de l'exploration des hommes. Arrosé par des sources jaillissantes, dans des jardins où poussaient des fruits merveilleux, il ne semblait pas pendant le jour recéler d'habitants. Mais à la nuit, au contraire, il se couvrait de feux. Les ægipans et les satyres s'y livraient à leurs danses, cependant que les flûtes, le chalumeau, le bruit des tambours et des cymbales remplissaient mystérieusement l'air de leurs accords et de leur fracas (3).

II. *Les premiers essais d'organisation musulmane.* — Lorsque le compagnon du Prophète Oqba ben Nafi' eut, avec l'aide des Zenètes, conquis le Maghreb extrême en 690, c'est dans le Sous, sur les rives déjà célèbres de Massat, que le conquérant vint affirmer l'achèvement de son œuvre, d'une manière que la légende a symboliquement exprimée. N'ayant plus, dit-on, d'hommes à soumettre et à convertir, il poussa son cheval dans l'Océan afin de saluer les poissons, sujets du prophète Jonas.

Les Berbères du Sous embrassèrent, comme leurs frères du Nord,

(1) Hérodote IV, 43, 184 ; *Périple d'Hannon.* Cf. texte in Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens.* Paris, 1924, p. 16-17.

(2) Les « Getules » Autololes et Dariens sont peut-être des Igezzoulen de la tribu des Ait Ouloul (?) et des Igezzoulen du Dra.

(3) Pline l'Ancien, L. V. Cf. texte in Roget, *op. cit.*, p. 29-31.

les doctrines des Kharedjites afin de mieux lutter contre leurs nouveaux maîtres. Punis par 'Obeid Allah Ibn el Habhab, ils s'insurgèrent à nouveau sous la conduite d'un chef de guerre, Maisara, pour être délivrés de la tyrannie des gouverneurs arabes.

Malgré sa conversion à l'Islam, le Sud du Maroc restait sans doute encore soumis aux influences judéo-chrétiennes et l'on peut croire aussi que les vieilles pratiques magico-religieuses de l'ancienne Libye gardaient une profonde emprise sur les esprits. Mais tandis que ces anciens ferments devaient favoriser, au centre du Maghreb, dans le pays des Berghwata la création d'un royaume hérétique, dirigé par des prêtres-rois, dépositaires d'un Coran berbère, alors que de faux prophètes — tels qu'Ha-Mim et sa famille — allaient, sur les rives de la Méditerranée, entraîner les Ghomara dans des pratiques impies et leur mériter pendant des siècles le châtiment de Dieu, le succès de la nouvelle religion s'affirma bientôt dans le Sous. L'ardeur des convertis y devint telle, au dire des écrivains musulmans, que cette région ne tarda pas à devenir la terre bénie des savants et le lieu de prédilection des discussions théologiques entre les sectes rivales.

Plus tard, lorsque Idris le Fatimite eut fondé un Empire à Fez et fait accepter le dogme dès cette époque reconnu de la prééminence politique des chorfa, le Sous se trouva constituer, dans le partage du Maroc, un véritable royaume. C'est ainsi qu'Abdallah, fils d'Idris II, devint roi d'Aghmat, du Nefis, du pays des Masmouda et des Lamta, c'est-à-dire de l'Atlas occidental et de l'Anti-Atlas. Au XIe siècle, on prêtait encore à ce souverain la fondation de la ville de Tamedelt, au voisinage d'une mine d'argent, entre l'oued Dra et Igli du Sous ; une tribu hérétique se réclamait à la même époque d'un roi qu'elle avait eu, Abou'l Qasem Idris, petit-fils d'Abdallah, et bientôt la tribu des Semlala, qui revendique aussi comme ancêtre le souverain idrisite du Sous, commença de faire valoir, au nom de ses origines, des prétentions politiques auxquelles elle n'a pas renoncé jusqu'à nos jours (1).

Malgré ces progrès du chérifisme, le Sous n'était sans doute pas alors entièrement paisible ni orthodoxe, on s'y livrait de fureurs

(1) El Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*. Trad. de Slane. Alger, 1913, p. 306-308 ; Ibn Khaldoun, t. I, p. 212-216, 237, 238 ; Fournel, *Les Berbères*. Paris, 1857-1875, p. 270-272 ; Ibn Haugal, tr. de Goeje ; trad. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique*, 1842, p. 67.

combats jusque dans les mosquées ; l'usage des boissons fermentées était constant et l'on disait même qu'en montagne, dans une région voisine de celle qu'habitent à présent les Ida ou Izimmer les tribus adoraient en secret un bélier, vestige probable d'un culte libyque (1). Rien d'étonnant à ce que les rigoristes aient parfois jeté l'anathème sur l'Atlas des Masmouda et qu'on ait alors répété le hadith par lequel le Prophète annonçait que toute cette région serait, au jour de la résurrection, « conduite en enfer avec tous ses habitants ainsi que l'on conduit la fiancée à son époux » (2).

Du moins, le Sud-Marocain nous apparaît-il à cette époque, avant les bouleversements apportés par la conquête des Almoravides, comme une région prospère, bien cultivée et peuplée de villes. C'étaient au nord de l'Atlas, de part et d'autre de la montagne du Kik, Neffis, la ville aux jardins, et Aghmat, la capitale idrisite, qui avait été auparavant gouvernée par des magistrats berbères changés chaque année ; sur le versant Sud, Igli et Taroudant, au croisement des routes de la montagne, Tamedelt dans l'Anti-Atlas, Massat dans la plaine et sur le Noun, les oasis de Noul Lemta et d'Ifri. La côte était activement fréquentée par les navigateurs de la Méditerranée et du Portugal, entre Gouz à l'embouchure du Tensift et Oulili en Mauritanie, et dès cette époque reculée, le « Sousi » méritait la réputation d'habile commerçant et de travailleur acharné qu'il a gardée jusqu'à nos jours (3).

III. *La poussée des Senhaja Almoravides.* — Nous avons déjà dit (4) comment la conquête si rapide de l'Espagne, réalisée par des Berbères nomades Lemtouna, Senhaja venus du Soudan, s'expliquait non seulement par un effort militaire extrêmement puissant et énergique, capable de briser d'un seul coup les cadres des petits états berbères, mais encore par l'alliance naturelle de tous les peuples Senhaja dispersés sur les frontières du territoire des Masmouda. Dans l'anti-Atlas, les Lamta devinrent les auxiliaires des Lemtouna. Entraînés avec eux au loin par l'œuvre de conquête et de guerre sainte, ils firent place, semble-t-il, dans le Sud-Marocain,

(1) La fraction des Ida Ou-Izimmer — en berbère, les fils du bélier — fait de cette partie de la tribu des Ida Ou Mhamoud dans le Haut-Atlas du Nord de Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, *Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque* (*Mélanges R. Basset*, Paris, 1923).
(2) Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, t. I, p. 563.
(3) Ibn Hauqal, *ibid*, p. 81, El Bekri, *ibid*, p. 291, 292, 305, 306 ; Ibn Khaldoun, *ibid*, II, p. 70-71 ; *Kitab el Istibsar*, tr. Fagnan, p. 191.
(4) Cf. plus haut, chap. I, p. 29.

aux Igezzoulen, arrivés eux-mêmes du désert, qui devinrent aussi les adversaires naturels des sédentaires déjà établis sur les rives du Sous.

Nul doute que la conquête almoravide, faite au nom du plus pur Islam n'ait été pour les Masmouda une rude épreuve. Les villes de Massat, Taroudant, Aghmat, déjà soumises aux Beni Ifran du pays du Tadla, succombèrent successivement, puis les Lemtouna soumirent les tribus en visitant tous les recoins de l'Atlas. Mais Youssef ben Tachfin éprouva sans doute de telles difficultés à réduire les montagnards qu'il décida de fonder à l'écart de leurs entreprises une ville nouvelle (1062). Au milieu d'une plaine alors inculte, mais dès ce moment transformée en verger par l'apport des eaux qui avaient fait la prospérité d'Aghmat et de Nefis, s'éleva aussi Marrakech, soustraite par son éloignement du pied de l'Atlas aux attaques des Masmouda (1).

IV. *L'épopée masmoudienne des Almohades.* — En 1121, alors que les chefs almoravides et les princesses des Lemtouna scandalisaient à Marrakech les vrais croyants par le relâchement de leur Islam (2), on vit apparaître dans cette ville un pauvre hère originaire de l'Anti-Atlas, venant d'Égypte où il était allé, disait-on, recueillir auprès de l'Imam el Ghazzali, la science religieuse la plus parfaite de son temps. Entouré de quelques disciples, Ibn Toumert, qui se donnait comme le réformateur des mœurs, fut bientôt une cause de désordre et, pour éviter la prison du Makhzen, il dut s'enfuir dans la montagne d'Aghmat. Bientôt, cet étrange personnage, dont l'austérité de vie et la passion théologique ne se démentirent jamais un instant pendant ses dix années d'activité politique, réussit à grouper autour de lui des compagnons, reçut l'adhésion de quelques tribus et s'enhardit jusqu'à livrer d'audacieux combats aux troupes disciplinées des Almoravides de la plaine. Quatre années plus tard, ayant affermi sa puissance sur ses partisans, auxquels il avait donné le nom d' « Almohadin » — les partisans de l'unité de Dieu — ce nouveau Mahdi fondait un camp retranché à Tinmellel, dans la haute vallée de l'Asif Nefis. Bientôt un véritable royaume se constitua autour de la mosquée du réformateur.

(1) El Bekri, *ibid.*, p. 315, 318.
(2) El Marrakchi, *Histoire des Almohades*, trad. Fagnan, p. 154.

La mort d'Ibn Toumert, en 1130, et une sanglante défaite de ses partisans à Marrakech ne purent arrêter le mouvement ainsi lancé. Un fidèle de la première heure, 'Abd el Moumen el Goumi, originaire d'une tribu voisine d'Oran, ayant pris d'une main ferme le gouvernement des tribus masmoudiennes après la mort du Mahdi, successivement le Sous, l'Atlas occidental et central, le Nord du Maroc tombèrent aux mains des Almohades; enfin, après vingt ans de guerres acharnées, le plus souvent en montagne, les armées almoravides succombèrent épuisées, et la prise de Marrakech en 1147 vint couronner cet étonnant triomphe. Aussitôt 'Abd el Moumen, emporté par ses victoires, complétait son œuvre; il s'emparait successivement de l'Espagne, du Maghreb central et de l'Ifriqiya. Grâce à l'appui sans réserve donné à ce mouvement religieux par les populations du Haut-Atlas occidental, un immense Empire se trouvait fondé au profit des Masmouda. La solidité de la conquête était telle que, pendant plus d'un siècle, sous les règnes glorieux d'Abou Ya'qoub Yousef, de Ya'qoub el Mansour et de Mohammed en-Naser, l'Empire almohade devait résister aux forces de dispersion, si puissantes en Afrique du Nord, et garder intactes, jusqu'au temps d'El Mansour, l'enseignement religieux et les traditions du Mahdi.

On a souvent cherché à expliquer le succès irrésistible de cette conquête, la stabilité et l'ordre de l'Empire ainsi construit, par la foi religieuse communiquée par le Mahdi à ses fidèles. Il est certain qu'une telle union des forces, une discipline aussi rigoureuse et aussi constante était impossible en pays berbère, sans l'existence d'un enthousiasme durable, capable de faire disparaître les divisions intestines dont la présence entretient les tribus dans un état de perpétuelle faiblesse. Le caractère si ferme et si volontaire de l'art almohade vient, d'autre part, nous apporter le témoignage d'un idéal élevé de grandeur, de force et de simplicité, que le Maghreb n'a jamais retrouvé au cours des siècles, pas plus qu'il n'a su depuis manifester une énergie aussi résolue dans ses entreprises guerrières.

Mais il n'est pas moins intéressant de chercher à comprendre à la lumière de documents récemment mis à jour (1), par quels moyens se trouva assurée, au cœur de l'état des Masmouda, la solidité d'une assise sur laquelle 'Abd el Moumen put faire reposer avec tant de

(1) *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, trad. Lévi-Provençal (Mémoires d'El Baidaq). Paris, 1928.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

succès le gouvernement de l'immense territoire dont il s'était emparé, avec l'appui de quelques milliers de montagnards ignorants.

Aux premiers temps de la pénétration almohade, les tribus du Deren pouvaient, en effet, constituer une réserve intacte de combattants intrépides, mais elles n'étaient aucunement préparées à jouer le rôle grandiose que le Mahdi rêvait pour elles. Hintata, Gedmiwa, Genfisa, Ait Tinmellel, qui formaient les grandes tribus masmoudiennes, n'étaient alors que des noms par lesquels on désignait un agrégat de petits cantons isolés, comme ceux qu'on retrouve de nos jours dans les régions les plus élevées de l'Atlas. La plupart de ces fractions formait de minuscules républiques, à la tête desquelles se trouvait placé un « mezwar », semblable sans doute au « moqaddem », magistrat nommé pour un an, qui exerce encore à présent les mêmes fonctions dans les mêmes vallées. Toutes les décisions importantes se prenaient au cours d'assemblées générales, et nous voyons, à l'origine du mouvement, le rôle considérable joué par ces réunions de petits notables. Ce sont les « jma'a » des Hintata qui concluent les premières alliances avec Ibn Toumert ; l' « Imam impeccable » rassemble lui-même fréquemment ses fidèles en « agrao » — terme qui désigne, dans tout le Maroc berbère, la « jma'a » de tous les hommes d'une tribu constituée pour délibérer en commun — ; bientôt vont apparaître auprès du Mahdi le conseil des dix, formé par ses compagnons les plus sûrs, ainsi que le conseil des cinquante, dans lequel toutes les tribus de l'état naissant sont représentées. Tous ces traits marquent bien le caractère républicain des premières institutions almohades, de même que les scènes familières de la vie, rapportées avec simplicité par le chroniqueur El Beidaq, montrent la rude existence de ces guerriers, ardents au combat, mais envieux, querelleurs, libres dans leur langage au point d'être insolents, entraînés par leur passion égalitaire à défendre leur opinion dans une assemblée les armes à la main plutôt qu'à suivre avec respect les avis des chefs les plus éprouvés (1).

Pour vaincre les armées almoravides et assurer le triomphe du pur Islam sur les « anthropomorphistes » de la plaine, il fallait avant tout discipliner les Masmouda. Ibn Toumert, sans doute conseillé

(1) *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 35-73.

par 'Abd el Moumen, le véritable chef politique et moteur de l'entreprise, sut avec un sens particulièrement aigu de l'esprit d'association des Berbères, utiliser les institutions des tribus pour donner à l'organisation intérieure de son royaume une solidité à toute épreuve.

V. *Une organisation berbère à la base d'un Empire.* — Le premier soin du Mahdi fut l'établissement d'un ordre de prééminence entre les diverses tribus alliées et d'une hiérarchie rigoureusement fixée à l'intérieur de chacune d'elles. Ce fut le « Tamyiz » des Almohades (1). C'était là, à l'origine une institution militaire et comme la consécration définitive d'un « ordre de bataille » dont la notion n'était pas inconnue des Berbères. Les grandes confédérations du Sud-Marocain ont, en effet, de nos jours encore l'habitude de rassembler leurs contingents et de les lancer au combat dans une succession parfaitement déterminée et connue de tous; il en était sans doute de même déjà à l'époque d'Ibn Toumert. Il suffisait, dès lors, d'utiliser le secret penchant de ces montagnards égalitaires pour le cérémonial, leur goût du spectacle théâtral pour les plier à une rigoureuse discipline. Au cœur de l'Atlas, dans une cuvette verdoyante du Nefis qu'entourent les crêtes boisées des Wichedden, la masse neigeuse de l'Wanoukrim, les montagnes rouges du Tizi n Imiri, le camp de Tinmellel vit alors se dérouler d'innombrables défilés des tribus destinés à fixer la tradition et à fonder les institutions du nouveau royaume. L'ordre de succession était réglé par les services rendus à la cause sacrée du Mahdi, les premiers qui s'avançaient étaient les Hargha, frères de son père ; puis les Tinmellel, frères de sa mère, venaient ensuite les Hintata ralliés les premiers, les Gedmiwa ; enfin, les Gnaoua, un peu tièdes, et entrés parfois contre leur gré dans la communauté. La place de chaque notable et de chaque fraction était notée avec soin sur des registres tenus par les compagnons qui approchaient le maître de plus près. Ainsi se trouvaient établis à la fois le contrôle de l'armée du Mahdi et les titres de noblesse de ceux qui devaient devenir les chikhs almohades.

Pendant les premières années, pour le combat et le partage du butin, le « Tamyiz » fut l'institution fondamentale du petit État des

(1) *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 53.

Masmouda. Une épreuve de la solidité de cette hiérarchie fut heureusement faite d'une manière éclatante. Après la mort du Mahdi, tenue secrète pendant trois ans, lorsque le conseil des Dix eut désigné pour chef l'étranger 'Abd el Moumen, les tribus défilèrent dans l'ordre prescrit devant le nouveau khalife le reconnaissant pour leur maître, mettant à son service une force organisée qui allait les permettre de réaliser en vingt ans la conquête de l'Occident (1).

'Abd el Moumen sut, en continuant la tradition du fondateur, adapter aussitôt cette organisation à la situation nouvelle que créait l'accroissement rapide du territoire soumis. Les Hintata, les Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi prirent leur place à la suite des premières tribus ; après quelques années, lorsque les révoltes chez les Hargha eurent obligé le Khalife à faire appel à ses frères d'Orient pour assurer sa garde personnelle, les Goumaya entrèrent aussi dans le « tamyiz » des Almohades.

L'innovation la plus hardie avait été, dès le début, de faire disparaître dans la masse des Masmouda tous les éléments étrangers — compagnons venus d'Égypte ou des diverses contrées de l'Afrique du Nord — en les faisant entrer dans la tribu des Hargha. Cette pratique fut continuée en rattachant par la suite les populations des régions conquises ou ralliées à l'une des cinq tribus d'origine. Ainsi se réalisait, sous une forme entièrement originale, une nouvelle cristallisation des tribus en groupant les éléments les moins sûrs autour d'un noyau fidèle. Les Hargha reçurent de la sorte les fractions Ou Zal, Ida Ou Nadif, Ida Ou Lamt, Ida Ou Fous, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri du versant nord de l'Anti-Atlas (2). Les Hintata et les Tinmellel se partagèrent les gens du Sous et les Ait Waouzgit du Sirwa, ou s'agrégèrent les Ait Yughas, les Ait Morel, les Souktana. Plus tard, lorsque des contingents réguliers, les « Ghozz », d'origine étrangère, eurent été formés pour participer aux opérations lointaines que les Masmouda ne pouvaient suffire à mener à bien, le Khalife les intégra dans chacune des cinq tribus.

(1) *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 137 et sqq.

(2) Le fait que ce soient les tribus du sud de Taroudant qui se [illegible] alors aux Hargha suffit, selon nous, à démontrer que le [illegible] de la tribu d'origine du Mahdi était bien celui des Arghen, [illegible] à présent établie dans l'Anti-Atlas, [illegible] Ioda ou Zal.

Cf. en sens contraire, H. Basset et Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, *Hespéris*, 1924, p. 19.

Les itinéraires des expéditions almohades dans la vallée du [illegible], dans la mesure où ils peuvent être identifiés, l'opinion que fait de la tribu actuelle des Arghen au sud-est de Taroudant, le pays d'origine du Mahdi.

Un véritable lien de fraternité qui se manifestait peut-être par des cérémonies spéciales, à tout le moins par le droit de prendre part à des repas communs, consacra cette adoption. Bientôt, lorsque l'Empire grandit, les fonctionnaires du Makhzen, depuis les talebs, les percepteurs d'impôts jusqu'aux joueurs de tambour et aux fabricants de monnaie, chacun prit sa place dans les cadres préparés par le « tamyiz », avec un ordre et une discipline qui nous paraissent uniques dans l'histoire si instable et si troublée du Maghreb (1).

Quelles furent dans le Haut-Atlas les conséquences sociales de si prodigieuses transformations apportées aux conditions habituelles de la vie berbère?

Tout d'abord les résistances locales, engendrées par les rivalités de familles disparurent complètement au cœur du royaume de Tinmellel. Au cours du « Tamyiz », dans une période difficile, il avait été nécessaire, du vivant même du Mahdi, d'exclure des Almohades les hypocrites et les fourbes et de les mettre à mort. C'est ainsi que les cinq tribus furent débarrassées au cours d'un sévère examen de quarante jours, de tous ceux qui n'acceptaient pas le nouveau régime. Il ne faudrait pas croire cependant que les Masmouda perdirent dès lors l'habitude de l'indépendance et courbèrent la tête en toutes circonstances devant leurs nouveaux chefs. Ils gardèrent au contraire une grande liberté d'allures pendant toute la période de la conquête. On put voir le khalife lui-même se plier aux règles communes pour le partage du butin et attendre son tour pour choisir des vierges captives prises sur l'ennemi. Lors de la prise de Marrakech, pour aller recueillir un trésor qu'on disait caché dans la cour d'une maison, il fallut envoyer pour en prendre possession deux hommes de chacune des six tribus ; enfin, lorsqu''Abd el Moumen voulut, au cours des mêmes événements sauver de la mort un petit prince almoravide pour lequel il s'était senti ému de pitié, un des combattants, Aboul Hasan ben Waggag n'eut pas crainte de crier pour l'en empêcher : « Hola ! hola ! les Almohades, voici qu''Abd el Moumen s'oppose à nous ; il veut élever contre nous les petits des lions » (2).

Mieux que les rigueurs, le partage profitable des dépouilles des vaincus contribua d'ailleurs à maintenir les guerriers Masmouda dans le chemin qui leur avait été tracé par le Mahdi. Bientôt ces

(1) *Documents inédits*, p. 57, 71-73.
(2) *Documents inédits*, p. 171.

grossiers montagnards, qui vivaient jadis dans de basses masures tapissées d'herbes sèches, reçurent des fiefs en Andalousie et participèrent au gouvernement des provinces conquises avec tous les honneurs et les avantages qui s'y attachaient (1). Tandis que Tinmellel s'ornait d'une magnifique mosquée, les hautes vallées virent sans doute s'élever, grâce à l'argent recueilli à l'extérieur les nombreuses et confortables demeures de ceux qui étaient devenus les chikhs almohades. Ce fut pour le Haut-Atlas une période d'abondance dont les tribus gardèrent longtemps un nostalgique souvenir.

En même temps que le partage des profits du gouvernement d'un Empire donnait au pays des Masmouda une prospérité qu'il n'avait jamais connue, le rôle politique du conseil des chikhs almohades ne cessait de s'accroître à la cour du Sultan. Dès la mort d'Abd el Moumen (1163), cette assemblée intervient; un de ses fils, Mohammed est jugé incapable de régner et un autre proclamé à sa place, Abou Ya'qoub. Bientôt, les chefs des Hintata, devenus de puissants émirs, vont gouverner avec leurs propres forces le royaume d'Ifriqiya, tandis que leurs frères restés au pays s'établiront solidement dans les hautes vallées du Dra (2).

VI. *Les éléments de résistance.* — Bien avant la période de décadence, dans laquelle l'Empire des Masmouda commence d'entrer à partir de 1230, la domination fondée par 'Abd el Moumen, grâce à l'appui des tribus du Nefis, n'avait pas été sans entraîner dans le reste du Sous d'importantes réactions.

Tout d'abord les tribus conquises du Maghreb avaient accepté avec quelques difficultés la ferme autorité du nouveau khalife. Aussi, de même qu'une épuration avait été nécessaire pour mettre à l'écart les fourbes et les hypocrites, il avait fallu aussi séparer les bons des mauvais dans tout l'Empire. Pour faire disparaître tous ceux qui tardaient à reconnaître son autorité absolue, 'Abd el Moumen fit établir des listes de dénonciations qui valurent la mort à plus de trente deux mille guerriers dans les diverses provinces. Les Doukkala, les Regraga, les Haha, la vallée du Sous, le pays des Ingisat et des Gezzoula dans l'Anti-Atlas contribuèrent à ces massacres, à raison de six à huit cents victimes par grande tribu.

(1) El Marrakchi, *ibid.*, p. 290.
(2) El Marrakchi, *ibid.*, p. 203.

Cette fois, d'ailleurs, les Almohades servirent exclusivement d'exécuteurs et « Allah les assista de la meilleure façon » pour apaiser le pays et faire cesser les perturbations qui s'y donnaient cours (1).

Dans les hautes vallées de l'Atlas occidental, difficilement accessibles en raison des étroits défilés qui les commandent, quelques fractions des Seksawa et des Gedmiwa, vivant sans doute au voisinage des sommets du Tichka, se tinrent à l'écart du grand mouvement religieux dans lequel tout le reste de la montagne avait été emporté (2). C'est là que devaient bientôt apparaître des chefs indépendants, dont le plus puissant, 'Omar Sekrawa, allait oser, après la ruine de l'Empire almohade, prendre le titre d'« agellid » ou roi berbère. De même, les Maamouda voisins de la côte restèrent longtemps fort tièdes et c'est à peine si les ethniques des Haha, des Regraga, des Mtougga figurent çà et là dans les longues listes qui nous ont été conservées des dignitaires du nouveau Makhzen (3). Après la prise de Marrakech, les populations de la plaine du Nord se soulevèrent par deux fois, s'unissant d'abord aux révoltés du Gharb avec 'Omar el Khayyat de Salé, puis ensuite à toutes les tribus du Sud, sous la conduite de Yahya Es-Sahrawi.

Mais ce sont surtout les tribus nomades de l'Anti-Atlas et du désert qui résistèrent avec acharnement à l'établissement du nouveau pouvoir. Les Igezzoulen, une première fois vaincus à la suite d'une expédition qui avait entraîné 'Abd el Moumen jusqu'à El Kost, dans l'Extrême-Sud, firent appel au chef chrétien Bérengar, au service des Almoravides ; ils le trahirent bientôt, mais ne furent pas moins massacrés par les Almohades, à l'exception des petits enfants. En 1153, avec l'aide de Yahya Es-Sahrawi, ils recommencèrent leur rebellion en même temps que les Lamta et des Ait Yighaz. A nouveau vaincus, ainsi que leurs chefs, Aboubkar, cousin des Lemtouna du désert et le seigneur de Ta'guet, ils périrent en grand nombre, et l'on put voir mettre en vente à Bab Chaari et à Marrakech les femmes des Gezzoula et des Lamta avec tous leurs troupeaux. Enfin, les Ait Waouzgit du Sirwa, soumis dès les premières années de la prédication du Mahdi, se révoltèrent eux aussi à la fin du règne d''Abd el Moumen. On coupa en deux parties leur territoire qui fut partagé entre les Hintata et les Tizmellel. La fréquence

(1) *Documents inédits*, p. 181-185.
(2) Ibn Khaldoun, *ibid.*, II, p. 263
(3) *Documents inédits*, p. 48-53.

de ces soulèvements qui, au dire d'El Bendaq, ne se produisirent pas moins de vingt-huit fois sous le règne du premier khalife (1), montre assez quelles rigueurs étaient nécessaires pour maintenir l'ordre dans un pays qui jamais n'avait connu la soumission à un pouvoir fort et organisé ; leur importance nous fait comprendre comment les populations senhajennes de l'Anti-Atlas, restaient frémissantes sous la domination des Masmouda. L'affaiblissement du pouvoir central, au cours des dernières années de la dynastie et l'arrivée des Arabes allaient bientôt libérer dans l'Extrême-Sud toutes ces puissances de désordre et livrer le Sous pour trente années à une effroyable anarchie.

VII. *La désagrégation de l'Empire Almohade.* — Ce sont les intrigues du conseil des chikhs almohades de l'Atlas, dont nous avons indiqué plus haut le rôle grandissant dans les affaires de l'État, qui allaient faire apparaître à partir du règne de Yousef el Mostanser (1214) les premiers signes de la décadence de l'Empire d''Abd el Moumen. Deux de ces chefs puissants, Ibn Ech Chaïd et Yousef Ibn 'Ali, qui avaient pris le commandement des Hintata et de Tinmellel firent, après la mort de Yousef, nommer pour succéder El 'Adel fils d'El Mansour (2) ; leur candidat fut nommé Yahya ben Naser, qui devait, avec l'appui des Hintata et des Arabes, tenir longtemps Sijilmassa, le Dra'et le Haut-Sous. Alors, lorsqu'un fils d'El Mansour, El Mamoun eut pris le pouvoir à Marrakech, le rôle du conseil des Almohades lui parut si odieux qu'il fit exécuter une centaine d'entre eux et rejeta avec indignation les doctrines, les traditions et le cérémonial du Mahdi dont les chikhs se réclamaient sans cesse (3).

Quelques années après, son successeur Er-Rachid, devant, pour rallier à lui la montagne en révolte, rétablir ces institutions (1232), mais il tombait en même temps sous la tutelle du chef des Hintata Abou Mohammed ben Wanudin, seigneur du Dra, maître de Sijilmassa et gouverneur des provinces du Nord. Un autre Almohade, Sa'id Ibn Zakaria el Gedmiwi joua un rôle analogue sous le règne d'Es-Sa'id, fils d'El Mamoun, qui avait un instant tenté de se débarrasser des chikhs en concluant avec les tribus arabes

(1) *Documents inédits*, p. 207 et sqq.
(2) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 231 et sqq.
(3) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 236.

Sofian, Khlot et Ma'qil, une dangereuse alliance. Après la mort d'Es-Sa'id et la déroute de son armée à Tlemcen, au pays des Beni 'Abd el Wad, sous le règne d'El Mortada, un chikh almohade encore, 'Ali ben Yedder, se révolta dans le Sous pour fonder un royaume indépendant, avec l'aide des arabes Ma'qil et le Sultan fut impuissant à le réduire (1).

Cependant, depuis trente ans, la poussée des Zénètes, interrompue depuis deux siècles, reprenait une forme nouvelle. Les Beni Merin s'avançaient dans le nord du pays, gagnaient le territoire du Tadla, encourageaient les révoltés ; lorsque les chikhs almohades les virent donner leur puissant appui à un parent du souverain, Abou Debbous, ils abandonnèrent eux-mêmes une cause perdue et nombre d'entre eux rendirent hommage à Abou Yousef Ya'qoub, fils d''Abd el Haqq le Mérinide. El Mortada chercha en vain asile dans l'Atlas ; il dut s'enfuir à Azemmour où il fut trahi, puis livré et mis à mort.

Le règne d'Abou Debbous, dernier khalife almohade, fut bref ; ayant réussi à détruire le petit royaume des Beni Yedder dans le Sous, le Sultan qui avait sollicité la protection des Mérinides, chercha à les trahir en cherchant à obtenir l'appui du fils de Yaghmorasen à Tlemcen. A ce moment, Ya'qoub ben 'Abd el Haqq s'avança sur Marrakech, prit la ville, tua le Sultan, et les débris du Makhzen almohade s'enfuirent en montagne (1269).

On put voir alors une dernière fois les derniers almohades tenter de reconstituer un royaume indépendant en ce lieu qui avait vu naître l'Empire du Mahdi. A Tinmellel, autour de la mosquée et des tombes royales, le vizir Ibn Attouch fit proclamer sultan contre tout espoir, Ishaq, frère d'El Mortada. Les Masmouda tinrent quelques années contre leurs ennemis, puis, sans force, laissèrent violer la ville sainte; défenseurs et Sultan furent mis à mort et les sépultures profanées. C'était la fin de l'épopée dans laquelle les tribus du Haut-Atlas avaient étonné l'Occident par leur valeur guerrière, leur puissance d'organisation et leur esprit d'adaptation (2).

Cet effondrement rendu inévitable par les rivalités et l'ambition

(1) *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides*, tr. Fagnan, p. 23, 30, 32, 39, 43 ; Ibn Khaldoun, *ibid.*, II, p. 231-243 ; El Marrakchi, *ibid.*, p. 206-285.
(2) Ibn Khaldoun, *ibid.*, II, p. 247-253, IV, 82. — Cf. aussi le bel article d'H. Basset H. Terrasse sur Tinmel (*Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades. Hespéris*, 1924).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

des chikhs almohades n'entraîna pas, comme on l'a cru parfois, la disparition des tribus qui avaient donné leur appui au mouvement politique et religieux créé par Ibn Toumert et 'Abd el Moumen. Bien que les noms de plusieurs de ces groupes disparaissent désormais presque entièrement de l'histoire, il est certain que la plupart des fractions qui constituaient les grandes tribus continuèrent d'occuper les mêmes lieux. De nos jours, un grand nombre de petites tribus qui formaient jadis la confédération des Genfisa se retrouvent à la même place qu'autrefois, autour des sommets du Tichka. Les anciennes fractions des Gedmiwa citées par El Beidaq peuvent aussi être identifiées dans la proportion de la moitié. Sans doute, l'ancienne tribu de Tinmellel est-elle celle qui, de Tagontaft jusqu'à Tagadirt n Bour, forme à présent le groupe de l'« Asif Nefis ». Les Arghen et les tribus voisines de l'Anti-Atlas n'ont guère changé d'habitat au sud de Taroudant. Enfin, les tribus des Hintata, dont plusieurs groupes, comme les Gheghaya, bordent encore la montagne du Kik, continuèrent de donner leur appui aux Mérinides et leurs chefs dominèrent la montagne jusque dans la région d'Imi n Tanout jusqu'au XVIe siècle.

Le souvenir de la gloire du Mahdi et l'immense succès remporté par ses compagnons, devait se conserver longtemps dans les vallées du Deren. En vain, les Mérinides firent-ils répandre par leurs talebs des légendes injurieuses pour la mémoire du fondateur de la secte, qu'on chercha à faire passer pour un maître fourbe, habile à faire parler les anges et à simuler les miracles. Mais les Masmouda n'en gardèrent pas moins pendant longtemps pour leurs héros un profond respect. A Tinmellel, les habitants effacèrent pieusement les traces de profanation du dernier siège. Au temps d'Ibn Khaldoun, le tombeau d'Ibn Toumert était encore l'objet d'un culte attentif. Des lecteurs du Coran subsistaient ainsi qu'un « corps de gardiens conservant le même cérémonial qu'au temps de l'Empire almohade » (1). Pendant de nombreuses générations, l'espérance d'un renouveau de la grandeur passée hanta secrètement les cœurs, des soulèvements furent tentés contre les Mérinides et jusque sous le règne des Saadiens. Fidèles à ce souvenir, les Masmouda des tribus du Nefis fermèrent leur territoire au grand mouvement maraboutique du XVIe siècle. Nous en avons la preuve dans ce fait

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, t. II, p. 260.

2. Montagne MW11 Shluh

que les qoubbas de saints personnages, entourées de leurs descendants, si nombreuses dans le Sous, le pays des Demsira, la plaine de Marrakech, sont presqu'absentes au cœur de l'Empire almohade.

Peu à peu cependant, les Masmouda perdirent leurs espoirs; ils cessèrent en même temps de devenir pour les habitants des villes de la plaine un objet de terreur. Mais de nos jours encore, la tradition place sous un jujubier plusieurs fois séculaire la tombe d'Ibn Toumert ; les montagnards passent avec fierté devant les murs croulants de l'étonnante mosquée de Tinmel, si riche de glorieux souvenirs ; les plus ignorants savent ce que furent les Almohades. Nous n'oserions affirmer qu'à présent même dans ces cantons perdus des hautes vallées, où parvient à peine le bruit des événements politiques de notre temps, le rêve du retour prodigieux d'un Mahdi ne vienne pas parfois effleurer les esprits. La conquête des royaumes de la terre, qu'on entrevoit au loin, en faisant paître l'été les troupeaux sur les hauts sommets de la grande chaîne, serait comme autrefois aisée pour les Masmouda « si Dieu leur donnait son assistance ».

VIII. *La domination mérinide dans le Sous.* — La victoire mérinide faisait des Masmouda de simples tributaires qu'il importait au nouveau Makhzen d'affaiblir, d'autant plus qu'ils constituaient un danger pour les plaines voisines. D'autre part, aucune raison n'incitait la dynastie zénète à porter ses efforts vers le Sud. Pendant les premières années, le sultan Abou Yousef Ya'qoub le Mérinide, mû par le souci de se ménager l'alliance des souverains almohades d'Ifriqiya, descendants d'Abou Hafs 'Omar Hintati, avait encore conservé quelques souvenirs des coutumes du Mahdi et ordonné que la prière fût faite dans la grande mosquée de Marrakech au nom des Hafsides. Mais lorsqu'il eut pris possession des villes du Gharb et tourné ses armes vers l'Espagne, où de hautes pensées de guerre sainte l'attiraient, il établit définitivement à Fez sa capitale, l'embellit de monuments magnifiques, et la vie des cours s'y écoula dans un luxe que les Almohades, restés malgré tout un peu rudes, n'avaient jamais connu.

Dans ces circonstances, les principes de la politique mérinide dans le Sous se trouvèrent très simplement fixés : faire payer aux montagnards des impôts aussi lourds que possible et pour y par-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

venir, organiser fortement le commandement des tribus ; intervenir en force dans le pays chaque fois que des troubles graves menaceraient de s'y développer.

L'histoire de cette période nous est assez bien connue pendant plus de cent ans, grâce à Ibn Khaldoun et à l'auteur du Raoud el Qirtas, pour que nous puissions comprendre comment le Sud-Marocain supporta cette situation inférieure, après avoir connu un siècle de grandeur.

Pour percevoir aisément dans le pays des Masmouda les taxes coraniques, auxquelles les Mérinides ajoutèrent l'imposition du « kharaj » ou de la « naïba », il était nécessaire de placer les tribus sous l'obéissance de chefs puissants ; c'est alors qu'apparurent chez les Heskoura, les Hintata, les Gedmiwa, les Haha, de grandes familles dévouées au Makhzen et qui semblent avoir exercé leur pouvoir à la manière des « seigneurs de l'Atlas » de notre temps.

A la vérité, nous l'avons vu, dès la mort du premier khalife almohade, on avait bien déjà observé l'importance prise dans la montagne du Deren par les chefs autochtones et leur rôle n'avait cessé de s'accroître à mesure que s'accentuait la décadence de la dynastie; mais si le commandement des tribus masmoudiennes leur était attribué, c'était là sans doute une simple conséquence de la dissolution progressive du conseil des chikhs almohades dont les membres cherchaient à s'établir en montagne, où se trouvait la maison de leurs ancêtres. Il est, en effet, remarquable de noter que d'un règne à l'autre, les noms de ces chefs changent comme s'ils n'appartenaient pas à des familles depuis longtemps assises dans l'exercice du pouvoir, mais plutôt comme si l'autorité eut été donnée successivement à divers notables du pays ; en tous cas, aucun indice ne nous permet de croire que cette ébauche de féodalité résultât, comme il est arrivé à la fin du XIXe siècle, de l'affirmation progressive d'un pouvoir personnel né au sein des tribus, et qui se serait substitué à l'autorité défaillante des sultans.

Au contraire, sous la domination mérinide, ce sont des familles solidement implantées dans le pays qui concentrent le pouvoir entre leurs mains et constituent de véritables dynasties locales. Telles seront les Metzara chez les Haha, les Aït Haddo ben Yousef chez les Seksawa indépendants, les Sad Allah chez les Gedmiwa, d'origine almohade ; chez les Hintata, les Oulad Younes, autoch-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

tones et les Oulad Mousa Ben 'Ali venus du Makhzen mérinide ; les Beni Khettab chez les Heskoura.

L'organisation des grands commandements de l'Atlas ne put d'ailleurs empêcher le Sous de connaître, même au cours des plus belles années de l'Empire mérinide, une succession presque ininterrompue de révoltes. L'existence de tribus indépendantes, comme celles des Seksawa, la présence du petit royaume des Beni Yedder dans la haute vallée du Sous, d'origine almohade, et surtout l'arrivée des Ma'qil, par lesquels la contagion du désordre gagna le Haut-Dra et Sijilmassa, faisaient, en effet, alors du Sud-Marocain le foyer de toutes les révoltes et le refuge tout préparé des prétendants malheureux (1).

Il faut indiquer ici, à titre d'exemple, la suite monotone des soulèvements qui justifient l'intervention constante du Makhzen mérinide, occupé cependant en d'autres régions par des tâches écrasantes, si l'on veut faire comprendre ce que pouvait être, sous une dynastie glorieuse, la vie d'une province lointaine.

Le Sous ayant été conquis en 1269 par les Mérinides et les commandements du Sud organisés en 1275, le sultan Abou Yousef Ya'qoub put songer à préparer la guerre sainte en Espagne. En 1279, au moment où il allait passer le détroit pour voler au secours des Musulmans assiégés à Algésiras et en grand danger d'être vaincus, l'émir des Arabes Sofian et Djochem, Mesa'oud ben Kennoun se révolta à Nefis, puis passa chez les Seksawa. Pendant de longs mois, on l'assiégea en faisant camper l'armée au pied de l'Atlas, jusqu'à ce qu'il fût enfin trahi et capturé chez les Heskoura (2). En 1284, les Arabes du Sous se révoltaient et il fallait les poursuivre jusqu'à la Seguiat el Hamra. Dès qu'Abou Ya'qoub Yousef eut succédé à son père (1286), son frère et d'autres rivaux se révoltèrent dans le Dra ; puis ce fut un autre parent, Talha Ibn 'Ali, devenu indépendant dans la plaine du Sous, avec l'aide des Dwi Hasan, qu'on réussit à tuer et dont la tête fut envoyée au Sultan ; en 1289, le propre fils du souverain, Abou 'Amer s'empara du trésor à Marrakech et s'enfuit en montagne chez les Masmouda (3).

Dans la répression, la région des Haha fut à nouveau soumise et

(1) G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 378-385.
(2) *Roudh el Kartas*, tr. Beaumier, p. 472-551. — Ibn Khaldoun, IV, p. 100-103.
(3) *Roudh el Kartas*, p. 534 ; Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 136.

les Berbères Zeggen du Sous furent taillés en pièces avec leurs chefs. En 1303, le Sous se trouva de nouveau agité par le soulèvement des Beni Gommi, tribu des Beni 'Abd el Wad, au service des Mérinides et fixée dans l'Azaghar de Marrakech. Ayant abandonné la cause d'Abou Ya'qoub au siège de Tlemcen, ils se replièrent vers les Haha et Taroudant où 'Abd er Rahman Ibn Yedder avait pris l'autorité suprême en se réclamant du nom des Almohades. Après de durs combats, le frère du sultan Ya'ich Ibn Ya'qoub dispersa les Beni Gommi et ruina Taroudant (1).

Sous le règne d'Abou Tabet, ce fut en 1308, tout d'abord l'agitation créée par un prétendant Yousof Ibn 'Ali 'Ayyad, à Aghmat, chez les Heskoura ; puis dans la partie occidentale du Deren, un chef indépendant, 'Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, prétendit au titre d'« agellid », roi berbère des Seksawa. Après un simulacre de guerre, le Sultan se contenta de recevoir des présents d''Omar ben Haddo, fit poursuivre les Rokna, tribu rebelle réfugiée chez les Haha, et repartit châtier les Arabes dans les plaines du Nord (2).

Le sultan Abou Sa'id dut à son tour réduire un chef des Heskoura, 'Addi Ibn Hennou, qui s'était révolté dans sa forteresse (1313). Il eut surtout à combattre son propre fils, Abou 'Ali, qui était devenu indépendant à Sijilmássa, dans le Dra et le Sous, après avoir fait disparaître la dynastie almohade des Beni Yedder. Abou 'Ali qui avait pris Marrakech fut vaincu par son frère, Abou 'lHasan le futur sultan (1321) et demeura quelques années en repos, jusqu'à ce qu'une nouvelle révolte, en 1332, eût contraint Abou 'lHasan à le faire étrangler (3).

L'Atlas se tint plus calme pendant le règne glorieux d'Abou 'lHasan. Mais à l'annonce du désastre de Kairouan, causé par la trahison des tribus arabes, en 1348, et qui avait surpris le souverain dans sa conquête de l'Ifriqiya, les Masmouda s'agitèrent à nou-

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. — Peut-être faut-il attribuer à Ya'ich Ibn Ya'qoub la construction de l'immense forteresse qui se voit encore chez les Ait A'issi (Haha) sur le Jebel Asles, en face du territoire des Ida Ou Tanan. Par son aspect, elle semble dater de l'époque mérinide ; la tradition l'attribue à Ali Ya'ich personnage sur lequel on ne rapporte que des légendes imprécises. Tadert, lieu où Ya'ich Ibn Ya'qoub fut d'abord vaincu, pourrait être le village de ce nom chez les Ait Zelten, près de la maison du caïd. Iregharen, où il mit en fuite les révoltés, serait l'actuel Iregharen, chez les Ida ou Tanan (Ait Ouaqui). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, t. III, p. 493.

(2) *Roudh el Kartas*, p. 551. Tamesouart est, sans doute, l'actuel village de Tamazaourt, près de notre poste de Bigoudine, sur la grande voie makhzen de Biboum. Les Rokna sont peut-être les Rekonna d'El Beidaq, groupe de fractions de plaine comptées au XIIe siècle avec les Gedmiwa dans le « tamyiz » des Almohades.

(3) Ibn Khaldoun, IV, p. 306.

veau. Abou 'Inan révolté contre son père, et déjà proclamé dans le Maghreb el Aqsa, n'eut pas de peine à prendre le pouvoir. Abou 'lHasan, revenu d'Ifriqiya, après un voyage plein de tragiques péripéties, et arrivé à Marrakech par le Tafilelt, n'eut d'autre ressource que de chercher refuge en montagne chez le grand chef fidèle des Hintata, 'Abd el 'Aziz Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Ali. Il mourut dans cette montagne après avoir été contraint de se rendre à l'armée victorieuse de son fils. Après ces événements, les chefs des Masmouda, qui avaient fait trembler un instant la plaine, en projetant d'aller renverser à Marrakech toutes les mosquées mérinides, « regagnèrent leurs tannières » (1).

Enfin, sous le règne d'Abou 'Inan, en 1353, El Fadel, frère du Sultan, s'était fait débarquer sur la côte du Sous par les chrétiens; avec l'appui du chef indépendant des Seksawa, 'Abdallah fils d''Omar Agellid, il rassembla les Masmouda autour de lui. Abou 'Inan construisit au pied de la montagne la forteresse d'El Qehira et réussit à déterminer 'Abdallah Seksawi à abandonner son protégé. El Fadel, réfugié alors chez les Zenaga, sur le revers oriental de l'Anti-Atlas, fut pris par trahison et étranglé.

Dès lors, l'Empire mérinide entre dans une période de décadence irrémédiable. Les Sultans qui se succèdent ne sont souvent que de jeunes princes, jouets de grands vizirs tout puissants ; pendant la courte période qui nous sépare à présent de la grande anarchie du xve siècle, la ruine de la politique du Makhzen dans le Sud se précipite. Bientôt le Maghreb el Aqsa se partage en deux royaumes, celui de Fez et celui de Marrakech dont l'Oum er Rbi'a est la limite commune ; l'intérêt que portent alors à Grenade les Beni Merin affaiblis détourne du Sous les dernières forces du Makhzen. Pendant plus d'un siècle l'histoire se tait sur ces régions et nous ne pourrons plus qu'imaginer très confusément la suite des événements qui les agitent. Ibn Khaldoun a connu les premières phases de cet abandon du Maroc à l'anarchie grandissante et en a longuement dit les tragiques péripéties ; le tableau si précis qu'il nous a laissé de la vie politique du pays à cette époque fait apparaître dans une telle lumière la figure des chefs de l'Atlas au xive siècle, que nous nous arrêterons avec lui pour parcourir une dernière fois le Sud-Marocain, avant de voir s'étendre sur tout le Maroc les ombres

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 270 et sqq.

dans lesquelles se prépare la réaction des marabouts contre les chrétiens.

IX. *L'organisation des tribus de l'Atlas sous les Mérinides.* — Sous la domination mérinide, le pays des Haha nous paraît avoir accepté le gouvernement du Makhzen avec plus de docilité que les autres régions masmoudiennes ; la partie la plus peuplée du territoire était alors comprise entre le Tensift et l'oued Qsob et l'on voyait sans doute s'y élever déjà les bourgs fortifiés où s'abritaient des milliers de Berbères, avant que la conquête portugaise et le reflux des tribus nomades n'aient chassé les autochtones de la plus riche partie du pays (1). Au Sud, au milieu de la forêt d'arganiers, les chefs des Haha résidaient dans leur ville de Tednest ; plus loin encore vers le Sous se trouvaient les terres de parcours des Zeggen et des Lakhes, Lamta d'origine, mais alliés aux sédentaires. Déjà renommés pour leur science du droit et leur connaissance de la religion (2), les Haha allaient bientôt accepter avec enthousiasme la prédication des chikhs mystiques et la tutelle des marabouts.

Après la ruine de Tinmellel, le pays des Seksawa, qui était toujours resté à l'écart du mouvement almohade, devint naturellement le dernier rempart de l'indépendance des Masmouda contre les Mérinides ; on vit alors se constituer, à l'abri des pics neigeux du Tichka, autour des forêts de cyprès qui ornaient encore les sommets de l'Atlas, un petit royaume berbère dont la gloire n'est pas encore complètement oubliée dans la mémoire des tribus. Le fondateur de ce minuscule État, Haddo ben Yousef était apparu sous le règne des derniers successeurs d''Abd el Moumen et la tradition veut qu'il ait été un descendant des Lemtouna. En 1281, son fils 'Omar, qui lui succéda, prit le titre d'agellid, et commanda bientôt du Nefis à Bibaoun. Sa puissance s'étendait au loin, puisque les Arabes du Sous, Haret et Chebbanat, lui étaient dévoués et qu'il eut la force de faire disparaître un Mahdi sorti du ribat de Massat où il se donnait comme le Fatimide attendu.

(1) Léon l'Africain, t. I, p. 134, 140, 146, 149, 150, 160. Bien qu'il soit presque impossible d'identifier les « villes berbères » décrites par Léon au nord de l'oued Qsob, on peut du moins, en observant les ruines des villages de sédentaires et de leurs agadirs dans le pays actuel des Chiadma, trouver la preuve des établissements anciens des Masmouda dans une région occupée de nos jours par des tribus d'origine nomade.

(2) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 275.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Le sultan mérinide Abou Tabet ne put le soumettre. La personnalité de ce roi berbère était d'ailleurs singulière : passionné pour l'étude, possesseur d'une bibliothèque importante, juriste, philosophe, magicien même, « il se plaisait à tel point dans la société des rabbins qu'on soupçonnait son orthodoxie et qu'on l'accusait de vouloir abandonner sa religion ». Ces traits nous montrent combien les victoires almohades avaient pu contribuer à faire répandre la civilisation dans les régions les plus impénétrables de l'Atlas (1).

'Omar Agellid, devenu l''Amer des légendes locales qui lui prêtent un règne de cent ans, fut le vrai fondateur de la puissance des Seksawa. Son fils 'Abdallah, adonné lui aussi à la magie et à l'alchimie, jeta la terreur à Marrakech au moment où Abou 'Inan faisait assiéger son père Abou 'lHasan dans la montagne des Hintata, et menaça alors d'aller abattre dans la capitale les mosquées impures des Mérinides. Il n'en livra pas moins plus tard au Sultan, nous l'avons vu, le prétendant Abou 'lFadel, réfugié sur son territoire. Chassé par la suite de son pays par son propre fils, 'Abdallah dut implorer le secours du grand chikh des Hintata, 'Amer Ibn Mohammed, devenu le plus puissant seigneur du Sud ; mais, après avoir tué son fils, il périt assassiné à son tour; la dynastie des Ait Haddo ben Yousef disparut alors, au moment même où l'affaiblissement des Mérinides permettait aux tribus de reprendre en sécurité leur existence anarchique et enlevait ainsi aux chefs des Seksawa leur rôle de défenseurs de l'indépendance berbère.

Chez les Gedmiwa, le pouvoir appartenait à la famille almohade des Sad Allah dont le chef avait abandonné Abou Debbous en fuite devant les Mérinides ; mais les Sad Allah se rallièrent plus tard à 'Omar Seksawi; le commandement fut alors exercé par un autre chikh du pays, Abd el Kerim Ibn 'Isa. Ce dernier périt par trahison avec tous les siens et les anciens chefs furent rappelés au service du Makhzen. Mais les Sad Allah furent incapables de lutter contre l'ambition de leur puissant voisin, 'Amer Hintati; plusieurs d'entre eux furent assassinés sur son ordre et leur famille ne reprit le commandement qu'après la disparition de leur ennemi (2).

X. *Un grand caïd au XIVe siècle.* — Les Hintata avaient eu tout d'abord à leur tête les Oulad Younes, chikhs almohades passés

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 270 et sqq.
(2) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 267.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

comme les Sa'dAllah au service des Mérinides. Cette famille ayant disparu, le Makhzen la remplaça par celle d'un collecteur d'impôts Mousa Ibn 'Ali, choisi par les chikhs mérinides. Sous le règne d'Abou 'IHasan, 'Amer ben Mohammed, neveu de Mousa, partit avec le Sultan à la conquête de l'Ifriqiya. Un instant gouverneur de Tunis, 'Amer fut chargé de ramener, par voie de mer, le harem de son maître après le désastre de Kairouan et il refusa de le livrer au prétendant Abou 'Inan révolté contre son père. C'est chez le frère d'Amer, 'Abd el 'Aziz, qu'Abou 'IHasan vaincu chercha refuge dans la montagne des Hintata. Lorsque le Sultan légitime fut mort, 'Amer rendit à Abou 'Inan les femmes de son père. Touché par la fidélité des chefs Hintata, le nouveau souverain voulut se les attacher et les rétablit en tribu dans leur commandement. C'est alors qu''Amer Hintati commença de jouer dans la politique de l'Empire un rôle éclatant et mouvementé qui fait de son existence un véritable roman.

Son premier soin est d'assurer solidement sa puissance en montagne. Tout d'abord, il brise la résistance des Ourika, ses voisins irréductibles ; puis à la faveur des guerres de tribus dont la cause, selon Ibn Khaldoun, est « la proximité de leurs territoires et le souvenir de leurs anciennes querelles », il intervient chez les Gedmiwa, fait disparaître leurs chikhs et s'empare du pays. Lors des luttes qui déchirent la famille des Aït Haddo ben Yousef, 'Amer Seksawi le choisit comme arbitre ; il recueille les fugitifs, étend son influence sur leur territoire. Tout puissant dans l'Atlas occidental, il devient du vivant même d'Abou 'Inan, collecteur d'impôts pour toutes les tribus rattachées à Marrakech et précepteur d'El Mo'tamid, fils du Sultan. 'Amer peut, dès lors, attendre avec confiance les désordres dynastiques qui menacent les Mérinides : il est assez fort pour exercer son autorité par ses propres moyens.

A la mort du Sultan Abou'Inan, 'Amer emmène son protégé El Mo'tamid dans la montagne des Hintata et le met à l'abri des intrigues du vizir El Hasan El Foudoudi, véritable maire du palais, qui, de Fez, gouverne au nom du faible Es-Sa'id. Il va, pour le défendre, jusqu'à soutenir un long siège dans sa kasba, et n'échappe d'ailleurs que par une chance heureuse à la destruction.

Sous le règne d'Abou Salem, il rétablit sa situation un instant compromise. Tantôt à la cour, tantôt dans sa montagne, il accroît sans cesse et utilise sa puissance. A la mort du Sultan, en 1361, il

est, avec l'assentiment de son ami le vizir 'Omar Ibn 'Abdallah, établi à Fez, le vrai maître du Sud. « Pour rendre service à la dynastie », il s'engage à maintenir dans l'ordre toutes les provinces qui dépendent de Marrakech. Bientôt, il épouse une veuve du sultan Abou Salem et le cortège de ses noces étonne à Marrakech par sa richesse et son faste. C'est lui qui fait ou défait à son gré les rois. Dans sa kasba de la montagne, 'Amer garde en réserve deux petits princes fils d'Abou Salem. Veut-on essayer de le combattre, il les fait un instant proclamer souverains, l'un pour le Nord, l'autre pour le Sud. A peine ses ennemis se sont-ils éloignés, que ces ombres de sultans disparaissent dans un recoin de sa forteresse. Mais enfin la fortune le trahit. Pendant l'une des périodes où 'Amer a proclamé à Marrakech le jeune Abou 'lFadel pour les besoins de sa politique, la nouvelle parvient dans la ville que le sultan 'Abd el 'Aziz a réussi à faire assassiner à Fez le tout-puissant vizir 'Omar Ibn 'Abdallah, qui le tenait en tutelle ; devant cet exemple, le chef des Hintata craint, à juste raison, que son pupille ne tente de lui faire subir le même sort et s'enfuit dans sa montagne. Abou 'lFadel, livré à lui-même se rend indépendant ; il ne tarde pas à payer cette imprudence de sa vie : le sultan de Fez vient s'emparer de Marrakech et tue son rival. Menacé à son tour par l'arrivée d' 'Abd el 'Aziz à la tête de ses troupes, 'Amer décide une fois de plus de résister dans sa forteresse du Deren. Il proclame souverain un des prétendants qu'il a gardé chez lui par précaution, et entre en relations avec le sultan de Tlemcen. Mais, bientôt, une puissante armée l'entoure ; son adversaire jette l'or à pleines mains pour susciter des abandons et des trahisons, tandis que lui-même mécontente ses partisans par sa dureté et son avarice. Peu à peu les derniers retranchements sont enlevés ; 'Amer conseille alors à son fils de l'abandonner, puis s'enfuit dans la neige vers le Sous avec ses femmes. Sur le chemin, épuisé et trahi, il tombe au pouvoir des émissaires du sultan 'Abd el 'Aziz. Tandis que les kasbas sont pillées et détruites et que des richesses accumulées en quantités prodigieuses tombent au pouvoir du vainqueur, on entraîne à Marrakech, pour l'étrangler, le fantôme de sultan qu'Amer gardait dans sa forteresse et l'on fait périr sous le fouet le grand chikh des Hintata (1370) (1).

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 266-269 ; IV, p. 377, 378.

XI. *Le royaume indépendant du Sous.* — Un trait commun au développement du pouvoir de ces petits chefs en pays berbère est la faible durée de la période pendant laquelle nous les voyons exercer leur autorité ; deux ou trois générations suffisent pour épuiser leurs forces. Le royaume fondé par les Beni Yedder dans le Haut Atlas n'échappe pas à cette règle.

Vers 1252, un chikh almohade, originaire de *Zgender*, à l'ouest du Sirwa, s'enfuit de Marrakech et se mit en révolte contre le faible représentant du Sultan à Taroudant (1). Peut-être 'Ali Ibn Yedder à qui l'on fit la réputation de posséder, comme le caïd Gontafi de notre temps, d'immenses trésors dans ses kasbas, se servit-il de la possession de mines d'argent de son pays, célèbres déjà au temps des Almohades, pour établir son pouvoir. Son commandement s'exerçait sans doute au début sur les fractions les plus riches de la haute vallée du Sous : le Tidmout, l'Ouaou et la belle vallée des Ihouziyoun. Il construisit une forteresse à Tamout, à l'entrée du Sous en plaine, et son cousin Hamidi s'empara de celle de Tisekht chez les Zenaga. On sait que bientôt, pour mieux vaincre les Igezzoulen, ses voisins, il eut l'idée funeste de faire appel aux Arabes Dwi Hasan et Chebbanat, alors errants dans la partie inférieure de la Moulouya et de les prendre à son service. Plusieurs opérations tentées contre 'Ali Ibn Yedder par les Almohades furent sans effet et le chef rebelle parvint, avec une petite armée de mille cavaliers arabes, à dominer les Igezzoulen. C'est sur lui cependant qu'Abou Debbous, le dernier sultan almohade, vint remporter une dernière victoire ; 'Ali se soumit devant les catapultes qui battaient ses forteresses ; mais il reprit son commandement après la prise de Marrakech par les Mérinides et conquit alors Taroudant, Ifri et toutes les villes du Sous. Il périt plus tard dans une révolte des Arabes et le pouvoir passa à ses neveux (1270).

Sous le règne d'Abou Ya'qoub Yousef, le frère du sultan Ya'qub ben Ya'qoub détruisit Taroudant, devenue la capitale de ce petit royaume indépendant. Mais quelques années après la ville se trouva reconstruite par les rebelles (1306). Abou 'Ali, fils du sultan Abou Sa'ïd, qui avait obtenu de son père le gouvernement de Sijilmassa et disposait des forces des arabes Ma'qil établis sur tout le versant sud de l'Atlas, entreprit de pousser ses conquêtes

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 131 ; II, p. 276.

jusqu'à la plaine du Sous, et chassa les neveux d''Alî Ibn Yadîne chez les Zenaga, dans la montagne des Ngîna, non sans avoir enlevé leurs trésors déposés à Tansast (1313). Enfin, le sultan Abou 'lHasan fit la conquête de la vallée du Sous et rétablit le gouvernement mérinide à Taroudant et dans les autres villes du Sud. Ainsi se trouva pour un instant restauré l'ordre du Makhzen qui, malgré ses faiblesses, réussit à s'imposer jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle, à l'anarchie des tribus et aux ambitions des petits chefs (1).

Au cours de cette première période de l'histoire du Sous, qui n'est pas, malgré son éloignement dans le temps, celle que nous connaissons le moins bien, nous distinguons déjà l'un des aspects les plus durables de la vie du pays berbère. Sauf pendant la dynastie des Almohades, sortie de l'Atlas des Masmouda, le Makhzen n'a réussi à exercer son action en montagne que d'une manière indirecte; il se borne à occuper les plaines. C'est surtout sous la domination des Mérinides que s'affirme la résistance des tribus. Lors même que les Berbères acceptent de servir des grands chefs — 'Amer Hintati, 'Omar Sekssawi, les rois des Beni Yedder — c'est avec la pensée de continuer sous leur commandement la lutte contre les sultans.

Bientôt, lorsque le gouvernement de l'Empire va disparaître pour deux siècles dans l'anarchie, les tribus cesseront de se grouper autour des chefs temporels pour chercher auprès des marabouts l'autorité suprême dont elles ont besoin pour vivre dans l'indépendance.

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 276.

[P.82]

CHAPITRE IV

La province du Sous au cours de l'histoire

Du XVe siècle a nos jours

I. La première réaction maraboutique. Ses caractères généraux. — II. Les Regraga. — III. L'Imam el Jazouli et ses disciples. — IV. Les chorfa et le début des Saadiens. — V. L'attitude des tribus sous les premiers Saadiens. — VI. Le règne d'Ahmed el Mansour. — VII. La grande crise maraboutique (1603-1669). — VIII. Les principautés maraboutiques du Sous. — IX. La vie des tribus pendant la période maraboutique. — X. Les chorfa filaliens reprennent la lutte contre les marabouts. — XI. Le gouvernement du Makhzen dans le Sous sous les Filaliens. — XII. Le règne de Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah et la fondation de Mogador. — XIII. Faiblesse du gouvernement chérifien sous le règne de Moulay Sliman. — XIV. Insuffisance des sources historiques au XIXe siècle. Nécessité d'enquêtes directes. — XV. La politique du Makhzen sous Moulay 'Abd er Rahman. — XVI. Le règne de Sidi Mohammed. — XVII. Moulay 'Hasan et les expéditions du Sous. — XVIII. Le développement de l'anarchie, le Protectorat.

I. *La première réaction maraboutique ; ses caractères généraux.* — Pendant l'intervalle de temps qui s'étend depuis la décadence de la dynastie mérinide, à la fin du XIVe siècle, jusqu'à l'apparition des sultans Filaliens, au cours de la deuxième moitié du XVIIe siècle, la vie politique est entièrement dominée, dans le sud du Maroc, par l'activité maraboutique. Les aspects de ce grand mouvement qui a pour théâtre tout l'ensemble du Maroc et dont le double but est de compléter l'islamisation des Berbères et de lutter contre les conquêtes chrétiennes, sont assez bien connus (1), mais il n'est pas inutile de chercher ici à comprendre quel fut, à cette époque, le jeu d'influences dont l'action est, de nos jours, devenue dans la même région difficilement observable, depuis que l'action du Makhzen a enlevé toute importance réelle aux chefs de confréries.

(1) Cf. surtout l'utile livre de Cour, *Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*. Paris, 1904.

Les traces laissées par cette forme de pouvoir sont encore apparentes en tribu et, si l'on a parfois exagéré l'importance pratique des survivances du maraboutisme à notre époque, l'histoire de son développement dans le passé mérite d'être examinée avec attention parce qu'elle nous fait mieux comprendre la facilité avec laquelle les Berbères indépendants organisent leur vie politique sous l'égide des chefs religieux.

Dans le désordre général du Maghreb au xve siècle, alors que de toutes parts les tribus se heurtent et se combattent dans les plaines à la suite des invasions, et que les derniers Mérinides impuissants s'enferment à Fez, les progrès des nations chrétiennes deviennent plus sensibles. Nous allons les voir, après la reconquête de l'Espagne, s'attacher à réaliser leur projet de domination de l'Afrique. La province du Sous est doublement atteinte; devenue comme un vaste creuset où refluent les Arabes Ma'qil, Sofian, Haret ou des tribus berbères arabisées, elle cherche en vain des maîtres qui la délivrent de l'anarchie; en même temps, les flottes portugaises fréquentent les petites baies de l'Atlantique et bientôt, d'Anfa à Agadir, se précisent les menaces qui présagent l'établissement des chrétiens sur la côte.

C'est dans ces circonstances favorables que surgissent du sein des tribus des personnages religieux dont le prestige est immense; eux seuls sont capables de s'interposer entre les Musulmans qui se disputent la possession de la terre et de les unir contre les étrangers ; pendant trois siècles, nous les verrons prêcher en même temps les devoirs d'une exacte pratique de l'Islam, vanter les attraits de la vie mystique et rappeler à tous l'obligation de la guerre sainte.

Sans doute le grand développement du maraboutisme peut-il s'expliquer alors par l'intense prosélytisme des chefs de confréries et de leurs disciples, mais il trouvait aussi un milieu tout préparé à son expansion, en raison de la crédulité sans bornes des populations berbères. La lecture des hagiographes de l'époque, celle d'Ibn 'Askar par exemple, nous fait comprendre dans quelle atmosphère de merveilleux vivaient les saints et leurs admirateurs ; nous les trouvons mêlés à une foule d'intrigants, de fous et de simples d'esprit ; les hérétiques et les magiciens corrompent les foules et les agitent par leurs discordes ou leurs prodiges (1). Une

(1) Ibn 'Askar, *Dawhat en Nâsir*, *Archives Marocaines*, t. XIX, p. 90-95.

autre force psychologique d'une grande puissance est la terreur dans laquelle les Berbères tiennent la malédiction des saints. On n'invoque pas en vain leur « da'wa » et ceux qui transgressent leurs ordres sont promptement frappés d'un châtiment exemplaire (1).

Tandis que les personnages religieux utiliseront les dispositions d'esprit des Berbères pour gagner leur confiance, grouper leurs forces et bientôt fonder avec leur concours de véritables petits états, les chorfa saadiens chercheront, d'autre part, pendant cent ans, à rétablir à leur profit l'unité politique du Maghreb el Aqsa. Mais leur action apparaîtra seulement comme un intermède dans le lent travail que poursuivent les marabouts afin de placer sous leur tutelle morale et politique les populations du Sud-Marocain ; une deuxième réaction religieuse emportera leur œuvre jusqu'au moment où les chorfa filaliens parviendront à rétablir pour deux siècles et demi la tradition de l'Empire.

Le grand mouvement religieux qui, du XIVe au XVIe siècle, domine toute l'histoire de notre province, est spécifiquement berbère. Les chefs, comme les sujets, appartiennent pour la plupart aux vieilles tribus du Sous. D'autre part, on peut observer que les foyers du maraboutisme, qui s'allument successivement sur la côte de l'Atlantique, se déplacent sans cesse plus au Sud et se développent dans des régions où les tribus sont de plus en plus rebelles à la tradition du Makhzen et, au contraire, plus attachées à leur gouvernement indépendant.

Chacun de ces centres religieux ou politiques a ses caractères propres et évolue séparément. Le Jbel Hadid, sur la rive gauche de l'embouchure du Tensift, voit naître au XIVe siècle la milice des Regraga ; la région centrale du pays des Haha est le siège de la puissance de l'Imam el Jazouli au XVe siècle ; le Sud des Haha et le Tazerwalt, dans l'Anti-Atlas, abritent Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa et leurs descendants, au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles. Enfin, la vallée même du Sous et le pays des Haha seront le berceau de la puissance des Saadiens, dont les entreprises viendront traverser, au début du XVIe siècle, le cours du mouvement maraboutique sans parvenir à l'arrêter.

(1) Ibn 'Askar, *op. cit.*, p. 54 ; Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*. Edinburgh, 1904, p. 30.

II. *Les Regraga.* — Nous possédons bien peu d'indications précises sur l'organisation religieuse dont les Regraga se firent les champions. Fondée par Abou Sa'id 'Abd er Rahman er Regragi, mort à Chichawa en 1370, et par Abou Otman Sa'id el Hantanani, dont la zaouia était située à l'embouchure mêmes du Tensift, cette association de saints personnages se réclamait du chadilisme comme toutes celles qui devaient naître par la suite (1). Ses missionnaires se répandirent dans tout le Sud ; on retrouve encore tombes, plus ou moins légendaires, non seulement sur toute la côte, mais en montagne chez les Seksawa, les Ida ou Mhamed, les Demsira et jusque dans la haute vallée du Sous et le Zagmouzane. Le souvenir des Regraga paraît lié dans le folklore, surtout au temps de la « Jahiliya », alors qu'on ignorait encore le vrai Dieu qu'ils contribuèrent puissamment à faire connaître. Parfois même eurent-ils à lutter contre des tribus hostiles, et furent-ils guerriers en même temps que religieux, selon la vraie tradition de l'Islam. On a fait d'eux, dans le Sud du Maroc, les quarante missionnaires du Maghreb, ou encore les sept pèlerins de la Mekke auxquels le Prophète s'adressa en langue berbère (2). Quoiqu'il en soit, ils n'eurent sans doute pas de rôle politique, mais demandèrent plutôt aux convertis, en échange de leurs prédications et de leurs bons exemples, de leur consentir des « zaara », de prédictibles offrandes. On voit encore, en effet, leurs descendants, après six siècles, faire de fructueuses tournées pour recueillir les aumônes dans la région des Haha et des Mtougga.

III. *L'Imam el Jazouli et ses disciples.* — L'entreprise de l'Imam El Jazouli nous est mieux connue que celle des Regraga. Mohammed ben Sliman el Jazouli était originaire d'une tribu de l'Anti-Atlas à Tankert sur le versant sud de l'Anti-Atlas. Après avoir lu à Fès les « Delaïl el Khirat », livre de piété à présent répandu dans tout le Maghreb, il vint suivre l'enseignement du Chérif Abou 'Abdallah, des Banou Amghar de Tit, fut ensuite expulsé de Safi par le gouverneur inquiet de ses agissements et partit fonder sa confrérie à Afoughal chez les Haha (3). Prêchant la guerre sainte en même

(1) Cour, *op. cit.*, p. 13-17 ; Michaux-Bellaire, *Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat, 1923.

(2) H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*. Alger, 1920, p. 163.

(3) Nous avons pu, au cours de recherches entreprises avec M. P. de Cenival, chez les Chyadma, identifier Afoughal avec le Souk el Had des Doui, à 30 kilomètres à l'Est de Mogador.

temps qu'il propageait les doctrines mystiques du chadilisme, au moment où les expéditions des chrétiens se multipliaient, le Jazouli eut un immense succès. Plus de douze mille disciples portaient sa doctrine dans toutes les tribus, cependant que de puissantes filiales de sa zaouia se fondaient dans le nord du Maroc, à Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, au Tadla, et dans le Sud, à Bou Romman, chez les Howara, à Massat et à Aqqa. Mais la puissance de cet homme, dont l'orgueil était tel qu'il avait entendu Dieu lui déclarer « qu'il l'avait mis au-dessus des créatures de son époque » fut la cause de sa perte; il périt empoisonné, en 1465, et ses ennemis, chefs temporels ou talebs hostiles à sa confrérie, ruinèrent son œuvre. On sait qu'un de ses adeptes, 'Omar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnommé Es Seyyaf — le bourreau — réunit les disciples fidèles et ravagea en son nom les tribus masmoudiennes de la plaine du Nord, cependant qu'il transportait le cadavre du maître au milieu de ses bandes de brigands pour continuer à vivre de son prestige (1).

Mais d'autres disciples moins forcenés devaient recueillir l'héritage religieux de l'Imam el Jazouli. Dans les premières années du XVIe siècle, toute une floraison de saints apparut dont le rôle fut surtout d'entretenir l'esprit de guerre sainte contre les Portugais établis désormais à Anfa, au Tensift, à Agadir, et alliés aux Arabes des plaines du Sud. Les plus célèbres de ces personnages sont Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed Es Sogheir el Amri, d'une tribu arabe du Sous, dont le tombeau se trouve à Marrakech, Abou Mohammed 'Omar Ajana, enterré dans la plaine du Sous à Tajemmelt près de l'oued Leben ; ces saints furent, avec le chikh 'Abd el 'Aziz Et Tebba' enterré à Marrakech, les maîtres du Jazoulisme dans le sud du Maroc. Un autre « mouhajid » honoré, mort dans la lutte contre les chrétiens ou leurs alliés arabes, fut Sidi 'Abd el Malek Sba'i, mortellement blessé sur la piste du Tizi Ma'cho à la « Forteresse de l'Or » et enterré dans la forêt d'Harjan, entre les Demsira et les Ida ou Mahmoud, « avec

(1) Cf. Ibn 'Askar, *Daouhat en Nâchir* ; Ahmed el Fasi, *Mamâ' el Ama'* ; El Arbi El Fasi, *Mirat el Mahasin* ; *Archives marocaines* (trad. Graulle), t. XIX, p. 17, 271, 283 ; Graulle, *Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, p. 43-44. — Nous croyons pouvoir identifier « Culeihat el Muridin », la forteresse d'"Omar Seyyaf avec celle qui subsiste à Tasoudanté chez les Mtougga, à 15 kilomètres au sud-est de Bouaboud, au lieu dit « Agadir n Jaaf ». Le site et la distance par rapport à Tsergdelt (Lalla Tsergdelt) de la carte au 1/200.000 du Service géographique du Maroc nous paraissent correspondre à la description de Léon l'Africain, édit. Schefler, t. I, p. 155.

la hache dont il se servait contre les chrétiens » (1). Sidi Mohammed ben Mbarek Hilali, affilié aux Regraga, jouit au même moment d'une autorité sans bornes chez les tribus des Gezzoula ; quelques années après enfin, se manifestèrent deux disciples du chikh Et Tebba', appelés à fonder de puissantes zaouias : Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa el Jazouli revenu dans son pays du Tazerwalt, après avoir accompli, selon la tradition, de prodigieux voyages et Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im qui s'établit chez les Haha en un centre déjà célèbre par ses savants juristes, chez les Ait Daoud, dans la tribu des Ida ou Bouzia.

IV. *Les chorfa et le début des Saadiens.* — A côté de ces marabouts qui agissent par leurs prédications, leurs vertus ou la crainte qu'ils inspirent, d'autres personnages, les chorfa, ont une « baraka » plus paisible et n'ont pas l'obligation de produire de miracles aussi redoutables ; leur simple présence suffit pour rendre un pays prospère. Tel est cet Abou Mohammed ben 'Abdallah el Hassani, des Banou Amghar, qui s'établit à Tameslouht au début du XVIe siècle, où il trouva le pays inculte et inhabité. Venu avec son père et sa mère et une seule vache pour toute fortune, il fut bientôt à la tête d'une zaouia prospère vers laquelle affluèrent les dons des laboureurs ; il délivrait, en effet, la région du mal que lui faisaient les oiseaux et aidait les femmes à concevoir par le moyen de petites bouchées de farine (2). De même à cette époque, les chorfa Banou Sa'd, les futurs Saadiens, installés à Tagmadert dans le Haut-Dra, n'étaient encore que des détenteurs de « baraka » lorsqu'ils furent, dit-on, appelés dans le Sous par le vœu des populations berbères pour prendre part à la guerre sainte. Encore gardèrent-ils en début de leur arrivée dans cette vallée un aspect pacifique, et ne ressemblèrent-ils pas, à leurs débuts, « à des gens de guerre, mais à des massons et à des laboureurs, parce qu'ils estoient tous animés par l'utilité qu'ils en pensoient tirer » (3).

Au moment où, grâce à l'appui des tribus, allait s'élever la famille des chorfa saadiens, l'anarchie politique dans le Sud-Marocain était à son comble. La décadence profonde des royaumes du Nord avait en effet abouti au morcellement de tout le pays. Les

(1) Tradition recueillie par F. de La Chapelle (Notice inédite sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga).
(2) Ibn 'Askar, *Dawhat en Nachir*, p. 77 ; tr. Graulle, p. 101-102.
(3) Diego de Torres, *Histoire des Chérifs* (dans *Afrique*, de Marmol), t. III, p. 16.

chrétiens s'étaient acquis le concours des Arabes des plaines contre les Berbères et leurs alliés faisaient pour eux des courses contre les cités du nord des Haha qui furent détruites les unes après les autres jusqu'à l'oued Qsob. Les Arabes, sous l'autorité de Yahya ben Tahfouf, poussaient même jusqu'aux portes de Marrakech. La capitale du Sud était aux mains d'un chikh des Hintata, Nasser Bou Chentouf. Après avoir longtemps combattu les Arabes Oulad Mota', qui imposaient aux sédentaires des dîmes écrasantes et étaient devenus les confédérés des Portugais, ce chef avait usurpé le pouvoir que les Mérinides étaient incapables d'exercer. Moulay Idris, un parent de ce roi de Marrakech, dont la famille était forte depuis longtemps au pied de l'Atlas, dans la région de l'Auf el Mal, se faisait appeler le « roi de la montagne » et percevait des tributs chez les Masmouda et dans la plaine. Ces deux chefs étaient, sans doute, les descendants de chikhs almohades; peut-être même étaient-ils de la famille des Hafsides, ces émirs Hintata devenus souverains de l'Ifriqiya; ils prétendaient à la qualité de chorfa et se réclamaient du prestige que leur donnait leur naissance pour faire accepter leur autorité en montagne. Mais, par leur position en plaine ou sur le Dir, on peut penser qu'ils s'appuyaient sur les tribus de l'Azaghar de Marrakech, les Heskoura et les Tadla, plutôt que sur les Masmouda du Haut-Atlas (1).

La vallée supérieure du Dra était partagée entre deux seigneurs de la famille des « Mezwar » (2), régnant sur les districts de « Tenweni » et de « Tensita » et séparés l'un de l'autre par une profonde inimitié. Dans l'acharnement de leurs luttes, les Mezwar en vinrent à faire appel aux chrétiens établis à Santa-Cruz (Agadir) et toute la vallée du Sous, déjà parcourue par les Arabes, se trouva agitée par leur querelle. Leur puissance et leur libéralité étaient d'ailleurs célèbres et Léon l'Africain reçut dans leurs demeures l'accueil le plus généreux. L'un d'eux, qui avait cru bien faire en adressant au roi de Fez des présents magnifiques, les fit porter par un ambassadeur dont la prononciation et le style sans doute peu classiques en raison des influences

(1) Marmol, *Afrique*, trad. Perrot d'Ablancourt. Paris, 1667, t. II, p. 44-48.

(2) Le terme de « mezwar » désigne, dans les villes du Maroc, le représentant des clients établis dans la cité. Ce mot berbère dérivant de la racine, ezer, protéger (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229) a aussi le sens de président d'une assemblée de notables, de « grand-dem » : à la tête de chacune des fractions de la confédération des Godmiwa, se trouvait au temps des Almohades un « mezwar » (Cf. plus haut, p. 63).

berbères, eurent, auprès des savants, un vif succès d'hilarité (1).

Il y avait encore dans le Sous d'autres seigneurs. Cependant que les Berbères de la montagne de l'Anti-Atlas, demeurés dans l'anarchie, n'acceptaient que l'influence maraboutique, dans les plaines, commandaient en maîtres Sidi « Buxima », chef d' « Ahgnil », non loin de Taroudant; Sidi « Buagaz », maître de la ville de « Tal », tous deux alliés des Portugais; enfin, le chikh Moumen, seigneur de Tagaost, qui devint au contraire l'allié des chorfa saadiens et dut, plus tard, à leur protection de voir grandir sa puissance (2).

C'est dans ces circonstances favorables à l'exécution de leurs ambitieux projets que les chorfa saadiens, dans un pays divisé en petits commandements, constituèrent peu à peu, en partant de la vallée du Sous et des Haha, un royaume capable de leur donner les moyens de faire par la suite, la conquête du Maroc.

A l'origine et, plus tard, jusqu'au moment de la discorde qui sépara les deux frères Ahmed el A'rj et Mohammed El Mahdi, les tribus berbères donnèrent leur appui sans réserve à un mouvement qui était dirigé contre les chrétiens et leurs alliés arabes. Elles s'engagèrent à assister les chorfa (3), sans doute à la manière des tribus du Nord qui, à la même époque, signaient « un acte d'union » avec un marabout de Tlemcen, ou comme le faisaient naguère encore les turbulentes fractions du Rif, qui formaient un « ribat » en proclamant un chef de guerre contre les Espagnols.

Mohammed el Qaim, appelé tout d'abord par le vœu des populations dans la vallée du Sous, à Tidsi, non loin de Taroudant (1509) avec l'appui du marabout Mohammed ben Mbarek Hilali, s'établit bientôt à Taroudant, où il construisit la forteresse de Freija (4), et lutta avec ses contingents de l'Anti-Atlas, Gezzoula et Zenaga, contre les alliés des chrétiens qu'étaient les Arabes des plaines et les Mezwar du Haut-Dra. Quelques années après, c'est de Tednest et d'Afoughal, chez les Haha, que le Chérif mena le combat contre les Portugais avec des succès divers.

V. *L'attitude des tribus sous les premiers Saadiens.* — Après la mort d'El Qaim, ses deux fils Ahmed el A'rj et Mohammed el

(1) Léon l'Africain, Ed. Schefler, t. I, p. 286; Marmol, op. cit., t. I, p. 444-445 et t. II, p. 124.
(2) Diego de Torres, *Histoire des chérifs*, dans *Afrique*, de Marmol, t. III, p. 20-40.
(3) Cour, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
(4) Marmol, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 446-448.

Mahdi, fixés respectivement chez les Haha et à Taroudant, fortifient leur pouvoir et s'emparent de véritables provinces. Dans le nord de l'Atlas, la prise de Marrakech en 1524, la conquête des plaines jusqu'à l'Oum er Rbi'a et la soumission de Moulay Idris Hintati ; dans le Sud, la reddition d'Agadir enlevé aux Portugais en 1541, le rétablissement de l'ordre dans le Dra et la soumission des Mezwar marquent la première étape de la puissance politique saadienne. Les deux chérifs ayant alors conquis le pouvoir temporel nomment des gouverneurs, font régner la paix et prennent les Arabes dans leurs Makhzen. Leurs exigences se font aussi plus nombreuses, et déjà ils établissent des impôts. Aussitôt ils cessent aux yeux des Berbères d'être des chefs de guerre sainte (1). Le Sous n'attend plus qu'une occasion favorable pour se soulever contre une autorité qui prétend se substituer à celle des assemblées et des notables. La discorde qui éclate entre les deux frères, en 1542, au sujet du partage des territoires soumis à l'impôt, fournit la première occasion d'une révolte ; les chikhs du pays et les chefs des deux armées prennent parti et, derrière eux, combattent les tribus à Ameskroud et à El Qehira. A peine Mohammed el Mahdi a-t-il triomphé d'Ahmed el A'rj, exilé à Sijilmassa, qu'un soulèvement éclate en 1543, chez les Nfifa où le fqih 'Abdallah agite le pays en se réclamant des Almohades, dont le nom même est resté un symbole d'indépendance pour les Masmouda. Pour en venir à bout dans la montagne des Seksawa, il faut envoyer contre lui une armée dirigée par des chrétiens, seuls capables de lutter contre les sortilèges de ce magicien (2). Peu après, les « chikhs du Mont Atlas », sans doute dans la région des Demsira et des Seksawa, refusent de payer l'impôt « kharaj », qu'ils regardent à bon droit comme illégal. Habilement attirés en plaine, onze d'entre eux sont amenés à Marrakech où on leur coupe la tête (1547). Cependant El Harran, frère du Sultan, s'exerce à tenir la plaine dans le calme et sévit contre les marabouts. Les contingents du Sous participent encore à la prise de Fez mais la nouvelle du désastre de Tlemcen, en 1550, donne le signal de la révolte générale de l'Atlas. La mort d'El Harran porte à son comble l'audace des Berbères. Leur chef de guerre, Sidi Mohammed, met la montagne en état de défense, et fait alliance avec un révolté

(1) Cour, *op. cit.*, p. 67-71.
(2) Marmol, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 70, 123, 124.

de la plaine, Sidi Sa'id, qui tient la forteresse de « Peignol », sur une roche au pied de la montagne, non loin de Taroudant. En vain, le Sultan envoit-il contre eux une armée de Turcs et de renégats. Vaincus et capturés par les Berbères au passage de l'Atlas, ces mercenaires viennent grossir les contingents des montagnards et leur apprennent à mieux combattre (1).

Cette révolte devait d'ailleurs être fatale à Mohammed el Mahdi. Au cours d'une expédition chez les Demsira, tandis qu'il campait avec sa harka à Aglagal, sur la piste du Tizi Ma'cho, un officier turc appartenant à sa milice, traître au service du sultan de Stamboul, l'assassina et lui coupa la tête. Les émissaires de Constantinople l'emportèrent salée, dans une musette, jusque dans leur pays, où elle fut exposée en trophée. Les compagnons du Sultan trouvèrent tous la mort dans ce désastre (1557) (2).

Moulay 'Abdallah El Ghaleb Billah, fils de Mohammed el Mahdi, prenait le pouvoir dans des conditions difficiles. Les Turcs, ses ennemis, s'appuyaient sur la secte religieuse des Qadiriya, rivale des Chadiliya, et soutenaient dans le Nord des prétendants. Seul, l'appui des marabouts berbères pouvait sauver le sultan. « Si vous m'abandonnez, écrivait-il alors à Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa El Jazouli du Tazerwalt, je ne pourrai ni sauvegarder ma vie, ni trouver un asile sur la terre ». Cette faiblesse du pouvoir chérifien devint plus grande encore lorsque El Ghaleb s'étant allié sans honte à l'Espagne chrétienne contre les Turcs, les chefs religieux du Sud lui retirèrent leur appui et se rendirent indépendants. Pendant quelques années ils représentèrent la seule autorité vers laquelle purent se tourner les tribus. Au cours de la crise d'anarchie qui suivit la mort d'El Ghaleb (1574), c'est chez l'un de ces marabouts, Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed ben Ou Sa'doun, que Mohammed el Motawakkel, fils d'El Ghaleb, vint chercher refuge à deux reprises, dans la région la plus élevée de la montagne de l'Atlas, accompagné du pieux biographe Ibn 'Askar (1577). Le saint homme prédit à son hôte, chassé de Fez et de Marrakech, un prochain retour de la fortune; mais ces vœux ne purent le protéger contre les attaques de son oncle Ahmed, frère du sultan 'Abd el Malek. On sait comment El Motawakkel, allié aux chrétiens, périt avec eux l'année suivante au désastre de l'Oued el Mkhazen.

(1) Diego de Torres, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 152, 159, 168, 211.
(2) Cour, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

VI. *Le règne d'Ahmed el Mansour.* — Le sultan Ahmed el Mansour, dont le règne glorieux a été si souvent célébré, fut incapable de changer notablement la situation anarchique du Sud du Maroc. Un frère du sultan, Abou Faris, reçut le commandement du Sous, mais il resta enfermé à Taroudant (1). En effet, depuis l'assassinat de Mohammed Ech Cheikh, en 1557, le Makhzen saadien n'avait plus, semble-t-il, d'autre ambition dans le Haut-Atlas occidental, que de tenir les grandes voies de passage, en construisant des kasbas confiées à des gardes sûres. C'est, sans doute, à cette époque que furent construites ou relevées les forteresses de Frouga, de Qehira, d'Imi n Tanout, de Ben Takemous et d'Ameskroud pour jalonner la piste du Tizi Ma'cho. Le sultan Ahmed el Mansour écrivait lui-même à son fils pour lui recommander de faire tous ses efforts afin que cette voie fût adoptée par tous. L'usage d'une autre route, que les populations essayaient d'imposer aux voyageurs à travers leur territoire, « aurait, disait-il, ruiné le pays s'il était devenu définitif ». L'autorité du Makhzen s'exerçait cependant dans certaines régions du Deren, sans doute entre le Nefis, le col des Glawa et le Sirwa. Un commandement avait été confié au caïd 'Abd el 'Aziz ben Sa'id El Mezwari el Ouzgiti, né à Taroudant, vizir d'Ahmed el Mansour. Ce chef appartenait probablement à la même famille que les Mezwar du Dra et se réclamait d'une origine almohade, ce qui lui assurait un grand prestige auprès des tribus. Homme d'une grande ambition, d'une science étendue, si l'on en juge par sa bibliothèque qui contenait, dit-on, cinquante mille volumes, il garda fort longtemps sa situation personnelle et c'est chez lui qu'Abou Fares, battu par Moulay Zidan, vint plus tard chercher refuge (1).

Dans la partie occidentale de la grande chaîne, au contraire, l'anarchie ne cessait de se développer. Après son avènement, Ahmed el Mansour avait dû y poursuivre son neveu, Daoud ben 'Abd el Moumen, qui s'était fait proclamer roi chez les Seksawa. Une expédition l'en avait chassé, mais ce révolté s'établit dans l'Anti-Atlas, où il fut encore nécessaire de le poursuivre jusqu'aux limites du désert. Un voyageur portugais qui franchissait les cols dans la région du Tizi Ma'cho en 1596 y notait l'état de révolte d'un marabout, sans doute Sidi 'Abdallah ben Sa'id des Haha (2).

(1) El Oufrani, *Nozhet el Hâdi*, trad. Houdas, p. 174-274.
(2) Anonyme Portugais, *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*. 1re série France, t. II, p. 234.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

VII. *La grande crise maraboutique* (1603-1660). — C'est surtout après la mort d'Ahmed el Mansour (1603) que les chefs religieux vont affirmer leur puissance ; mais, sous son règne même, ils continuent de renforcer leur organisation politique si bien adaptée à la vie berbère. Peut-être n'est-il pas impossible, malgré l'insuffisance de nos documents, d'indiquer dans quelles conditions a pu se développer leur pouvoir.

Lorsqu'ils apparaissent en tribu, les fondateurs de zaouias n'ont tout d'abord d'autre influence que celle que leur donne leur science, leur valeur personnelle et leur autorité sur des centaines de disciples. Mais, peu à peu, leurs centres d'action se multiplient et essaiment de proche en proche. On peut encore retrouver aujourd'hui l'ossature des petits états qu'ils ont constitués en dénombrant les tombeaux de saints et les groupements maraboutiques à présent sans importance, répandus dans un territoire dont les frontières restent le plus souvent assez précises. Ainsi, Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im fonde au début du XVIe siècle la zaouia des Aït Daoud, chez les Haha. Son fils 'Abdallah, déjà menacé par les sultans en raison de son indépendance, s'établit en montagne dans la région des sommets (1). Son petit-fils Yahya Abou Zakarya vient chez les Aït Tamment sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, en se rapprochant de Taroudant (2). Chaque nouvelle zaouia est un centre d'où partent de nouvelles colonies, en suivant les vallées, au point que, dans la légende, Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im, dont les fils se sont établis partout dans les meilleures terres irriguées du pays, a pu acquérir par la suite la réputation d'avoir été jadis un grand découvreur de sources. La limite de cette prise de possession pacifique du pays par la famille de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im paraît avoir au Nord et au Sud, la chaîne de l'Atlas et à l'Est l'Asif el Mal (3). On trouverait de même dans la région des Haha d'autres traces d'organisations maraboutiques, de moindre importance sans doute, mais réalisées sous la même forme. Ainsi ont fait les fils de Sidi Mehend Ouchchen chez les Haha et d'une manière un peu différente, en gardant une centralisation plus complète encore, les descen-

(1) La zaouia de Berada qui ne nous paraît pas avoir été identifiée jusqu'ici. Nous la croyons distincte de celle des Aït Daoud et de celle des Aït Tamment.

(2) Ibn 'Askar *Daouhat en Nâchir*, tr. Graulle, *Archives Marocaines*, XIX, p. 176.

(3) Trois fils de Sidi Yahya, Sidi Benso, Sidi Sa'id et Sidi Brahim, sont enterrés chez les Aït Haddious, la fraction la plus élevée des Seksawa. Un descendant de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im est vénéré chez les Amesmatert (Gedmiwa). (Note de F. de la Chapelle.)

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

dants de Sidi Brahim Ou 'Ali, restés jusqu'à nos jours les conseillers religieux et politiques des Ida Ou Tanan. Cette colonisation religieuse du Sud-Marocain est analogue à celle qui se poursuit encore sous nos yeux dans les montagnes du Rif où, par exemple, les Khemalcha enserrent d'une irrésistible étreinte par le réseau de leurs zaouias les tribus des Senhaja de Srair.

Porteurs de baraka, animateurs de la guerre sainte, professeurs de sciences religieuses, les marabouts voient tout d'abord affluer les dons dans leurs zaouias et perçoivent la dîme que chacun leur verse scrupuleusement. Les sultans n'osent pas les soumettre à l'impôt. Pour avoir voulu imposer la « naïba » aux fils de Sidi El Khalid ben Yahya el Masmoudi, sous prétexte que « tous les musulmans sont égaux en l'espèce », le Saadien Mohammed Ech Cheikh avait été frappé, dit-on, d'une grave maladie, dont l'intervention des enfants du Saint put seule le délivrer (1).

Les zaouias ainsi fondées et entretenues par la piété des fidèles, constituent des abris sacrés où viennent se réfugier les coupables. Ce sont surtout des caravansérails où le maître donne une large hospitalité. Ibn 'Askar nous décrit avec admiration la table somptueuse du saint 'Abd el Kerim el Fellah de Marrakech, et les merveilles accomplies par un autre chikh Abou Mohammed 'Abdallah el Kouch, grand nourrisseur de peuples, par la permission de Dieu. Mohammed Ousa'doun, au sommet du Deren, dans un pays sans cultures et sans orge, réalisait les mêmes prodiges, et le chikh Abou 'Amar, un autre thaumaturge, avait déclaré en mourant à ses descendants : « Fermez désormais la porte de l'hospitalité ; ne faites rien de ce que j'ai fait. C'est là un mystère divin dont ne possède le secret que celui à qui Dieu l'a dévoilé ». « Si l'on médite ces mystères, ajoute le pieux biographe, il faut reconnaître que ceux-là seuls pourraient suffire à de pareilles libéralités qui ouvriraient les chambres des trésors publics ou à qui viendrait en aide la générosité divine » (2).

Par l'afflux des pèlerins et des quémandeurs, les marabouts étendent sans cesse leurs relations politiques ; appelés à arbitrer les conflits, à faire cesser les luttes des fractions, ils instituent des trêves, imposent leurs décisions, grâce à la crainte dans laquelle on tient leur malédiction. Accordant même leur protection aux foires

(1) Ibn 'Askar, *op. cit.*, *Arch. marocaines*, XIX, p. 195-198.
(2) Ibn 'Askar, *op. cit.*, trad., p. 173-185.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

et aux marchés, ils en arrivent peu à peu à surveiller toute l'activité des tribus qu'ils maintiennent dans la paix. Il suffit, dès lors, que le sultan fasse appel à leur autorité ou sollicite leur appui dans une période difficile pour que se trouve consacrée officiellement leur situation de véritables maîtres du pays. A peine un modeste tribut adressé au souverain vient-il rappeler le lien d'autrefois avec le Makhzen, qui cesse d'exercer toute autorité directe dans la région qu'ils ont colonisée, tandis qu'eux-mêmes en arrivent sans doute à prélever à leur profit des contributions élevées. Avec quelle hauteur bientôt vont-ils traiter le pouvoir temporel, qu'ils consentent à protéger, à condition qu'il suive leurs conseils! Le cheikh Abou 'lHasan 'Ali ben Abou 'lQasem Es Sandjai, homme de noble condition et de haute valeur, n'aborde les rois que par cette brève formule de politesse : « Le salut », puis sur un ton sévère, il leur prescrit le bien et leur défend le mal. Il faut lire la correspondance échangée alors entre les Saadiens et les grands marabouts des Haha pour voir la liberté avec laquelle les chefs religieux prodiguent leurs conseils, et sur un ton qui ne permet plus de savoir quels sont les véritables souverains (1).

Parfois, cependant, le sultan s'inquiète et cherche à sévir ; mais il semble qu'une attitude de révolte grandisse encore les seigneurs religieux, qui tirent une grande partie de leur force des tribus indépendantes de la montagne. C'est l'hostilité d'Ahmed el Mansour qui détermine les descendants de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im à s'établir chez les Seksawa et dans la haute montagne où ils deviennent invulnérables, cependant que les fils de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa rassemblent autour d'eux dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental les forces des Igezzoulen, à l'écart de l'influence du Makhzen.

VIII. *Les principautés maraboutiques du Sous.* — Dès les premières années du XVIIe siècle, après la mort d'Ahmed el Mansour, l'impuissance de la dynastie saadienne devient définitive. Les divers prétendants, El Mansour, 'Abdallah, Zidan et Abou Farès se disputent les régions situées au sud de l'Atlas. Plus que jamais, le Sous sert de refuge aux candidats au trône que le succès trahit. Enfin, Moulay Zidan parvient à conserver à Marrakech un pouvoir précaire jusqu'à sa mort en 1627, mais le reste du pays lui échappe

(1) *Noshet El Hâdi*, p. 346 et sqq.

entièrement. C'est à la faveur de ce déclin de l'autorité chérifienne que des chefs de principautés maraboutiques réalisent un nouveau progrès. Nous les voyons devenir les maîtres absolus de petits états; ils font la guerre pour eux-mêmes, et étendent leur domination sur des tribus toujours plus nombreuses.

L'aventure d'El Mahalli à Marrakech, en 1612, nous donne l'occasion d'observer ce nouveau développement du pouvoir maraboutique. Abou 'lAbbas Ahmed ben 'Abdallah, surnommé Abou 'lMahalli, savant réputé dans la connaissance du droit et des doctrines mystiques, établi loin de l'autorité du Makhzen dans l'oued Saoura, s'était donné comme réformateur des mœurs et bientôt comme le Fatimide attendu. Le mouvement d'indignation religieuse et de réaction contre les Saadiens qui avait suivi la cession de Larache à l'Espagne, en 1610, avait semblé favorable à ce nouveau Mahdi pour tenter de chasser le faible Moulay Zidan de Marrakech. Celui-ci, réfugié à Safi, fit un pressant appel à la protection de Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, petit-fils de Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im des Haha, alors tout puissant dans l'Atlas occidental, pour le rétablir sur son trône. Après quelques hésitations, le marabout rassembla ses contingents : c'était non seulement les tribus berbères du Deren, mais encore celles de l'Anti-Atlas depuis les Chtouka jusqu'aux Ida Ou Kensous auxquelles s'étaient unis les Arabes Chebbanat, oncles maternels de Moulay Zidan. Après un combat livré à Imi n Tanout, Sidi Yahya mit en fuite l'armée de son adversaire qui fut tué au Gueliz, et s'établit même dans le palais de Moulay Zidan (1613). La tentation de prendre pour lui-même le pouvoir suprême fut grande, et il semble bien, d'après El Oufrani, que le marabout ait fait un instant le rêve de se faire proclamer Sultan. Mais les Berbères de son armée, peut-être les Igezzoulen soumis à la famille rivale de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa du Tazerwalt, rivale de la sienne, refusèrent de l'aider dans ses projets ; il revint dans sa montagne et se contenta d'user de toute son influence pour diriger du fond de sa zaouïa la politique de Moulay Zidan revenu dans sa capitale (1).

Tournant désormais ses projets vers le Sous, Sidi Yahya prit

(1) *Nozhet el Hâdi*, *ibid.* — Moulay Zidan avait dû, à Marrakech même, lutter contre d'autres marabouts trop entreprenants. Le chikh Abou Isheq ben Ahmed, petit-fils d'Abdallah ben Hosein de Tamesloht, dont l'enseignement mystique agitait la ville fut alors poursuivi et s'enfuit dans la tribu des Souktana, où il mourut.

la décision de s'emparer de Taroudant, jusque là regardée comme la ville du Makhzen, et de vaincre son ennemi Abou 'lHasan 'Ali, petit-fils de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, plus connu sous le nom de Sidi 'Ali. Les deux adversaires se livrèrent des combats acharnés mais Sidi Yahya mourut avant d'avoir réussi à réduire tout le Sous à son autorité, en 1626 (1). Ses fils combattirent quelques années encore le marabout du Tazerwalt, devenu à son tour maître d'un puissant État, puis la famille de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im perdit peu à peu son influence dans le Haut-Atlas et disparut bientôt pour toujours de la vie politique du Sud.

Après la mort de Moulay Zidan à Marrakech, ses successeurs n'eurent plus que l'ombre du pouvoir, au point que nous les voyons alors lutter avec peine contre des soulèvements aux portes mêmes de la capitale (2). Sidi 'Ali, débarrassé de son rival Sidi Yahya, organisa à son gré le royaume qu'il avait conquis dans le Sous avec l'appui des Igezzoulen. A la même époque, les provinces du Nord du Maroc, elles aussi se démembraient et tombaient aux mains des chefs de guerre sainte, tels qu'El 'Ayachi et Ghilan à Salé et dans le Habt, ou dans celles des marabouts, tels que les maîtres de la zaouia de Dila, dans le Moyen-Atlas. On peut observer d'ailleurs que l'évolution du pouvoir de ces marabouts de Dila se poursuivait et semblait être une réplique de celle des fils de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im, et de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa dans le Sous ; vivant aussi de la confiance que leur témoignaient les tribus indépendantes, devenus comme eux, à la troisième génération, les chefs d'un véritable État, ils méprisèrent les sultans et tentèrent d'établir leur domination dans les plaines du Nord. Seuls les chorfa filaliens allaient réussir à détruire leur puissance.

Ainsi le Maroc revenait, après un siècle et demi, à l'état d'anarchie qu'avaient connu les Saadiens à leurs débuts ; mais tandis qu'au xve siècle le morcellement s'était fait le plus souvent au profit de chefs de tribus, de chikhs almohades, de prétendants mérinides, les différentes parties de l'Empire se trouvaient à présent, à l'exception de Marrakech, tombé au pouvoir des Arabes Chebbanat, soumises à des personnages religieux. Il était réservé à la nouvelle dynastie, sortie du Tafilelt, de reprendre une politique

(1) *Nozhet el Hadi*, p. 325-346.
(2) *Nozhet el Hadi*, p. 423.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

du Makhzen exclusivement fondée en tribu sur le concours de chefs temporels.

IX. *La vie des tribus pendant la période maraboutique.* — Quelle avait été, pendant la période d'anarchie et de réaction maraboutique, la vie intérieure des tribus qui avaient, dans la faiblesse du Makhzen, retrouvé leur indépendance? Nul doute que les grands commandements de l'époque mérinide dans le Haut-Atlas, qui s'étaient prolongés pendant quelque temps encore avec l'appui des Hintata, n'aient été emportés dans toutes les régions où le Makhzen Saadien n'eut pas la force de s'implanter. L'ère des « rois de la montagne » et des seigneurs du Dra est alors close pour un temps. De toute part, on voit apparaître au XVIe siècle leurs successeurs, de petits chikhs, vraisemblablement soutenus par ces conseils de « gentilshommes qui tiennent le païs » dans les régions décrites par Léon l'Africain et Marmol. Capables de s'unir pour désigner un chef de guerre, comme dans la grande révolte de 1552, ils n'en représentaient pas moins, en raison de leur nombre, le particularisme berbère, fait pour limiter son horizon aux frontières étroites d'un canton.

En même temps que renaissait ainsi de tous côtés le gouvernement local, sous forme de chikhs, d'amghars, ou de petites républiques dont Léon l'Africain nous indique parfois les diverses constitutions, s'achevait, grâce à la guerre sainte et aux efforts des marabouts, l'islamisation du Sud-Marocain. Dès cette époque, le droit religieux se substitue peu à peu à la coutume berbère, à l' « orf » des tribus; tantôt il la remplace, lorsque le Makhzen saadien par exemple prend en mains le gouvernement du pays (1), tantôt il la corrige pour la rendre conforme à la loi divine. Cette activité juridique allait faire du Sous la patrie des savants et des talebs et, jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle, la terre bénie des zaouias.

X. *Les chorfa filaliens reprennent la lutte contre les Marabouts.* — Les premiers Filaliens ne sont pas, ainsi qu'on l'a bien remarqué (2) de simples « moujahidin », des chefs de guerre sainte, mais des chorfa qui, sortis du Tafilelt, grâce à des aventures militaires heureuses, ont par leurs propres forces peu à peu conquis le pou-

(1) Léon l'Africain, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 153.
(2) Cour, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

voir au milieu de l'anarchie générale. Ils ne doivent rien aux marabouts qui ont aidé à la naissance — et plus tard facilité la ruine — des Saadiens. Aussi vont-ils pouvoir s'acharner à faire disparaître ces chefs religieux dont l'autorité, si naturellement acceptée par les Berbères, reste menaçante pour le Makhzen et par surcroît peut-être se trouve appuyée secrètement par les Turcs, ennemis déclarés de la dynastie.

Dès que Moulay Rechid se fut emparé de Fez, en 1667, il s'attaqua à la zaouia de Dila, la plus dangereuse par sa puissance et l'ambition de ses maîtres. Après l'avoir rasée, il s'avança sur Marrakech à l'improviste et fit disparaître l'usurpateur Kerroum el Hajj, qui avait fait assassiner dix ans plus tôt le dernier des Saadiens Moulay el 'Abbas. Enfin, pénétrant dans la vallée du Sous par le pays des Haha, en soumettant les tribus effrayées par son arrivée, il s'empara des Chtouka, du pays des Ahel Sahel défenseurs des rois du Tazerwalt et enleva après une résistance acharnée la forteresse d'Illigh, qui avait été le centre de la puissance de Sidi 'Ali (1670-71) (1).

Le Sud du Sous venait de connaître, au moment de l'arrivée du Makhzen Filalien, une époque de prospérité. Depuis la mort de son rival Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, le petit-fils de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, Sidi 'Ali, qu'on appelait aussi Abou Hassoun, ou encore Sidi Boudmeia, avait étendu sa domination jusqu'à la haute vallée du Dra et du Dadès ; prenant le pouvoir souverain, il avait même arboré le parasol, devenu au Maghreb l'emblème de l'autorité royale. Le souvenir heureux de son règne, qui se prolongea jusqu'en 1660, s'est conservé fidèlement dans la tradition ; le pays ne devait d'ailleurs plus retrouver par la suite une telle ère de richesse.

A cette époque, en effet, alors que les relations commerciales du Sous avec Marrakech et Fez se trouvaient interrompues à cause de l'insécurité, les caravanes se dirigeaient vers Tombouctou pour y transporter les objets manufacturés venus d'Europe et rentraient chargées de la poudre d'or et de l'ivoire du Soudan (2).

Nous savons par les marins et les négociants chrétiens quelle attention donnait Sidi 'Ali au commerce maritime. Il avait interdit l'utilisation d'Agadir dont il ne pouvait contrôler l'activité d'une manière parfaite. Massat était devenu son port : « Le trafic y est

(1) De Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, t. III. Paris, 1787, p. 255-256.
(2) Réponses à plusieurs questions sur les États du Roy de Tafilelt. Paris, 1670, p. 69-71.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

fort bon, nous dit un voyageur, d'autant que le Sancton y tient main-forte de façon qu'après avoir eu son passeport, les marchands peuvent aller librement à terre et y porter leurs marchandises, voire y estaler dans des tentes, et ce, sans aucun péril d'esclavitude, car le dict sancton ne veut ni ne permet qu'on fasse esclaves autres que les Espagnols et ceux qui en font aussi ».

Les Hollandais fa saient alors de grands efforts pour établir dans cette région un important mouvement commercial et, pour se concilier les faveurs de Sidi 'Ali, lui offraient au grand scandale des autres navigateurs, des munitions, des armes, du matériel de constructions navales : « le bois, les charpentiers, les mâts, les avirons, les chaînes toutes faites pour enchaîner les chrétiens ». L'amiral Ruyter envoyé lui-même en mission par les Provinces-Unies, fut accueilli avec égard par les fils de Sidi 'Ali, sans parvenir d'ailleurs à établir avec le pays des conventions avantageuses (1).

Le souci d'entretenir avec les ports marocains des provinces révoltées de l'Empire des relations commerciales était d'ailleurs, à cette époque, la préoccupation constante des puissances chrétiennes. Ce désir correspondait, en même temps, au souci qu'avaient les prétendants de se ravitailler en matériel de guerre. Moulay Rechid, à ses débuts, avait accueilli de la même manière, avec les plus grands espoirs, la mission de Roland Fréjus sur les côtes du Rif. De plus en plus, les armements européens allaient jouer leur rôle dans la vie intérieure de l'Empire chérifien.

On comprend dans ces conditions que le premier souci de Moulay Rechid fut de mettre fin à ce trafic dangereux pour la sécurité de l'Empire et de s'emparer du Tazerwalt.

Le succès de Moulay Rechid dans le Sous fut d'ailleurs facilité par l'incapacité des successeurs de Sidi 'Ali, dont les vingt-deux fils et quelques frères se faisaient la guerre, prenant tour à tour Taroudant, Ifran, Tagaost, Illigh, Agadir. Celui d'entre eux qui l'avait emporté, Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed, fut empoisonné à Fez ; après ce coup porté par le Makhzen, les marabouts du Tazerwalt perdirent pendant cent ans toute autorité politique (2).

XI. *Le gouvernement du Makhzen dans le Sous sous les Filaliens.*

(1) De Castries, *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*. France 1re série, t. III, p. 365 ; Pays-Bas, t. V, p. 571, 583, 614, 616, 627.
(2) Ez Zaiani, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*. Paris, 1886, trad. Houdas, p. 22.

2: Montagne MW11 Shiuh

— Nous avons montré dans les pages qui précèdent quelle avait été la vie agitée du Sous au temps de la plus grande gloire de la dynastie mérinide ; il n'est pas sans intérêt de comparer à ce tableau celui du règne du plus grand des chorfa filaliens.

A la mort de Moulay Rechid, tué par son cheval à Marrakech, en 1672, alors qu'il recevait une députation des tribus du Sous, Moulay Isma'il, son frère, proclamé sultan, ne réussit à se faire reconnaître qu'au prix des plus grandes difficultés. Son neveu, Ahmed Ben Mahrez et le « moujahid » Ghilan, appuyés par les Turcs, s'étaient fait proclamer souverains. Ahmed ben Mahrez s'enferma à Marrakech où le Sultan vint l'assiéger pendant plusieurs années. Des expéditions nouvelles furent entreprises chez les Haha pour lever de fortes contributions et contre les Chebbanat de l'Atlas, dont « un grand nombre périt dans les tourments ». Le Sultan s'était même avancé dans le Sous jusqu'à Aqqa, Tiznit et Chinguit, et avait recueilli la soumission des tribus arabes du désert, mais sans réussir à s'emparer d'Ahmed ben Mahrez.

Dès que les armées de Moulay Isma'il furent reparties sur la frontière orientale de l'Empire, le prétendant reparut dans le Sous, qu'il organisa dès lors à son gré. Il divisa le pays en deux provinces administrées l'une par Taroudant, l'autre par Illigh ; puis ayant fait alliance avec un chikh de son royaume, dont il avait épousé la fille, il prit le titre de roi, et chercha même, dit-on, à conquérir le Soudan (1). Ses intrigues avec les Turcs ne tardèrent pas à en faire, pour Moulay Isma'il, un concurrent redoutable. Attaqué par le Sultan lui-même à Taroudant, Ahmed ben Mahrez résista désespérément. Pour mettre fin à des combats meurtriers, les deux adversaires conclurent une trêve de quelques années. Mais, en 1684, el Harran, frère de Moulay Isma'il, destitué par lui du Tafilelt, s'enfuit pour chercher refuge auprès du roi du Sous. Décidé à en finir, le Sultan revint faire le siège de Taroudant. Ahmed ben Mahrez fut tué avant la prise de la ville, mais les habitants n'en furent pas moins exterminés et remplacés par des Rifains (1687).

Quelques années passèrent pendant lesquelles le Sous parut connaître une tranquillité relative. Mais le Sultan avait de nombreux fils qui, parvenus à peine à l'âge d'homme, cherchaient à constituer au plus vite un royaume dans les régions inaccessibles. Ils

(1) Chénier, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 398 ; Mouette, *Histoire des conquêtes de Moulay Archy*, Paris, 1683, p. 466.

choisirent de préférence le Sous, comme théâtre de leurs exploits. En 1703, c'est Mohammed el 'Alem, fils du Sultan, en résidence à Taroudant avec trois mille cavaliers du Makhzen, qui se révolte et entre de vive force à Marrakech d'où son frère Zidan vient le chasser et le poursuit en montagne pendant trois ans. Mohammed el 'Alem, fait prisonnier, est, chargé de chaînes, conduit à son père qui lui coupe un pied et une main. Zidan succède à son frère à Taroudant, après avoir, une fois de plus, exterminé les habitants de cette ville rebelle.

Viennent alors de nouveaux prétendants : Moulay ben Sa'id et un autre fils du Sultan, gouverneur de Safi, qui agitent la plaine du Sous et la province des Haha ; ils attaquent sans cesse Moulay Zidan à Taroudant, et Moulay el Mamoun dans le Tafilelt (1). Moulay Zidan est assassiné en 1708. Enfin, en 1721, Moulay 'Abd el Malek qui réside à Taroudant et commande la partie du Sous voisine d'Agadir, refuse de payer à son père le tribut de la province. Il semble d'ailleurs que la vieillesse du Sultan soit par elle-même la cause d'une recrudescence d'anarchie. En effet, bien que Moulay Isma'il ait manifesté l'intention de faire désigner comme successeur son fils aîné, chacun des héritiers, certain d'être assassiné, lorsque celui-ci prendra le pouvoir, cherche à se former un parti afin de pouvoir au moins tenter sa chance, au jour prochain de la « vile ».

Lorsque le vieux sultan mourut, s'il faut en croire le ministre historien Ez-Zayani, le pays jouissait de la sécurité la plus complète, et selon l'expression consacrée, de l'Oued Noun à Oudjda, un juif ou une femme pouvaient y circuler « sans que personne osât leur demander d'où ils venaient et où ils allaient » (2). Ce que nous avons vu de l'histoire du Sous pendant ce grand règne nous permet d'en douter. Mais il n'est pas moins certain que Moulay Isma'il avait beaucoup fait pour assurer, à défaut de la tranquillité des provinces, au moins la sécurité des routes. Les innombrables kasbas qu'il fit élever aux gîtes d'étapes et sur les grands passages de la montagne furent confiées à la garde d'une armée noire nombreuse, qu'on appelait les « 'Abid », les esclaves ; il fut aussi plus aisé de dominer les tribus désarmées surtout au nord de l'Atlas. Mais cette création — la plus originale de l'œuvre administrative du

(1) *Relation des trois voyages*, etc., des Pères de la Mercy. Paris, 1704, p. 168 et suiv.
(2) Ez Zaiani, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

grand Sultan — devait être funeste à ses successeurs. Ce furent les « 'Abid » qui prirent parti pour les prétendants.

De 1727 à 1757, il n'y eut pas moins de douze proclamations de sultan et Moulay 'Abdallah qui l'emporta sur ses frères, Moulay Ahmed Dehbi, Moulay 'Abd el Malek, Sidi Mohammed ben 'Arbia, Moulay el Mostadi, Moulay Zin el 'Abidin, fut six fois reconnu et cinq fois obligé de prendre la fuite. Il avait entrepris une première fois, en 1733, une campagne pour pacifier le Sous et un peu plus tard, contraint d'aller chercher refuge jusqu'à l'Oued Noun, chez ses oncles maternels, les Meghafra, il vécut au désert avec son jeune fils Sidi Mohammed, celui qui devait par la suite lui succéder heureusement.

On peut penser sans risque d'erreur que ces guerres dynastiques dont le théâtre fut surtout le Tafilelt et les plaines du Nord, donnèrent aux tribus du Sud du Maroc l'occasion de reprendre la liberté à laquelle elles avaient dû renoncer par instant sous le règne précédent.

XII. *Le règne de Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah et la fondation de Mogador.* — Le règne de Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah marque pour le Sud-Marocain une ère nouvelle. Désormais les marabouts, complètement éliminés du Sous ou réduits à un rôle strictement religieux, ont cessé d'attirer l'attention du Sultan. La politique du Makhzen s'affirme à la fois par la fondation du port de Mogador et par l'organisation du commandement chez les Haha et dans les plaines. Les décisions prises alors par Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah seront maintenues par ses successeurs et jusqu'à nos jours leurs conséquences se feront sentir dans la vie sociale et économique du pays.

Pour avoir grandi en exil dans le Sahara et exécuté, sous le règne de son père, une expédition dans le Sous, dans le but de mettre aux fers un chef de bande, le Taleb Salah qui tenait alors Agadir (1), Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah avait appris à connaître les dangers qui menaçaient dans cette région lointaine la sécurité de l'Empire. Afin d'y mettre un terme, il eut l'idée de fermer la côte berbère du Sud au commerce européen et de fonder à Mogador, en un point qui resterait toujours sous la surveillance directe des

(1) Ez Zaiani, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

agents du Makhzen, un port et une ville moderne ouverts aux chrétiens (1765). La création de la ville nouvelle à laquelle on donna le nom de Souira, faisait d'ailleurs partie d'un plan commercial et fiscal plus vaste ; Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah espérait, en établissant dans toutes les villes de la côte des négociants étrangers, déterminer un important mouvement d'échanges grâce auquel il pourrait établir des taxes nouvelles et instaurer un monopole commercial au bénéfice du Trésor. Le vide des coffres du « Bit el Mal » donnait à ce projet un intérêt particulier (1).

Les espérances de Sidi Mohammed étaient vaines. Le rendement des taxes fut infime et les marchands chrétiens, sans cesse molestés par les amins des douanes, cessèrent rapidement de contribuer au trafic de Souira. Mais un autre résultat fut atteint sans difficulté : désormais, tout le commerce de l'Extrême-Sud se concentra dans le nouveau port ; les caravanes remontèrent en suivant la côte des Haha jusqu'à Mogador ; la présence d'une importante colonie juive en relations avec tous les mellahs du Sous et de l'Anti-Atlas, permit de fixer définitivement la situation commerciale nouvelle de la ville du Makhzen.

Le coup fut à la longue durement ressenti par les populations de l'Anti-Atlas ; les objets manufacturés, de plus en plus nécessaires à la vie, arrivaient dans l'Extrême-Sud à des prix élevés, en raison des intermédiaires et du long transport ; la vente des produits locaux devenait plus difficile ; l'importation des armes et de la poudre se trouvait entravée. La disparition du commerce maritime sur la côte, contre laquelle les Igezzoulen et les Arabes du Noun essayèrent vainement de réagir au XIXe siècle, eut ainsi pour effet de créer une dépression économique sensible, d'autant plus dangereuse pour le pays qu'il était moins riche et moins fertile. Plus que jamais, l'exode temporaire devint nécessaire pour assurer la subsistance d'une population nombreuse, fixée sur un sol ingrat, dans un climat déjà soumis aux influences du désert. Le Sous s'affaiblit et ses révoltes devinrent, comme le Makhzen l'avait désiré, moins dangereuses pour l'Empire.

Le Sultan avait cherché tout d'abord à utiliser, comme ses prédécesseurs, l'armée noire, constituée par Moulay Isma'il ; mais une sanglante révolte, en 1776, le détourna de cette pratique. Il chercha

(1) Chénier, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 466 et sqq.

dès lors à tirer parti, pour soutenir ses gouverneurs de provinces, de quelques tribus choisies à la fois parmi les plus guerrières et les plus faciles à maintenir dans l'obéissance. En les armant, il pouvait ainsi plus aisément percevoir des impôts chez les tribus du voisinage, d'abord moins facile ; grâce à elles, il dirigeait contre les rebelles des expéditions de pillage dont la menace suffisait habituellement à vaincre les premières résistances. La plus importante de ces « tribus makhzen » dont le commandement fut organisé avec soin, fut celle des Haha. C'est à cette époque que deux familles destinées à jouer un rôle important au XIXe siècle au service de l'Empire, furent choisies par le Sultan pour donner des chefs aux tribus des Haha et des Mtougga : les Aït Bihi et les Aït Mouna.

Malgré l'attention donnée par Sidi Mohammed aux problèmes du Sud, la situation politique du Makhzen dans le Sous, restait précaire à la fin de son règne. Peu à peu, les chefs du Tazerwalt reprenaient leur autorité sur les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas ; l'état maraboutique de Sidi 'Ali se reconstituait, soutenu par les Igezoulen. Sur le Noûn, à Goulimin, se trouvait un autre rebelle, 'Ali el Hajj, qui commandait aux Tekna. Dans les régions soumises, le prix de la vie s'élevait sans cesse, les impôts étaient plus lourds, et, malgré les efforts du souverain, on observait « une augmentation de l'oppression et de la misère des peuples ». Pour l'avenir surtout, les dangers d'agitation des règnes précédents subsistaient ; en particulier, le nombre des fils du Sultan permettait à Chénier d'annoncer à coup sûr, qu'à sa mort, les prétendants apparaîtraient de tous côtés.

Il est un point sur lequel cependant ne s'endormait pas la vigilance du gouvernement chérifien : les marabouts restaient l'objet d'une active surveillance. En 1772, trois mille visionnaires arrivés du Sud à Marrakech armés de bâtons, sous la conduite d'un marabout, annonçant la fin du règne, avaient été vigoureusement dispersés ; et l'on rapportait que Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Abdallah avait tué, de sa propre main, « plusieurs Maures qui étaient en vénération de sainteté ou des marabouts qu'il croyait être des agents turcs » (1). Il est certain que ces mesures rigoureuses eurent pour effet de rejeter aux confins déshérités de l'Empire, dans la moyenne vallée du Dra et sur le versant sud de l'Anti-Atlas, les

(1) Chénier, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 464-484.

chefs des zaouias dont l'activité restait suspecte, dangereuse même, pendant les périodes d'anarchie. L'attention donnée à ce péril devait donner des résultats : au cours du XIXe siècle, le pouvoir temporel devint sans rival et les zaouias elles-mêmes payèrent souvent la dîme aux caïds du Makhzen.

XIII. *Faiblesse du gouvernement chérifien sous le règne de Moulay Sliman.* — Dès la mort du sultan Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah, en 1790, l'anarchie éclata comme on l'avait prévu. Moulay Yazid ayant été proclamé dans le Gharb, Marrakech et le Haouz reconnurent son frère Moulay Hicham qui s'appuyait sur les puissants caïds de Safi et des Doukkala. La mort de Moulay Yazid, en 1792, eut pour conséquence l'avènement de Moulay Sliman à Fez, cependant que d'autres frères du Sultan, Moulay el Hassan, Moulay 'Abd er Rahman s'agitaient séparément. Ce fut cependant Moulay Sliman qui l'emporta et vint à Marrakech en 1795. Par une chance heureuse, la grande épidémie de choléra survint et exerça ses ravages dans les provinces du Sud où se trouvaient les prétendants. « C'est par elle que Dieu délivra le Sultan des embarras que lui suscitaient ses frères »(1) ; ils moururent tous trois atteints par le fléau. Moulay Sliman connut dès lors dans son empire quelques années de paix. Mais la fin de son règne fut assombrie par les révoltes berbères du Moyen-Atlas sous la conduite du marabout Amhaouch. Des défaites successives, et même la capture du Sultan par les tribus voisines, portèrent une grave atteinte au prestige chérifien. Survint, enfin, une année avant la mort du sultan Moulay Sliman, l'affaire de la zaouia Cherradi, près de Marrakech, au cours de laquelle il fut encore fait prisonnier par les rebelles.

Sous l'autorité de ce faible Sultan, le Sud-Marocain fut cependant plus soumis qu'il ne l'avait été sous les plus grands souverains. Après une longue période de guerres intestines, au moment de la « siba des sept années » qui coïncida avec la lutte de prétendants, de 1790 à 1797, un chef militaire énergique, Mohammed ben Yahya Aghennaj, originaire du nord des Haha, entreprit au nom du Sultan d'heureuses campagnes dans la plaine du Sous et dans Chtouka : il soumit et organisa pendant quelques années les Idaou Tanan, si rebelles à l'autorité du Makhzen, chassa d'Illigh le marabout Sidi

(1) Ez Zaiani, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

Hachem qui avait réussi à redonner au Tazerwalt une partie de sa gloire; Aghennaj parvint même au Noun et traversa la montagne de l'Anti-Atlas où son souvenir s'est conservé jusqu'à présent; sur son passage, les « agadirs » des Berbères étaient jetés bas, tandis que dans la plaine, à Biougra et à Tiznit, il élevait des forteresses pour abriter des garnisons (1).

Mais cette œuvre de vingt années fut éphémère; dès qu'Aghennaj fut mort, Sidi Hachem revint dans sa forteresse et reprit ses tribus de montagne, et c'est à ce moment que se développa sous sa protection la grande foire maraboutique du Tazerwalt, le plus important marché du Sud au dernier siècle. Dans les plaines soumises, d'autre part, l'attachement des tribus au Makhzen restait incertain. On peut en juger par les instructions données par Moulay 'Abd er-Rahman à son vizir, l'historien Akensous, envoyé en mission à Taroudant. Lorsque survint la malheureuse affaire de la zaouia Cherradi, ce vizir qui se trouvait en mission à Taroudant pour rétablir l'ordre, reçut de son maître des instructions qui suffisent à montrer la faiblesse du pouvoir central : « Laisse toutes choses en l'état, lui disait-on, ramène avec toi les chikhs du Sous à qui tu promettras notre confiance et notre appui dans tout ce qu'ils te demanderont (2) ».

XIV. *Insuffisance des sources historiques au XIXe siècle. Nécessité d'enquêtes directes.* — A partir du règne du sultan Moulay 'Abd er Rahman (1822-1859), les documents qui pourraient nous permettre de connaître l'histoire du Sud-Marocain se font de moins en moins nombreux. D'une part, les écrits des historiens, Akensous et Ahmed en Nasiri, nous montrent sous des aspects de plus en plus convenus la vie de l'Empire chérifien; d'autre part, il semble que, dans l'isolement dans lequel il s'enferme, le Maghreb extrême voit diminuer l'activité de la dynastie et des tribus et que les grands faits susceptibles de frapper les esprits et de se fixer dans les mémoires se fassent plus rares. A défaut de textes assez complets par lesquels nous puissions connaître ce que fut depuis un siècle la politique du Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, la tradition et la mémoire des vieillards les plus âgés peuvent d'ailleurs suffire à

(1) Justinard, *Notes sur l'histoire du Sous*, *Hespéris*, 1925, p. 271; 1926, p. 251 et suiv.
(2) *Istiqsa*, *Archives Marocaines*, t. X, p. 91.

nous permettre d'en retrouver les grandes lignes et de comprendre la réaction qu'elle suscita chez les tribus.

En réunissant, au prix de patientes enquêtes, les mille petits événements qui ont agité les cantons berbères de la montagne, on peut, en effet, arriver à une connaissance de la vie profonde de cette province assez précise pour bien distinguer la nature et l'importance des grandes forces politiques qui s'opposent entre elles, comme nous le verrons, selon des lois constantes. L'histoire locale, ainsi reconstituée, est la trame de l'étude que nous allons tenter de faire des institutions des républiques berbères, de la naissance et du développement du pouvoir personnel, de la soumission des tribus au Makhzen; mais le tissu de cette histoire est si uniforme, les fils qui s'y croisent sont si nombreux et si serrés qu'il serait peut-être difficile d'apercevoir du premier coup, si nous cherchions à en faire ici un exposé trop complet, les règles simples selon lesquelles s'enchaînent les faits. Nous nous bornerons donc, pour l'instant, à choisir dans les nombreuses indications recueillies sur place par nos soins les événements qui font connaître, sous le règne des derniers sultans filaliens, la politique du Makhzen. Au cours de notre étude des institutions, nous pourrons sans compter au contraire dans l'histoire des tribus depuis un siècle, en nous attachant à trouver, parmi tant de luttes obscures, les exemples qui font comprendre comment s'est réalisée la transformation de la province du Sous.

XV. *La politique du Makhzen sous Moulay 'Abd er-Rahman.* — Sous le règne de Moulay 'Abd er-Rahman, la politique makhzenienne s'appuie, comme pendant la période précédente, sur les forces des tribus arabes ou berbères fidèles, chargées de maintenir dans l'obéissance les plus rebelles. Dans l'ensemble, l'Atlas des Masmouda reste peu modifié par l'action du Makhzen, mais par le col de Telwet et le Tizi n Fedghat à l'Est, d'une part ; par la route côtière des Haha à l'Ouest, d'autre part, des chefs au service du Sultan s'efforcent d'atteindre à grande distance les tribus du Dadès, du Dra, de la Feija ou celles de l'Anti-Atlas occidental. Enfin, au cœur de la plaine du Sous, Taroudant forme un autre centre qui dirige son activité vers l'Anti-Atlas central.

Dans la région côtière, le champion du Makhzen est El Hajj

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

'Abdallah Ou Bihi, caïd des Haha ; l'ennemi du Sultan est le marabout du Tazerwalt.

El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi apparaît vers 1844 et reprend dans le Sud du Maroc la tradition créée par Aghennaj, cinquante années auparavant. Après avoir réduit à l'impuissance les petits caïds des Mtougga, ses rivaux, qu'il expulse de leur maison de Bouabsud, il soumet entièrement le pays des Haha, dont les tribus du Sud ont repris leur indépendance ; il conquiert un instant les Ida Ou Tanan et s'établit, en qualité de khalifat du Sultan, à Taroudant et chez les Chtouka de la plaine ; il attire à lui les petits chefs des fractions du Dir et avec l'aide d'un chérif des Haha, Moulay Idris, auquel il a confié le commandement de Taroudant, il maintient toutes les tribus soumises dans l'obéissance.

Au delà du territoire des Chtouka, sur la rive gauche de l'oued Oulghas, commence le domaine du chérif du Tazerwalt. A Iligh, Sidi Hachem a repris, depuis la mort de son ennemi Aghennaj, toute son autorité sur les Igezzoulen. Assassiné vers 1830, en plein moussem, le chef du Tazerwalt a comme successeur ses fils Sidi 'Ali, puis Sidi Hosein. Ce dernier gouverne bientôt son petit État avec un prestige égal à celui de son père (1).

Au sud de l'Anti-Atlas, au pays des arabes Tekna, restes affaiblis des tribus Ma'qil, mêlées à des berbères et à des haratin, l'antique prépondérance de la ville de Tagaost sur le Noun a été remplacée par celle du qsar de Goulimin. Une famille de riches marchands, les Oulad Beirouk y exerce le commandement et monopolise le commerce saharien vers Tombouctou. Nous voyons alors le Chérif du Tazerwalt et les Beirouk s'unir pour chercher à obtenir des nations chrétiennes, l'Angleterre et la France surtout, la création d'un comptoir commercial sur leur côte, afin de pouvoir ainsi échapper au contrôle économique que le Makhzen chérifien a gardé sur ces régions lointaines depuis la création du port de Mogador (2). Les difficultés insurmontables de la barre de l' Océan font abandonner le projet du port d'Assaka; plus tard, les progrès de la pénétration française au Sénégal et au Soudan amèneront la disparition de la route des caravanes de Goulimin à Tombouctou et la ruine commerciale des marchés du Tazerwalt et du Noun.

(1) Justinard, *op. cit.*, *Hespéris*, 1926, p. 351 et sqq.
(2) Marty, *Les Tribus de la Haute-Mauritanie*. Paris, 1915, p. 72 et sqq

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

XVI. *Le règne de Sidi Mohammed.* — La mort du Sultan Moulay 'Abd er-Rahman, les embarras de la guerre de Tetouan et la famine déterminent dans l'Atlas occidental et dans la région du Haut-Dra une « siba » de cinq années qui prend fin seulement au moment où le sultan Sidi Mohammed confie à son fils Sidi el Hasan le gouvernement du Sud-Marocain (1864).

Sidi el Hasan exécute lui-même une tournée de police dans le Sous et se heurte, sur l'oued Oulghas, aux Igezzoulen soumis à Sidi Hosein du Tazerwalt ; incapable de les vaincre, il se retire vers le Nord et conçoit pour l'avenir le projet d'une expédition destinée à rétablir, dans l'Anti-Atlas et le Noun, le prestige du Makhzen.

A la même époque, des troubles survenus dans la région du Sirwa, obligent le Sultan à envoyer par le col de Telwet, jusque dans la Feija, une harka confiée au caïd de Demnat ; peu après, le commandement de ces régions lointaines est réorganisé et nous voyons, dès lors, par intervalles, apparaître dans le gouvernement des tribus du versant sud de l'Atlas central le petit caïd des Glawa, Mohammed Ibibat el Mezwari, dont les fils joueront plus tard un rôle important dans la conquête du Sous par le Makhzen.

L'agitation créée dans l'Atlas occidental par la révolte des tribus arabes de la plaine de Marrakech pendant les premières années du règne de Sidi Mohammed et les combats qu'elles livrent aux tribus berbères du Dir, exigent que le Makhzen prête une attention soutenue aux intrigues des petits chefs du pays des Masmouda. Le pacha de la kasba, Brahim el Grawi, reçoit alors le commandement de toute la région comprise entre Imi n Tanout et la vallée des Ourika ; il multiplie en montagne les commandements et voit apparaître dans l'Asif Nefis, sans en concevoir de crainte pour l'avenir, l'amghar de Tagontaft Mohammed n Ait Lhasen révolté contre son maître, le caïd des Ouzgita du Jebel Kik.

Enfin, en 1868, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, grand caïd des Haha et du Sous, accusé par le Makhzen d'entretenir avec le marabout du Tazerwalt des relations dangereuses pour la sécurité de l'Empire, périt empoisonné par ordre du Sultan ; son commandement en tribu est morcelé, tandis que la faveur chérifienne revient quelque temps aux chefs des Mtougga. Pendant de longues années, le pays des Haha reste livré à l'anarchie et aux querelles intérieures, attisées par les caïds de Bouaboud.

XVII. *Moulay el Hasan et les expéditions du Sous.* — Sidi Mohammed meurt accidentellement, noyé dans le bassin de l'Aguedal de Marrakech au moment où son fils, Sidi el Hasan, s'exerce à rétablir l'ordre chez les Haha (1874). Proclamé sultan à Bou Riqi par les chikhs des Haha eux-mêmes, auxquels il confère en retour de leur loyalisme le titre de caïd, Moulay el Hasan va, dès lors, s'attacher pendant les vingt années d'un règne difficile, à lutter contre l'anarchie et le désordre intérieur, dans un pays menacé par les ambitions sans cesse plus apparentes des nations européennes.

En même temps qu'il cherche à fortifier la puissance du Makhzen en dotant ses mehallas de canons et de fusils modernes, Moulay el Hasan tente de rendre l'exercice de son autorité plus facile en fractionnant les grands commandements et en multipliant le nombre des petits caïds. L'inconvénient de ce système est d'ailleurs d'augmenter en même temps les abus et de rendre plus fréquentes les rivalités entre ces innombrables chefs ; mais, le plus souvent, le prestige personnel du souverain suffit à maintenir le pays dans l'ordre et à éviter complètement les rébellions.

Dès le début de son règne, Moulay el Hasan se trouva dans l'obligation d'intervenir pour mettre un terme à la lutte de l'amghar Mohammed n Ait Lahsen de Tagontaft, sur le Haut-Nefis, et du caïd des Ouzgita du Jebel Kik, qui se prolongeait depuis près de vingt ans. Une grande harka du Makhzen, envoyée contre l'amghar dans la montagne, en 1875, après la mort du pacha de la kasba de Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, avait été vaincue et, malgré son succès, le chef du Nefis offrait de se soumettre au Sultan. Moulay el Hasan reconnut son pouvoir et lui donna le titre de caïd. En créant ainsi un nouveau commandement de faible étendue dans l'Atlas, le Sultan restait fidèle à son principe d'augmenter le nombre des chefs au service du Makhzen.

L'attention du souverain se portait d'ailleurs de préférence sur l'Anti-Atlas à la limite extrême de l'Empire. Les puissances chrétiennes, qui savaient la faiblesse de l'autorité chérifienne aux confins atlantiques du Dra, avaient l'ambition de s'établir sur la côte du Noun ou de Mauritanie en y fondant des comptoirs commerciaux. L'Espagne, surtout, cherchait à occuper un point de la côte des Sbouya, Ifni, qu'une mission de reconnaissance avait

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

identifié arbitrairement avec Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, où les habitants des Canaries avaient possédé, quatre siècles auparavant, un établissement éphémère ; elle pressait le gouvernement chérifien d'exécuter la clause du traité conclu à Tétouan en 1860, qui lui accordait une pêcherie dans cette région. En même temps, un commerçant anglais, Mackensie, avait fondé à Tarfaya, près du Cap Juby, un comptoir prospère sans aucune autorisation, cependant qu'un autre établissement naissait à Areksis chez les Aït Ba'Amran, sur l'initiative d'un autre Anglais, James Curtis. Ce dernier avait même passé une convention avec les chikhs des Aït Ba'Amran et le chérif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem du Tazerwalt en vue de l'établissement d'un port.

Les réclamations adressées par le Sultan à la Grande-Bretagne étant restées sans effet, on pouvait craindre que l'Extrême-Sud n'en vînt à échapper définitivement à l'autorité du Makhzen ou même à tomber au pouvoir des chrétiens. Moulay el Hasan décida à la fois d'y rétablir le pouvoir chérifien et de détruire la puissance politique des chefs religieux du Tazerwalt (1).

Une armée de quarante mille hommes fut réunie dans la plaine du Sous et à Tiznit ; mais les difficultés considérables de ravitaillement dans un pays aux ressources limitées ne permirent pas de pousser jusqu'à Goulimin. Toutefois, les notables de toutes les tribus, convoqués à Tiznit, vinrent se présenter et reçurent mission de s'opposer aux agissements des chrétiens, en reconnaissant, nominalement au moins, le pouvoir chérifien. Seul, Sidi Hosein s'abstint de venir et resta enfermé dans sa forteresse d'Illigh, construite sur un sommet inaccessible et il se borna à envoyer son fils pour le représenter. D'ailleurs, l'importance des forces réunies par Moulay el Hasan ne permettait pas, en raison des difficultés de ravitaillement, un long séjour dans le pays. Avant de quitter le Sous, le Sultan donna l'ordre de faire reconstruire la kasba de Tiznit en un point jadis occupé par le Makhzen, puis fit route vers le Nord avec son armée. Le retour par la route des Haha, dans un pays sans eau, en plein été, fut très difficile.

Les résultats de cette première campagne furent insignifiants. A peine le Sultan avait-il quitté le pays que les Howara et les

(1) Cf. surtout Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris, 1885, passim ; Geranton, *Expédition de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous* (*Revue de l'Afrique française*. Renseignements coloniaux, septembre 1924).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Chtouka jetèrent à nouveau le trouble dans la plaine du Sous. Les chrétiens étaient restés sur place : Mackensie construisait même à Tarfaya sur un îlot une maison fortifiée et Curtis continuait ses intrigues chez les Sbouya.

Moulay el Hasan décida d'exécuter, en 1886, une nouvelle expédition. Cette fois, il réussit avec habileté à se concilier Sidi Hosein, qui devint peu à peu son conseiller et lui donna son appui moral nécessaire pour obtenir le concours sans réserve des Igezzoulen. L'armée chérifienne parvint alors sans difficulté à Tiznit et à Goulimin, tandis que Mackensie abandonnait Tarfaya. Le titre de caïd fut donné dans toute la plaine du Sous à de nombreux chikhs et Sidi Hosein, qui s'était rallié sans réserve à la politique du Sultan avant sa mort, eut pour successeur son fils, Sidi Mohammed, nommé caïd du Tazerwalt. Cette soumission du chérif du Tazerwalt marqua d'ailleurs la fin de sa puissance politique et la disparition de son prestige auprès des Berbères.

Seuls dans tout le Sous, les Ida Ou Tanan refusèrent de rendre hommage au souverain. La mehalla chérifienne, fractionnée en plusieurs colonnes, renforcée par les diverses tribus du Sous, pénétra alors dans le territoire de ces montagnards indépendants. Pendant quelques semaines, aussi longtemps que séjournèrent dans le pays les contingents du Makhzen, la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan reconnut l'autorité du Sultan. Mais, sitôt après leur départ, les rebelles mirent à mort le caïd et brûlèrent sa maison.

En revenant d'une expédition au Tafilelt en 1891, le vieux souverain fut amené à passer par le col de Telwet où toute l'armée souffrit du froid. L'accueil habile qui fut ménagé à Moulay el Hasan par le caïd des Glawa, Si el Madani, fils de Mohammed Ibibat, fit la fortune des chefs de Telwet. Ils reçurent le titre de khalifats pour le Tafilelt et surtout obtinrent en cadeau des fusils et un canon dont ils devaient, par la suite, tirer le parti le plus heureux dans la guerre des tribus.

XVIII. *Le développement de l'anarchie. Le Protectorat.* — La mort surprit Moulay el Hasan au milieu de sa mehalla dans le Gharb. Cet événement donna le signal de la révolte des populations du Sud du Maroc contre leurs caïds et le Makhzen. Cependant que la plupart des petits chefs s'enfermaient alors dans leurs kasbas ou cherchaient refuge auprès des tombeaux des marabouts, trois caïds

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

se montrèrent alors seuls capables de rétablir l'ordre dans leur commandement : 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi, successeur des rivaux d'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, et dont la maison de Bouaboud, solidement construite, résista plusieurs fois à l'assaut des tribus ; Si Tayeb Gontafi, fils de l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft, à qui Moulay el Hasan avait reconnu le titre de caïd en 1875; Si el Madani Glawi de Telwet, l'heureux possesseur du canon Krupp offert par le Sultan.

Dans la vallée du Sous, après trois ans d'anarchie, l'ordre fut rétabli, en 1897, par une harka du Makhzen et le commandement de Tiznit et des Chtouka confié par le grand vizir Ba Hmad à un caïd des Haha, Sa'id Gellouli. Ce dernier eut, en 1901, pour successeur un autre chef du même pays, Ahmed Anflous Neknafi. Enfin, Taroudant reçut un gouverneur choisi parmi les esclaves du Makhzen, le pacha Hoummo.

A la mort du vizir Ba Hmad, en 1900, les trois grands chefs de l'Atlas s'emparèrent des tribus de la plaine de Marrakech et du Haut-Sous, cependant que le règne du faible 'Abd el 'Aziz s'écoulait à Fez au milieu des intrigues des puissances chrétiennes, et que la menace du Rogui Bou Hamara contre les villes du Nord rendait à tous manifeste l'impuissance du Makhzen.

Bientôt les événements se précipitèrent, annonçant la crise fatale au cours de laquelle l'Empire chérifien allait perdre son indépendance. En 1907, lors du débarquement des troupes françaises à Casablanca, le Sud du Maroc se séparait des provinces du Nord : Marrakech acclamait comme sultan Moulay 'Abd el Hafid, appuyé par le grand caïd des Glawa ; en même temps, Ma el 'Ainin, un théologien fanatique de la Mauritanie, prêchait la guerre sainte à Tiznit et entouré de ses compagnons sahariens organisait à son profit la siba dans le Sous. La défaite de Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, vaincu par son frère Moulay 'Abd el Hafid, eut pour conséquence l'établissement à Fez du nouveau souverain et de son grand vizir Si el Madani Glawi ; mais ces changements n'arrêtèrent ni la conquête par la France du pays des Chawiya, ni le développement de l'anarchie dans le nord du Maroc. Le massacre des troupes françaises à Fez fut suivi de la destitution du grand vizir El Madani, de l'établissement du Protectorat et de l'abdication de Moulay 'Abd el Hafid.

Pendant ces événements, le fils de Ma el 'Ainin, El Hiba, se faisait proclamer Sultan de la guerre sainte à Tiznit chez les Chtouka

et les Aït Ba 'Amran, en 1909. Franchissant l'Atlas, en 1912, avec les contingents de toutes les tribus, il se heurtait à Sidi Bou Otman, dans la plaine de Marrakech, à la colonne Mangin. Mis en déroute, le prétendant s'enfuit dans le Sud, cependant que les caïds de l'Atlas faisaient leur soumission à la France.

Peu à peu, chassé des plaines du Sous vers l'Anti-Atlas, El Hiba se montra incapable, au cours des années suivantes, malgré l'appui de l'Allemagne pendant la guerre, de s'opposer à la pacification du Sud-Marocain, réalisée grâce aux efforts d'une patiente politique. Dans le Haut-Atlas, la plaine du Sous, sur les confins du Dra et du Tafilelt, le général Lyautey parvint à faire régner la paix en utilisant toutes les ressources que pouvait offrir la tradition du Makhzen pour achever la soumission des tribus. En même temps, se trouva consolidée, à Marrakech et dans la montagne, l'autorité des grands chefs berbères, devenus les auxiliaires de notre action militaire dans le Sud, dirigée par le général de Lamothe. Cette circonstance devait, pendant dix années, soustraire le Sous à la transformation administrative qui allait altérer si profondément la vieille organisation de l'Empire.

Ainsi la pénétration européenne surprenait le Maroc pendant les premières années du xxe siècle, au cours d'une crise d'anarchie, qui ne différait pas essentiellement par sa nature des périodes de désordre qu'avait connues le Maghreb extrême au cours de son histoire.

Pendant toute la durée de la dynastie filalienne, depuis plus de deux siècles, on avait vu se succéder, dans une alternance presque régulière, les grands souverains capables de faire régner dans les provinces un ordre relatif, Moulay Isma'il, Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah, Moulay 'Abd er-Rahman, Moulay El Hasan, tandis que les successeurs de ces sultans énergiques, Moulay 'Abdallah, Moulay Sliman, Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, s'étaient montrés au contraire souvent incapables d'arrêter le développement spontané des « siba », toujours prêtes à éclater à l'occasion des crises dynastiques.

Le Maroc, tel que nous pouvons l'observer pendant les premières années de notre occupation, était donc demeuré semblable à lui-même, et c'est précisément l'incapacité de son gouvernement à se transformer qui causait sa perte, au moment où l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens imposait aux petits états de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

l'Afrique et de l'Orient le devoir d'être forts, sous peine de disparaître.

Cependant malgré cette immobilité de l'empire du Maghreb, la dynastie filalienne avait, dans le Sud du Maroc, affirmé sa domination au cours de deux siècles d'efforts avec plus de résolution que celle qui l'avait précédée : elle avait fait disparaître du Sous le maraboutisme et les confréries et rejeté sur les sommets de l'Atlas ou à la limite du désert les influences religieuses secrètement hostiles en pays berbère aux progrès de la puissance du Sultan ; désormais, il ne restait plus en présence que deux forces opposées : celle du Makhzen et celle des tribus ; deux conceptions inconciliables se heurtaient : le rêve d'un Empire musulman et celui de l'anarchie berbère. Ce sont elles que nous allons voir s'affronter maintenant en étudiant ici les phases de la transformation politique de la province du Sous, et c'est leur duel qui, sous des formes variées, remplira la vie des trois générations dont nous allons étudier l'histoire agitée.

[P. 117]

LIVRE II

Les républiques berbères

[P. 118 is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P.119]

CHAPITRE PREMIER

Les types d'organisation politique

I. Les grands commandements du Sud du Maroc. — II. L'organisation intérieure des grands commandements. — III. Les îlots indépendants en haute montagne. — IV. La vie des républiques berbères. — V. Le Haut-Atlas avant le développement du pouvoir des grands chefs. — VI. L'Anti-Atlas dissident. — VII. Les phases successives de la transformation du Sud du Maroc. — VIII. La transformation politique du Sous image de celle de la Berbérie.

Nul spectacle n'est plus propre à diriger l'attention du voyageur vers les régions peu connues de la province du Sous que l'aspect offert par Marrakech à ses visiteurs au cours des premières heures de leur séjour. Par un étrange paradoxe, cette grande cité, la plus peuplée des villes indigènes de l'Afrique du Nord, dont la vie bruissante et familière se laisse si aisément pénétrer, nous semble isolée derrière l'immense enceinte de remparts qui la protège dans la lumineuse solitude de la grande plaine du Sud; cependant son existence même ne saurait s'expliquer sans l'apport d'activité qui lui arrive sans cesse des montagnes et des vallées du Deren sous la forme d'humbles caravanes chargées des produits précieux des oasis sahariennes.

Marrakech, la vieille forteresse du Makhzen Almoravide, n'est plus de nos jours qu'un immense marché. En vain, les grandes dynasties almohade et saadienne y ont-elles édifié les monuments les plus parfaits et les plus expressifs de la pensée de leur siècle. Il semble que la vie citadine n'ait pas réussi parfaitement à s'acclimater, au milieu des oliviers et des palmiers, sur ce sol fertilisé par les eaux descendues de l'Atlas berbère. La capitale du Sud, tout en vivant des provinces qui l'entourent, conserve un caractère artificiel. Vous n'y apercevez, en effet, autour des mosquées et des ruines des palais, qu'un amas sans ordre de pauvres demeures où

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

se pressent les ouvriers des jardins, les artisans, les prostituées, et surtout les gens de tribu, pour quelques jours retenus à la ville par leurs affaires ou leurs plaisirs. A peine y trouve-t-on, en outre, quelques fonctionnaires du Makhzen, étrangers pour la plupart, mais rien de cette bourgeoisie lettrée de Tlemcen, de Fez, de Rabat et de Salé, qui fait des villes du Nord de véritables cités dont l'existence intellectuelle, religieuse et matérielle, garde encore quelques-unes des traditions de l'Andalousie.

D'ailleurs, depuis trente ans, l'affaiblissement de l'autorité du Sultan à Marrakech a rendu plus apparente encore la prédominance des apports ruraux sur les éléments urbains. Les pachas de la ville et de la kasba, venus jadis de la cour de Fez avec leur entourage de cadis et secrétaires, leur escorte de noirs et de cavaliers du gich, ont disparu de nos jours pour faire place à des chefs berbères. Au milieu de la foule des artisans et des paysans de tribus, passent les caïds et les chikhs de l'Atlas, dont l'allure aisée montre assez bien qu'ils se trouvent à présent chez eux, dans une cité où ils possèdent leurs maisons et leurs jardins. De puissantes automobiles transportent les familiers et les esclaves des grands chefs du Sud, cependant que dans son palais, le pacha El Hajj Thami Glawi, originaire des sommets de la montagne, maître absolu de la capitale et de ses environs, offre à ses visiteurs européens une fastueuse hospitalité.

Ce simple tableau, qu'une promenade de quelques heures nous permet d'esquisser, nous fait deviner les progrès qu'a pu faire en quelques années l'influence grandissante du pays berbère dans cette capitale du Makhzen. Non seulement l'activité économique de Marrakech est liée à celle du vaste territoire montagneux dont la barrière de l'Atlas marque la limite au Sud de la grande plaine, mais sa vie politique elle-même se trouve aujourd'hui dominée par celle des tribus masmoudiennes que les dynasties mérinide et saadienne ont si longtemps combattues et redoutées.

Si nous voulons comprendre la vie sociale et politique du Sud du Maroc, ce n'est donc pas dans la capitale qu'il faut chercher à en découvrir les lois, mais bien plutôt dans le domaine mystérieux des grands chefs, dont les intrigues et les rivalités se poursuivent encore de nos jours, à peine masquées par la façade encore fragile des nouvelles institutions improvisées ici par le Protectorat.

I. *Les grands commandements du Sud du Maroc.* — Dans cette

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

région des commandements du Sud, demeurée si longtemps fermée à la pénétration européenne, imaginons que nous partions à petites étapes, à travers les pistes de la montagne du Haut-Atlas pour gagner la vallée de l'oued Sous et les premières pentes de l'Anti-Atlas. Des cavaliers du Makhzen, dévoués à leurs maîtres, nous accompagnent ; laissons-les nous décrire la situation du pays ainsi qu'elle apparaît à l'esprit des grands chefs et telle surtout qu'ils jugent bon de la montrer à des étrangers (1).

Trois grands seigneurs, nous diront-ils, commandent à la montagne des Masmouda.

A l'Est, au cœur de l'Atlas, ce sont tout d'abord les chefs de Telwet qui étendent leur autorité sur des populations innombrables, en s'appuyant sur la petite tribu des Glawa (2). A la possession des deux versants de la grande chaîne, ils joignent celle des districts de Skoura, du Dadès et du Todgha, et poussent ainsi à l'Est une pointe menaçante vers le Tafilelt. Vers le Sahara, tout le cours supérieur de l'oued Dra, la plus riche vallée du Sud, au dire de Foucauld, leur est soumise et leurs conseils sont acceptés jusqu'à Tamegrout où siègent les grands marabouts Nasirya, chefs d'une des confréries les plus actives du Maroc et dont le prestige religieux s'exerce jusque dans les cantons les plus reculés. Ils arrivent vers le Sud aux limites du désert, presque au voisinage de Tisint. Au Sud-Ouest de leur commandement, dans la direction de l'Anti-Atlas, les Zenaga, les Souktana, la grande confédération des Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa, subissent passivement leur domination. Si El Madani Glawi, le chef incontesté de ce véritable royaume, a même été le grand vizir du Sultan Moulay 'Abd el Hafid, aux dernières heures de l'anarchie marocaine. Un instant en disgrâce, il a cependant repris sa place et a réussi à étendre encore sa puissance après la soumission des chefs du Sud à la France. La mort de ce grand politique, survenue en 1919, n'a pas amené la ruine de son œuvre ; son neveu, Si Hammo, a recueilli dans son héritage la plupart des tribus de la montagne ; son jeune

(1) Dans cette description du pays, nous nous reportons par la pensée à l'époque où les grands commandements n'ont pas encore subi de transformation, par suite du développement de notre action politique, c'est-à-dire avant 1924.

(2) Nous emploierons ici indifféremment pour désigner les tribus leurs noms arabes ou berbères. Dans la pratique courante, le nom arabe sert surtout lorsqu'on parle des relations de la tribu avec le Makhzen ; dans le pays même, on n'utilise que la forme berbère. Ainsi les Haha se désignent entre eux par le nom d'Ihahan, les Mtougga par Imtouggen, Glawa par Iglawa, Chtouka par Achtouken, Gedmiwa par Igedmiwon, etc.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

frère surtout, El Hajj Thami, pacha de Marrakech, a su par la suite, jouer dans la pacification du Maroc un rôle important. Ses succès militaires et politiques lui ont valu les distinctions les plus élevées. Par son habileté à se concilier l'appui des plus hautes autorités, en multipliant les réceptions fastueuses, le pacha s'est acquis la réputation d'un chef tout puissant et magnifique, et il apparaît volontiers aux étrangers comme le vice-roi du Sud du Maroc.

Dans la haute vallée du Nefis, demeure le vieux Si Tayeb Gontafi, célèbre déjà sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan par son courage, son ambition et ses immenses richesses. Bien que sa fortune politique n'ait pas été aussi brillante que celle des chefs de Telwet, de son burg moyennageux de Tagontaft, ou de sa pittoresque demeure de Talat n Yaqoub, il gouverne cinq grandes tribus de la montagne, au centre même de ce pays qui fut jadis le royaume des Almohades. Naguère, après la mort du vizir Ba Hmad, régent du jeune Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, le Gontafi a guerroyé dans la plaine du Sous et conquis une partie de l'Anti-Atlas. Rallié à la France, en 1912, il a commandé pendant quatre ans au nom du Sultan les marches de Tiznit, et tenu en échec les dernières tribus berbères insoumises de l'Extrême-Sud.

Plus à l'Ouest encore, nous trouvons, dans la kasba de Bouaboud, 'Abd el Malek Tiggi, le chef des Mtougga. Comme son rival du Nefis et son émule de Telwet, il commande aux deux versants de la grande chaîne, mais ses possessions s'étendent en outre, vers le Nord, sur plusieurs tribus arabes de l' « Azaghar » de Marrakech (1). Son influence s'exerce d'ailleurs bien au delà des limites de son fief. Grâce à son habileté, à sa connaissance profonde de toutes les intrigues, il se fait écouter de tous les petits chefs berbères indépendants dans la région des hauts sommets. Ses amitiés lui suffisent pour faire régner ainsi la sécurité sur les pistes du Makhzen dans l'Atlas. Enfin, par ses alliances avec les Arabes de la plaine du Nord, le vieux Mtouggi conserve de précieuses relations avec les autres tribus Ma'qil restées dans le Sous et le Sahara. Avisé, prudent, cauteleux même, maître dans l'art de l'intrigue, il est habile à jouer double jeu, mais ferme aussi lorsqu'il le faut,

(1) *Azaghar* a en berbère la signification de plaine, le plus souvent de grande plaine. Les petites plaines, surtout lorsqu'elles sont cultivées prennent souvent le nom de *Tagragra*.

impitoyable le plus souvent ; son nom est craint et respecté dans toutes les tribus de l'Atlas occidental.

Sur la rude côte de l'Océan, la vieille confédération des Haha, soumise au Makhzen depuis des siècles, étroitement contrôlée à présent par nos « bureaux », a connu jadis, elle aussi, l'organisation des grands commandements. Au moment de notre conquête, deux puissants seigneurs s'y disputaient le pouvoir avec acharnement : Mohammed Anflous gouvernait les tribus du Nord, et 'Abd er-Rahman Gellouli celles du Sud. Un instant ralliés à la France, ces deux chefs ennemis se sont réconciliés pour nous trahir; vaincus et mis en fuite par nos troupes, ils ont dû faire place à de petits caïds sans force véritable qui tiennent à présent toute leur autorité de l'investiture du Sultan.

Ces deux grands caïds des Haha, disparus au moment de notre arrivée dans le Sud-Marocain, s'étaient eux-mêmes partagé l'héritage politique du grand chef que fut El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi. Le moindre berger sait encore son nom et ses succès et les poètes n'ont pas cessé de chanter sa gloire. Originaire des Aït Zelten, 'Abdallah ou Bihi avait, nous l'avons dit, entraîné toutes ses tribus au nom du Makhzen à la conquête de l'Anti-Atlas (1). Sous son autorité, toute la confédération connut alors vingt années de prospérité et l'on vit alors venir, dans les kasbas de l'Azaghar des Aït Zelten et d'Amhach, tous les caïds et les chikhs des montagnes et des plaines du Sous apportant des présents au grand caïd victorieux. Perdu par les intrigues des chefs voisins de Bouaboud, El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi a disparu d'un seul coup, empoisonné par ordre du sultan Sidi Mohammed, en 1868, après avoir longtemps connu une fortune semblable à celle qu'ont de nos jours les caïds des Glawa.

Enfin, à Taroudant, ancienne capitale du Makhzen dans le Sous, dix fois ruinée et dix fois reconstruite, réside un puissant pacha arabe, maître des tribus établies par les Sultans autour de la ville. Haida ou Mwis, mort en 1917, au service du Makhzen, dans un combat au sud de Tiznit, avait longtemps contenu les tribus rebelles de l'Anti-Atlas, détruit leurs forteresses les plus rapprochées de la plaine et dispersé leurs turbulents conseils de notables. Les petits chefs berbères de la montagne lui rendaient hommage jusqu'au

(1) Cf. plus haut, p. 108 et 109.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

désert. Son fils, héritier d'un fief étendu, solidement établi sur les tribus de la vallée du Sous revendique volontiers le titre de khalifat du Sultan et cherche à diriger, comme le faisait son père, avec moins de succès il est vrai, la politique de l'Extrême-Sud.

Bien d'autres caïds nommés par le Sultan existent encore dans les tribus de l'Azaghar de Marrakech ou du Sous, mais leur influence personnelle est faible ; ils se rallient d'instinct ou par nécessité à l'un ou l'autre des maîtres de la montagne que l'on a appelés les « seigneurs de l'Atlas ». Partout, en effet, les trois grands caïds croisent leurs intrigues; ils cherchent, en imposant leur alliance aux petits chefs, à étendre vers le Sud leur puissance et à augmenter sans cesse le nombre de leurs sujets tributaires.

Seuls dans l'Anti-Atlas, les Igezzoulen insoumis, groupés dans la région de l'ancien royaume du Tazerwalt, où les fils de Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa ont jadis régné, concentrent encore leurs derniers efforts de résistance dans leurs montagnes infertiles. Près du désert, subsiste à Kerdous un fantôme de prétendant. Merebbi Rebbo ; c'est le frère d'El Hiba, sultan de la guerre sainte dans le Sud, et le fils de Ma el 'Aïnin, sorcier et théologien sorti du désert de Mauritanie il y a vingt ans pour aider le Sultan à chasser les chrétiens de l'Empire. Par sa présence, ce faux chérif donne à la révolte dans laquelle s'obstinent les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, l'excuse de la légalité. Son existence confirme ainsi, même pour la région dissidente, notre première impression d'un Maroc du Sud organisé d'une manière constante en grands commandements, selon des règles de division géographique à la fois simples et claires.

II. *L'organisation intérieure des grands commandements.* — Laissons-nous aller plus longtemps encore aux apparences, seules observables pour l'instant, afin de connaître, grâce à nos guides, les aspects extérieurs de cette organisation politique des grands caïds, qui semble si différente de celle des autres pays berbères de l'Afrique du Nord.

Bien que les grands chefs de l'Atlas soient soumis au Sultan et invoquent parfois son nom pour justifier leurs conquêtes, nous voyons, par la ferme domination qu'ils exercent sur les tribus de la montagne, que leur autorité personnelle est beaucoup plus forte que celle des éphémères caïds des plaines du Nord. Nous aurions pu être tenté de croire tout d'abord que ces chefs devaient être

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

limités dans l'exercice de leur commandement par les institutions locales, dont les tendances démocratiques sont si marquées en d'autres régions, comme le Rif, la Kabylie et l'Aurès; mais, au contraire, les maîtres des tribus nous semblent former ici une véritable classe aristocratique et féodale, établie au-dessus des populations qu'ils gouvernent. Lorsque ces caïds de la montagne rassemblent leurs guerriers, comme sous le règne de Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, pour vider entre eux leurs querelles, ils agitent tout le pays sans que personne puisse intervenir pour arrêter leurs discordes; si l'Empire s'affaiblit, on les voit descendre en plaine, se disputer les riches régions de l'Azaghar de Marrakech, rivaliser pour obtenir le gouvernement de la capitale du Sud et protéger le souverain. Lors même que les seigneurs de l'Atlas rentrent dans leurs hautes-vallées, ils demeurent redoutables, et nul ne connaît exactement la limite de leurs forces ; il semble que leur seule faiblesse soit la jalousie qui les divise et les oppose.

Ce qu'il nous est permis de connaître de la vie intérieure des grands commandements est d'ailleurs bien fait pour nous donner la plus haute idée de la puissance des caïds berbères. Au centre de leurs domaines, ils ont tout d'abord élevé d'imposantes forteresses qui recèlent des centaines d'épouses, de parents, de domestiques et d'esclaves ; dans les cours de ces kasbas, travaillent des artisans ; sur le seuil, des juifs vendent et prêtent à intérêt ; toute cette activité fait parfois de leurs demeures, comme Telwet et Bouaboud par exemple, de véritables petites villes au cœur des tribus. Dans l'enceinte des kasbas, se trouvent de vastes magasins où viennent s'accumuler les grains récoltés dans les meilleures terres de la vallée ; c'est là aussi que les sujets viennent verser les impôts en nature prélevés au moment de la moisson ; enfin, loin des regards indiscrets, dans des souterrains profonds, s'étendent de vastes prisons, où meurent lentement, dans la vermine, les bandits de grands chemins ainsi que les révoltés assez fous pour avoir tenté de lutter contre les seigneurs tout puissants de la montagne.

La plupart du temps, la kasba du chef berbère n'est pas seule à s'élever au-dessus des humbles maisons de ses sujets. D'autres demeures, à peine moins vastes et moins luxueuses, défendues aussi par des remparts et ornées de tours, apparaissent dans le voisinage ; ce sont les résidences des parents du caïd. Ainsi voyons-nous

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

que cette domination est exercée sur le pays non par un chef, mais par une famille tout entière.

Sur les grandes voies d'accès de la montagne, d'autres forteresses se dressent encore, souvent moins importantes il est vrai. Leur rôle est de garder les passages les plus fréquentés. Telles sont les kasbas d'Agergour et de Tagadirt n Bour sur le Nefis, des Aït Oughir et de Tazert sur les chemins qui mènent à Telwet. Dans les tribus plus éloignées du centre de commandement, les « khalifats » du maître habitent aussi derrière de solides remparts, et certaines de ces kasbas semblent par leur luxe et leurs orgueilleuses dimensions exprimer une volonté de puissance et de domination. A ce dernier type appartiennent au Nord de l'Atlas la forteresse d'Amismiz des Gedmiwa et des Aït 'Addi à Imi n Tanout; sur le versant Sud de la montagne, ce sont celles de Taourirt au Warzazat, d'Asarag dans le Tifnout, d'Izoggweir dans le Zagmouzen, de Taliwin chez les Souktana du Sous, de Bou Zougga chez les Ida ou Ziki.

L'exercice même du pouvoir des grands chefs de la montagne vient encore confirmer notre première impression d'un régime féodal anciennement établi. Les seigneurs berbères nous diront, si nous les interrogeons, que leurs ancêtres ont jadis gouverné presque toutes les tribus qui leur sont aujourd'hui soumises. Celles-ci se trouveraient ainsi, depuis des générations, pliées à l'obéissance la plus complète. Quoi qu'il en soit du passé, si difficile à connaître à présent, des khalifats, parents ou alliés des grands caïds, assurent en résidant dans leurs forteresses des vallées la transmission de leurs ordres, scrupuleusement exécutés par les sujets. Dans les fractions de tribus, les agents des khalifats sont des « chikhs » bien assis, dont les maisons, construites avec soin, blanchies à la chaux, se distinguent aisément au milieu des pauvres villages aux murs de terre.

Si nous observons enfin les scènes journalières de la vie, une immense distance nous paraît séparer le grand chef qui, du fond de sa kasba, dirige toute la politique de la montagne, et les humbles cultivateurs acharnés au travail, courbés sur la terre dans leurs vallées étroites, dont l'aspect évoque si mal à nos yeux les farouches partisans du temps des Almohades. Au passage du seigneur, on voit en foule les sujets s'avancer pour baiser le pan de son vêtement ou s'incliner devant lui dans l'attitude du respect le plus profond. Hommes d'armes, manants, juifs et mendiants, se pressent dans la

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

cour des forteresses féodales et attendent de la générosité du chef l'aumône d'un repas.

Sans doute, il faut bien en convenir, nous dirait-on si nous insistions quelque peu, il se trouve à la limite des grands commandements, quelques cantons perdus de la haute montagne dont les habitants n'acceptent pas sans réserve d'obéir aux ordres des kasbas. Ce sont ceux-là même que Brives a visités naguère dans l'Atlas et qu'il appelle les « Douars-tampon ». Ces petits villages, plus ou moins indépendants, « jouissent, nous dit-il, d'une certaine autonomie ; les caïds limitrophes y ont chacun leurs partisans, la lutte y est toujours à l'état latent, et, en cas de trouble, elle s'y révèle très violente » (1). Tels sont les Aït Gaïr, les Seksawa et le petit îlot de dissidents irréductibles des Ida Ou Tanan ; mais ce sont là, nous disent les compagnons des caïds, « des voleurs, des coupeurs de routes, ou des bergers », dont chacun ne parle qu'avec mépris. Encore existe-t-il souvent, chez ces populations arriérées, quelques petits chefs indépendants, auxquels il ne manque que la consécration du Makhzen. Malgré les apparences d'anarchie, ils font respecter, s'il faut en croire nos informateurs, jusque sur ces sommets inaccessibles, les conseils politiques reçus de Tagontaft, de Bouaboud ou d'une autre kasba du pied de la montagne.

Ainsi, le système des grands commandements, sous l'autorité nominale du Sultan, s'est imposé maintenant à ces tribus du Haut-Atlas dont l'histoire nous a montré les révoltes si fréquentes au cours des siècles. De nos jours, les seigneurs berbères dominent tout le pays. Aucun problème ne se pose qu'ils ne puissent résoudre ; ils sont, officiellement du moins, la source unique de l'autorité ; par eux le maintien de l'ordre, l'exécution de nos instructions se trouvent garantis et ils font régner partout la paix et la sécurité.

III. *Les îlots indépendants en haute-montagne.* — Cherchons maintenant à nous affranchir, pour mieux découvrir l'état véritable des institutions, de notre escorte de serviteurs trop dévoués aux puissants caïds du Sud ; elle nous a suffi pour apercevoir, au moins par ses aspects extérieurs, l'organisation du Makhzen ou celle des chefs qui exercent au nom du Sultan l'autorité sur les tribus ; mais nous savons déjà que l'attention de nos guides ne se porte

(1) Brives, *Voyages au Maroc*, Alger, 1909, p. 419.

pas volontiers sur la vie sociale et politique des petits groupes restés indépendants, à la limite des grands commandements. L'étude de ces cantons perdus nous tente au contraire, puisque nous comprenons dès à présent que nous pourrons y observer des habitudes et des coutumes conservées au prix de luttes millénaires et d'efforts incessants ; nous aimerions connaître en même temps quelles relations véritables les hautes vallées restées libres conservent avec les régions de la montagne soumises aux grands chefs ; nous voudrions savoir enfin si, dans un passé assez proche encore, de nombreuses tribus, aujourd'hui courbées sous le joug, n'ont pas connu une vie semblable à celle qui s'est, grâce à un prodigieux effort d'isolement, perpétuée jusqu'à nos jours dans les parties inaccessibles du Haut-Atlas.

Supposons que des circonstances favorables ou quelque ruse habile nous permettent d'échapper un instant à nos compagnons habituels, trop empressés à nous suivre et à diriger nos recherches ; transportons-nous sans eux pour quelques instants sur un sommet élevé, tel que l'Igdad, aux sources du Nefis, d'où l'on embrasse un immense horizon de montagnes et de plaines. Il nous suffira d'interroger les Berbères qui nous entourent, sortis des villages des hautes-vallées du voisinage, pour découvrir d'autres aspects de la vie jusqu'ici demeurés cachés et qui forment avec ceux que nous venons d'apercevoir un saisissant contraste. Nous chercherons en même temps, grâce aux souvenirs des plus âgés de nos nouveaux guides, à prolonger dans le temps cette enquête rapide et à relier le présent à un passé que nous devinons si riche d'événements importants. Peut-être, nous sera-t-il permis alors, en comparant nos observations personnelles au tableau déjà esquissé de la domination des grands chefs, de retrouver la diversité des institutions berbères, et de mieux distinguer les étapes d'une transformation récente qui se poursuit encore sous nos yeux.

Du haut sommet où nous sommes un instant parvenus, toute la grande chaîne, de la mer qu'on devine au loin jusqu'à la montagne des Glawa, nous apparaît aisément, coupée du Nord au Sud par les trois grandes voies du Tizi Ma'cho, du Nefis et de Telwet. Vers le Nord, les montagnes s'étagent en s'abaissant par degrés successifs pour atteindre l' Azaghar de Marrakech indéfiniment étendu à l'horizon. Vers le Sud, au contraire, la chute brusque du

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

rempart de l'Atlas nous laisse apercevoir presqu'à nos pieds, la plaine intérieure du Sous et des Chtouka bordée par la montagne de l'Anti-Atlas ; à l'Est, les deux chaînes semblent se rejoindre, au fond de la vallée du Sous pour former la masse étrange du volcan du Sirwa.

En nous montrant la ligne des sommets de l'Atlas, nos compagnons des hautes vallées nous indiqueront sans hésiter trois groupes de populations d'importance inégale, qui ont conservé jusqu'à nos jours leurs institutions indépendantes. A grande distance de notre observatoire, entre la mer et la passe de Bibaoun, se tient la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, attachée depuis des siècles à son organisation républicaine. A nos pieds, subsiste une vaste région de montagne restée libre qui embrasse le double éventail de torrents descendus des deux versants du Tichka ; ce territoire réunit toutes les tribus de l'ancienne confédération des Genfisa auxquelles viennent s'ajouter, au pied de l'Igdad, quelques fractions des Gedmiwa. Au loin à l'Est, ce sont les petites communautés des Aït Waouzgit, perdues au flanc du Sirwa, au milieu des conquêtes des Glawa, et qui gardent encore dans un isolement miraculeux une autonomie précaire, mais assez voisine de leur indépendance d'autrefois. Enfin, l'Anti-Atlas, dont la ligne capricieuse nous masque le désert, possède aussi, dans sa partie occidentale surtout, entre les sommets du Jebel Kest et la mer, de nombreuses tribus qui restent obstinément attachées à leurs traditions. Elles opposent aux entreprises du Makhzen et des grands chefs une résistance qu'on n'a pu encore briser jusqu'à présent.

IV. *La vie des républiques berbères.* — Cherchons à connaître la physionomie propre de chacun de ces bastions dans lesquels les Berbères ont concentré leurs efforts pour échapper à la conquête de leur pays si souvent tentée par les sultans ou les seigneurs de la montagne. Dans une région d'accès difficile, au milieu des grands plateaux tabulaires qui prolongent au Sud la région des Haha, ou sur les dernières crêtes dentelées du Haut-Atlas au voisinage de l'Océan, la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan réunit depuis plusieurs siècles autour du tombeau d'un marabout vénéré, Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, une trentaine de fractions de tout temps résolues à défendre leur indépendance. Partagée en trois tribus égales, qui ont conservé leur autonomie et leur constitution particulière,

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

elle forme un organisme équilibré dont le lien véritable paraît être la volonté de résister à toute tentative de pénétration étrangère. A l'Est du territoire, ce sont les Aït Ou 'azzoun, les mieux protégés des influences extérieures dans la région la plus montagneuse ; ils ont gardé le régime politique traditionnel des conseils de notables, qui accomplissent encore chaque année, en suivant un cérémonial précis, selon des rites plusieurs fois séculaires, une tournée de justice dans tout le pays, pour sanctionner les crimes et les délits et régler toutes les contestations. A l'Ouest, les Aït Tinkert, commandés depuis un siècle au moins par des chefs indépendants auxquels on donne le titre d' « amghar », assistés des petits chefs de villages qui leur sont dévoués, bordent la route côtière des caravanes et défendent jalousement l'entrée du pays aux étrangers. Le dernier groupe du Sud est formé de minuscules unités qui, tantôt se gouvernent en petites républiques comme les Aït Wanoukrim et les Iberouten, tantôt obéissent, comme les Ifesfasen, à des « amghars », dont l'autorité est tempérée par des assemblées.

Les Ida Ou Tanan, enfermés dans un isolement volontaire, forment ainsi un contraste frappant avec la région soumise des Haha, administrée par nos soins, dont les pistes s'avancent aujourd'hui jusqu'à la frontière de ces montagnards irréductibles. Ils apparaissent comme des témoins attardés d'un passé depuis longtemps oublié. Cependant, cette opposition n'a pas toujours existé ; autrefois, les vieillards les plus âgés du pays s'en souviennent encore, les turbulentes tribus du Sud des Haha vivaient, elles aussi, dans un état voisin de l'indépendance. Le grand caïd El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi avait dû les plier à son autorité avant de les entraîner à la conquête du Sous, et, plus tard, chaque fois que l'autorité du Makhzen a faibli, les Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït 'Amer, Aït A'issi, Ida Ou Bouzia ont témoigné pour leurs coutumes anciennes un attachement prouvé par des révoltes incessantes. On voyait alors, au cours de leur « siba », reparaître les conseils de notables, connus sous le nom d' « ineflas » ou d' « Aït Arba'in », qui ressuscitaient la vieille organisation berbère et s'unissaient lorsqu'il le fallait à leurs libres voisins des Ida Ou Tanan. Bien plus, parfois, pendant les grandes périodes d'anarchie telles qu'il s'en produisait à la mort des Sultans et à l'apparition des prétendants dans les diverses provinces de l'Empire, l'emprise du Makhzen était si

incomplète qu'on voyait, au cours de la « siba », refleurir d'un seul coup, sur d'immenses espaces, les traditions anciennes. En vain, la présence des groupes arabes dispersés chez les Haha et dans la plaine du Sous avait-elle altéré le peuplement berbère ; en dépit du gouvernement prolongé de la plaine par des chikhs soumis aux caïds depuis des siècles, le mouvement de révolte gagnait, au Sud, les Ksima et les Mesgina et s'étendait de proche en proche à travers la plaine de Chtouka, jusqu'à la limite de l'Anti-Atlas que la politique chérifienne n'avait jamais réellement abordé. Pendant cette période de liberté, chaque tribu rétablissait son conseil politique et restaurait, en l'imitant à sa manière, l'organisation des fractions des Ida Ou Tanan ; ainsi, jusqu'à l'arrivée de la harka du Sultan, dans toute cette région côtière, la Berbérie indépendante de la plaine du Sud se trouvait restaurée.

Les tribus du Tichka ont plus d'originalité encore que les Ida Ou Tanan. Jamais, nous l'avons vu, au cours de l'histoire, l'ancien Makhzen n'a vraiment pénétré dans cette région difficile. Depuis les petits rois des Seksawa, qui semblent bien avoir personnifié au XIIIe siècle la résistance aux dominations almohade et mérinide, jusqu'aux chikhs et aux prédicateurs qui, sous les Saadiens, ranimèrent au contraire le souvenir du Mahdi de Tinmellel pour mieux lutter contre le pouvoir des Sultans, un effort de résistance obstiné a maintenu dans l'isolement les populations des hautes-vallées.

Le spectacle qui nous attendrait, si nous pouvions un instant quitter notre observatoire élevé pour visiter le territoire d'une de ces tribus les plus éloignées de la plaine tenue par le Makhzen ou les grands chefs, mériterait d'être comparé à celui que nous avons découvert tout d'abord sur les pas de nos premiers guides dévoués aux caïds.

Ici, en effet, les villages qui s'étagent sur les pentes ensoleillées des torrents, près d'immenses noyers irrigués par les eaux bouillonnantes de l'Atlas, ne connaissent pas de maisons de chikhs ou de khalifats. On chercherait en vain à distinguer dans ces vallées la demeure du pauvre de celle du riche. Chacun de ces petits cantons de la montagne forme un état séparé qu'administre un conseil. Réunis sur une terrasse, tous vêtus de laine brune, les notables discutent gravement entre eux, pendant

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de longues heures, des intérêts de leurs villages; nul n'élève la voix, et l'on ne saurait, à les voir, découvrir leur président, un timide vieillard qui a reçu pour un an la mission d'exécuter leurs décisions et qu'on salue du titre de « moqaddem ». Leurs jugements s'inspirent d'une coutume qu'ils tiennent de leurs ancêtres sans la modifier ; ils punissent les crimes, arrêtent les discordes, frappent les voleurs des peines les plus sévères. Leur sollicitude se porte volontiers sur la protection des cultures et des pâturages. En toutes circonstances, ils veillent jalousement à ce que les intérêts des familles patriarcales dont ils sont les chefs soient exactement respectés. Puis, leur délibération terminée, après une prière récitée en commun, ils se séparent et vont de loin surveiller une corvée.

Les humbles tableaux de la vie de ces villages de la haute montagne nous montrent que l'existence des Berbères indépendants des sommets ne diffère pas de celle de leurs frères du Rif ou de la Kabylie. Voici toutes les femmes réunies pour faire en commun le transport du fumier. Parées de leurs habits de fête, riches et pauvres, jeunes et vieilles placent sur leur tête de grands paniers de doum, remplis du fumier du village et descendent en chantant pour apporter l'engrais à tous les petits champs qui bordent le torrent. Un autre jour, tous les hommes se rassemblent, sous la direction des notables, pour réparer les séguias ou les chemins des souks. Puis, à la fin du printemps, dans toutes ces petites républiques anarchiques et heureuses, on verra se rassembler hommes, femmes, enfants, troupeaux, pour aller vivre dans les pâturages des hauts sommets deux mois de pleine liberté, loin des kasbas, des caïds et des chemins du Makhzen.

La seule crainte des montagnards est que des étrangers ne viennent troubler la vie de leurs cantons, qu'ils ne s'introduisent dans le pays à la faveur des discordes — dont la fréquence risque parfois de troubler gravement le cours régulier des institutions, et ne fassent entrer leur petit état dans les vastes possessions d'un grand chef : aussi, tout ambitieux devient-il bientôt suspect ; celui qui s'élève par ses discours ou ses actes au-dessus du conseil est, en effet, le même qui s'en irait demain demander appui dans une kasba voisine et conduirait la « harka du Makhzen » jusqu'aux abords des villages ; il convient donc qu'il meure, pour que le pays conserve l'indépendance. Le poignard, le poison ou un accident heureux, mettent promptement un terme à ses imprudences.

2: Montagne MW1 Shluh

V. *Le Haut-Atlas avant le développement du pouvoir des grands chefs.* — Ces mœurs simples et anarchiques, qu'on n'observe plus à présent qu'au voisinage des sommets, étaient naguère celles d'une grande partie de la montagne. Il y a soixante ans, les vieillards les plus âgés peuvent aisément nous le dire encore, un grand nombre de petites républiques autonomes passionnément attachées à la conservation de leur liberté, se pressaient autour des pics du Tichka et de l'Igdad et restaient fidèlement attachées à leurs constitutions oligarchiques. Les grands seigneurs d'aujourd'hui, dont la politique savante d'intervention a beaucoup réduit l'étendue du pays demeuré libre, n'étaient alors que des chefs sans importance. Chez les Mtougga, c'étaient les petits caïds de la famille des Aït Mousa, qui sans cesse menacés par le puissant 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, absorbaient tous leurs efforts dans des luttes obscures de clans, aux portes mêmes de Bouaboud ; de même, le Gontafi n'était qu'un simple chikh de l'Oued Nefis, soumis, comme ses pareils de la vallée, à un caïd établi au bord du Jebel Kik, dans la kasba d'Agergour, à quelques heures de marche de Marrakech.

A cette époque d'ailleurs, la domination du Makhzen s'exerçait sous une forme très différente de celle que nous observons à présent. Au pied de la grande chaîne, sur le Dir du versant Nord, dans tous les gros villages qui forment des centres naturels d'échange entre la montagne et la plaine, se trouvaient fixés de petits caïds entièrement soumis au Sultan. Des cavaliers venus de Marrakech apportaient en toute circonstance les ordres du « Pacha de la kasba » aux petits chefs d'Agergour des Ouzgita, d'Amismiz et de Tisgin des Gedmiwa, de l' « Agadir » des Mzouda, et de Bouaboud des Mtougga. Dans les tribus situées plus haut en montagne, chaque canton avait son chikh choisi dans l'une des vieilles familles des villages et qui représentait les intérêts du Makhzen. Étroitement limité dans ses attributions, ce chikh ou « amghar » était souvent réduit à composer avec le conseil des vieillards et des notables pour lui faire accepter les demandes transmises au nom du Sultan. Mais les exigences du caïd étaient si faibles — un tribut annuel en argent, et la « hedia » d'une mule aux grandes fêtes — que les Berbères sentaient à peine le poids de l'autorité étrangère.

Sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, au nord de Taroudant, la pénétration était moins avancée encore, les caïds étaient remplacés par de simples chikhs, qui entretenaient avec les petites répu-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

bliques du Dir et des sommets, des relations amicales.

En réalité, dans tout le Sud du Maroc, l'autorité absolue du sultan s'arrêtait à la plaine. Par des transitions insensibles, en pénétrant dans l'Atlas, on trouvait le pouvoir du Makhzen de plus en plus faible, et les institutions oligarchiques de plus en plus développées. Sur le Dir ou dans les grandes vallées, les chikhs gouvernaient, assistés d'un conseil de notables. Plus loin, c'étaient les représentants de toutes les familles, les « Aït Arba'in », qui délibéraient sous le commandement d'un « amghar » (1). Plus haut encore, ce chef n'était plus qu'un magistrat élu pour un an, le « moqaddem », qui servait d'arbitre dans les discordes. Dans les vallées les plus écartées, ces petites républiques avaient gardé intactes toutes les institutions que nous avons pu trouver encore près des sommets, un droit coutumier oral ou écrit, un trésor grossi par les amendes qui frappaient les coupables, et de vieilles forteresses, connues sous le nom d' « agadir », qui servaient à la fois de magasin collectif pendant la paix, et de refuge dans les guerres intérieures.

Tel était l'état politique du Haut-Atlas occidental jusqu'en 1860, au début du règne du sultan Sidi Mohammed, dont les vieillards les plus âgés se souviennent encore. Depuis cette époque, les étapes de la transformation du pays sont dans toutes les mémoires. Les conquêtes des caïds des Mtougga ont commencé après la chute de leur ennemi El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, en 1868. On les a vus s'avancer par la piste du Tizi Ma'cho et tenter un instant de s'emparer des tribus les plus riches de la haute vallée du Sous. Puis les amghars de Tagontaft, affranchis par une révolte, de l'autorité qu'exerçaient sur eux les caïds d'Agergour ont conquis la haute vallée du Nefis avant d'être reconnus à leur tour en qualité de caïds du Makhzen en 1876.

Le règne du sultan Moulay el Hasan a été comme une période de recueillement pendant laquelle les nouveaux chefs ont préparé leurs intrigues. A sa mort, à la faveur de l'anarchie, les Demsira, les Dwiran, l'Aghbar, les Aït Semmeg, l'Onein ont été conquis par les maîtres de Bouaboud ou de Tagontaft, enlevés à leurs chikhs d'autrefois, et livrés à des maîtres exigeants qui demandaient sans

(1) « Amghar » (pl. imgharen) berb. : chef temporel qui commande une tribu ou une fraction de tribu. Dans cette région l' « amghar » tient son pouvoir de sa force alors que le moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) est élu ou désigné à tour de rôle parmi les notables.

cesse de l'argent et des guerriers pour entreprendre de nouvelles guerres. Les tribus déjà soumises aux caïds du Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, ont été à leur tour annexées aux grands commandements et des khalifats avides et étrangers au pays se sont substitués aux chikhs traditionnels, plus faciles à satisfaire, parce qu'ils étaient plus proches de leurs sujets.

Sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, le développement de l'influence du Makhzen à Taroudant a, pendant la même période, réussi à détacher du groupe du Tichka de nouvelles fractions : les Ergita, les Mentaga ont perdu leur liberté, tandis que les cantons de Talemt et de Talekjont attiraient vers eux une partie des populations des hautes-vallées qui leur sont attachées par des liens d'alliance séculaires. Ainsi, au cours des trois dernières générations, on n'a cessé de voir reculer progressivement dans l'Atlas les limites de l'indépendance berbère.

Enfin, depuis vingt ans, le groupe des fractions qui avaient, malgré tout, réussi à conserver l'indépendance extérieure, par une conséquence inattendue de la lutte contre les grands chefs, a dû sacrifier à son tour la liberté à l'intérieur. Par une suite de petites révolutions, la plupart des tribus de la haute montagne ont été amenées à rejeter le régime oligarchique pour accepter le gouvernement à la fois plus énergique et plus souple des petits chefs qui ont pris le titre d' « amghar ». Successivement, chez les Seksawa, le pouvoir personnel est apparu dans les fractions des Aït 'Abdallah, des Aït Lhasen, des Idma, des Aït Haddiyous, et de proche en proche le mouvement a gagné les Demsira, les Ida Ou Mahmoud, les Gedmiwa des hautes-vallées.

Cependant, en haute montagne, la transformation s'est faite plus lentement que dans les moyennes vallées, parce que les traditions étaient demeurées plus fortes. Sous l'autorité suprême des « amghars », on voit encore de nos jours les « Aït Arba'in », et les « moqaddems » tenir leurs conseils. Il n'est pas moins certain que le développement progressif du pouvoir personnel prépare et annonce la ruine définitive du dernier centre de résistance des Genfisa et la transformation générale des institutions berbères. Si notre intervention, qui a fait cesser dans ces régions indépendantes la rivalité politique des grands chefs, n'avait pas troublé le cours naturel de l'évolution, les amghars des Seksawa auraient su déjà se rallier au grand caïd voisin le plus fort et faire disparaître à leur

tour les dernières traces du gouvernement des assemblées. Pour l'instant, inaccessibles dans leurs vallées retirées, les petits chefs indépendants, divisés par les querelles traditionnelles des fractions de la haute montagne, s'agitent dans leurs minuscules états; ils attendent avec patience l'occasion favorable pour faire reconnaître à leur profit l'autorité qu'ils ont acquise. Ainsi se trouvera réalisée par la soumission et la reconnaissance directe de leur pouvoir par le Makhzen, la dernière étape de l'évolution politique de cette région de haute montagne (1).

Sans avoir l'importance du groupe indépendant du Tichka, dont l'état nous permet de comprendre toute l'évolution de l'Atlas des Masmouda, puisque nous pouvons y observer toutes les phases de la transformation politique des tribus, les fractions autonomes du Sirwa offrent cependant un intérêt particulier. Elles représentent de nos jours le seul vestige d'institutions anciennes conservées à l'intérieur du grand commandement des Glawa et nous aident à retrouver quelle était avant la rapide et destructive conquête de 1913, l'organisation sociale de toute cette région.

C'est grâce à leur isolement que les petits groupes de pasteurs des Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït 'Abdallah, Aït Qalla, dans la confédération des Aït Waouzgit, ont jusqu'à présent échappé à la ruine totale qui a frappé les républiques des vallées voisines. Près des sommets du Sirwa, en effet, les efforts de résistance à la transformation politique se sont concentrés autour de grands « agadirs », semblables aux forteresses de l'Anti-Atlas, qui renferment à la fois la citadelle, la mosquée, le magasin général et même la banque de ces petites cités barbares. Mais avant la soumission du pays, beaucoup de cantons des Aït Waouzgit, sur tout le versant du Sud de l'Atlas et autour du massif du Sirwa, avaient gardé, eux aussi, avec leurs agadirs aujourd'hui ruinés, leurs conseils de notables, les « Aït arba'in » ou « inflas ». Ici, cependant, le caractère oligarchique des institutions était plus marqué que dans les hautes vallées du Tichka, et, d'autre part, les amghars, chefs despotiques des cantons, étaient plus nom-

(1) Depuis que la pénétration française dans l'Atlas s'est accentuée, les petits chefs des Seksawa se sont soumis directement, sans passer par l'intermédiaire des chefs de Bouaboud à nos bureaux d'affaires indigènes en 1927. Les Ida ou Tanan ont suivi leur exemple quelques mois après.

breux et plus anciens. C'était là, sans doute, la conséquence d'une pénétration ancienne du Makhzen. Alors que le Haut-Atlas avait presque complètement échappé à l'influence chérifienne, le pays des Aït Waouzgit se trouvait, en effet, au milieu du XIXe siècle, sans doute depuis plusieurs générations, soumis à l'autorité nominale d'un caïd de la plain de Marrakech. Habituellement choisi chez les Zemran ou les Segharna, chaque année, ce chef rassemblait ses contingents et passait par Telwet, où le père de Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, n'était alors qu'un petit chikh de montagne semblable aux autres, puis il descendait vers le Warzazat, Tazenakht et le Zagmouzen, en suivant les vallées. Chez les petits amghars dont les maisons jalonnaient cette « voie makhzen », il se contentait de percevoir le tribut traditionnel qu'ils avaient réuni autour d'eux sur son ordre, à raison d'une peseta par foyer, sans que la harka chérifienne pénétrât jamais sur le territoire des petites républiques de la montagne.

Plus au Sud, en bordure du Sahara, régnait la plus grande confusion ; les armées du Sultan n'arrivaient point jusque là ; le pouvoir des amghars était précaire et, sans doute, l'organisation des Berbères se trouvait-elle ici plus anarchique encore, et altérée par les réactions fréquentes qu'entraîne la lutte des sédentaires contre les nomades.

Sans remonter à une période éloignée, il nous suffit d'ailleurs, pour connaître la véritable situation du pays de consulter les notes de Ch. de Foucauld, qui visita en 1883 le Dadès, le Haut-Dra, le Zagmouzen, aujourd'hui soumis aux Glawa, et qui séjourna quelques semaines à Tisint et Aqqa. Le tableau qu'il traçait alors des institutions locales diffère étrangement de celui que nous avons tout d'abord composé sur la foi des serviteurs des grands chefs.

L'autorité des « amghars » plus ou moins indépendants lui paraît alors être prédominante, mais sans aller jusqu'à supprimer l'existence des assemblées, car l'autorité des chefs doit se faire légère afin de subsister. « Tribus, districts, villages, nous dit-il, vivent les uns sous le régime despotique, les autres sous le régime démocratique. Les premiers sont gouvernés par des familles où le pouvoir suprême avec le titre de chikh est héréditaire : tels sont les Aït Amer, les Zenaga, les Mezgita. L'autorité de ces chikhs n'est pas lourde pour leurs sujets ; parents plus ou moins proches d'un grand nombre d'entre eux, force leur est de ménager ces alliés

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

naturels. D'ailleurs, il est de leur intérêt de n'indisposer personne ; ils laissent à leurs administrés grande liberté et ne leur demandent que trois choses : payer une légère redevance, les suivre quand ils font la guerre, ne pas trop se battre, se piller ni se voler entre eux ; ce n'est permis qu'avec les étrangers. Pour le reste, licence complète »... Tel est ce que de Foucauld appelle le « régime despotique ». « Quant au régime démocratique, les tribus ou districts qui l'ont adopté, le possèdent avec les nuances les plus diverses. Chez les uns, tels que les Ilalen, les Iberqaqen, règne le système établi dans le Nord ; fractions, tribus, villages se gouvernent par l'assemblée de tous leurs membres. Ailleurs, comme dans les qsars de Tisint, de Tatta l'assemblée garde entre ses mains la puissance souveraine et confie le pouvoir exécutif à un chikh qu'elle élit ; quelquefois, elle le porte sans cesse de l'une à l'autre. Certaines tribus, telles que les Ida Ou Blal, les Aït Ou Mribet, les Isaffen, se divisent en fractions ayant chacune à leur tête une famille où la dignité de chikh est héréditaire. Tantôt le pouvoir de ces chefs est assez grand, comme chez les Aït Ou Mribet et Isaffen ; tantôt comme chez les Ida Ou Blal, leur seule prérogative est de conduire leurs frères dans les combats » (1).

Ainsi voyons-nous attestée par le plus scrupuleux des observateurs du Sud du Maroc, dans la partie orientale de la région du Sous, la même diversité d'institutions que nous présente l'Atlas occidental; seule, la conquête violente des Glawa en masque de nos jours, avec un soin jaloux, la ruine récente. Il nous suffirait par ailleurs de traverser, sur les traces de Foucauld, l'Anti-Atlas central pour retrouver derrière la fragile organisation du Makhzen, dans une décadence qui n'est pas définitive, la double institution des amghars et des assemblées.

VI. *L'Anti-Atlas dissident.* — Il nous reste enfin, pour compléter cette vue d'ensemble des institutions berbères du Sud, à indiquer les relations des régions soumises de la plaine du Sous avec la partie de l'Anti-Atlas occidental qui est demeurée hostile, jusqu'à présent, à notre pénétration. Dans toute la montagne du Kest, les tribus des Ida Ou Gnidif, des Ammeln, des Ida Oultit ont conservé avec une fidélité soupçonneuse leurs traditions séculaires. Chaque

(1) De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, p. 91-92.

famille s'établit à son gré, dans un hameau fermé qui forme une petite unité élémentaire ; toutes les affaires communes des villages qui forment un canton se traitent en conseil; aucun amghar, aucun moqaddem même n'ose s'élever au-dessus de l'assemblée et diriger ouvertement les débats. Ainsi se constituent partout de petites républiques égalitaires qui vivent le plus souvent dans l'isolement. La seule autorité capable de réunir un instant en une fédération puissante cette poussière de petits états est celle des marabouts. On a vu, au début du dernier siècle, Sidi Hachem du Tazerwalt tenter de reconstituer à Illigh, à la faveur de la faiblesse du Makhzen, le petit royaume de ses ancêtres, les fils de Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. Mais le seul titre que les berbères aient alors consenti à lui donner fut celui d' « amghar n *Igezzoulen* », amghar des Gezzoula. Ses représentants en tribu, qui avaient aussi le titre d' « amghar », se gardaient bien d'enfreindre ouvertement la coutume ; ils cherchaient seulement à incliner les décisions des assemblées dans un sens favorable aux intérêts de leur maître d'Illigh, et se bornaient souvent par une politique prudente, à ne pas compromettre le prestige de leur chef temporel et religieux.

A la même époque, et jusqu'à l'établissement d'un khalifat du sultan à Tiznit, dans les dernières années du XIXe siècle, les villages des plaines et des oasis irrigués, tels que Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, avaient aussi gardé intacte leur organisation démocratique. Sans doute, ces petites tribus, qui étaient comme des creusets où venaient se fondre les éléments les plus divers de la montagne et de la plaine, étaient déchirées par des luttes intérieures de partis. Mais l'anarchie perpétuelle ne parvenait pas à détruire la vitalité de ces étonnantes républiques, sans cesse divisées, sans cesse reconstituées (1). C'est seulement la présence constante des représentants du Sultan, après les expéditions de Moulay el Hasan, la désolation des famines et des épidémies au temps d'El Hiba, et surtout le brusque rétablissement de l'ordre du Makhzen depuis 1916, qui ont pu faire disparaître la vie intérieure d'autrefois. Ici encore, il suffirait d'interroger les vieillards pour connaître ce qu'était ce pays avant d'être réduit à l'état de morne passivité qui ne le distingue plus à présent des régions les plus soumises de l'Empire.

(1) Cf. notre étude sur la tribu de Massat, *Hespéris*, 1924, 4e trimestre

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

VII. *Les phases successives de la transformation du Sud du Maroc.* — Ce n'est pas le désir d'utiliser un procédé commode d'exposition de notre sujet qui nous a conduit à imaginer la fiction d'une promenade à travers le Sous, sous la conduite des compagnons des grands caïds, puis celle d'une ascension sur l'un des sommets de la montagne, grâce aux indications des habitants des hautes-vallées. En réalité, nous avons pu de la sorte examiner les deux aspects opposés du pays, celui de l'Atlas vu de Marrakech, tel que le Makhzen et les chefs l'aperçoivent ou veulent le décrire, et celui des républiques berbères, dont on n'arrive à observer le nombre et la vitalité qu'en se dérobant un instant aux guides officiels et en portant au contraire ses regards des régions les plus élevées vers la plaine.

L'opposition de ces deux tableaux nous permettra maintenant de mieux comprendre les phases successives de la transformation du pays.

Dans une région qui fut jadis semblable à la Kabylie du Djurjura, la pénétration du Makhzen, d'abord très lente au début du XIXe siècle, s'est précipitée depuis deux générations chez les Masmouda du Haut-Atlas. Jadis, elle avait pour agents des caïds établis au pied de la montagne, dont l'influence, souvent discutée, pénétrait dans l'Atlas par les grandes vallées. Depuis cinquante ans surtout, elle a été l'œuvre des chefs autochtones, agissant au cœur du pays, avec une puissance devenue par la suite presque illimitée. On a vu alors se heurter aux assemblées de notables exprimant la volonté des tribus, des caïds parlant au nom du Sultan, et agissant avec une force jusqu'alors inconnue, par l'intermédiaire de khalifats et de chikhs ; presque toujours l'établissement de l'autorité chérifienne a eu pour conséquence la destruction rapide des traditions et des coutumes locales.

Mais c'est surtout lors du développement de l'anarchie marocaine, pendant les premières années du XXe siècle, que la transformation imposée par la conquête a été plus violente. Les guerres acharnées que se sont livrés entre eux les trois grands chefs de l'Atlas pour la possession des tribus, ont accentué plus encore l'importance des changements survenus. En même temps, la domination des grands caïds s'est affermie ; bientôt est apparue une puissante façade féodale qui nous a masqué l'existence des groupes indépendants et nous a dissimulé l'unité profonde de la structure sociale de tout

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

le pays. C'est alors que la politique française de pénétration dans le Sud du Maroc, appuyée sur le Makhzen, a trouvé dans la personne des grands caïds des auxiliaires intéressés. Cet habile ralliement leur a permis, pendant dix années, de consolider encore leur pouvoir et de s'attacher à faire disparaître à nos yeux, par une énergique domination, tout ce qui pouvait rappeler les origines trop récentes de leur pouvoir.

Cependant, entre ces deux régimes politiques opposés, — le gouvernement des assemblées berbères et le Makhzen — des formes intermédiaires sont souvent nées dans les parties du pays les moins accessibles de la montagne, celles-là même qui pouvaient, grâce à leur éloignement, échapper aux conséquences trop brutales de la lutte acharnée de deux forces naturellement hostiles. On a vu alors surgir de petits chefs qui ont tenté de rassembler toutes les forces du pays resté libre pour les opposer une dernière fois à la domination redoutée du Makhzen. Presque toujours, il est vrai, ces champions de l'indépendance ont trahi la cause qu'ils prétendaient servir. Devenus maîtres des tribus, ils ont su, au moment favorable, précipiter une évolution désormais inévitable et se sont fait eux-mêmes les agents du pouvoir central.

Nous pouvons, dès lors, indiquer les étapes successives de l'évolution politique.

Dans toutes les régions soustraites par la distance ou la difficulté des communications à l'action directe des caïds du Makhzen, l'organisation républicaine démocratique ou oligarchique est ici, comme dans toute l'Afrique du Nord, la forme de gouvernement choisie spontanément par les communautés berbères ; encore la puissance de la tradition n'est-elle pas si grande qu'on ne voie apparaître parfois, à la faveur des luttes de familles, un pouvoir personnel encore précaire et éphémère.

Lorsque les circonstances sont favorables, l' « amghar » qui a réussi à s'élever au-dessus des notables de son petit canton, parvient à consolider ce que de Foucauld a appelé avec bonheur « un pouvoir despotique ». C'est le plus souvent par la guerre que le chef ainsi né, accroît sa puissance, de même que c'est par l'assassinat de ses rivaux qu'il l'a fondée. Bientôt, il réussit à constituer au milieu des tribus républicaines un véritable petit état qu'il dirige à son gré. Deux chemins s'offrent alors à l'amghar vainqueur; il peut rester

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

le champion de l'indépendance berbère et étendre encore, par un habile protectorat, son influence sur les républiques voisines ; parfois, au contraire, les circonstances lui conseillent de mettre par prudence ou par ambition, sa force au service du Sultan et de se faire l'agent du Makhzen.

Dans ce dernier cas, devenu caïd à son tour, le chef berbère se rencontre avec les autres chefs du Makhzen, partis du pied de la montagne ou des cols importants à la conquête des tribus indépendantes ou autonomes. Alliés ou ennemis, les voilà mêlés désormais aux mêmes intrigues, quelle que soit leur origine ; ils se disputent dans l'Azaghar la possession des riches tribus et rivalisent au « Dar el Makhzen » pour obtenir la faveur du Sultan et de sa cour. Plus tard, ils grandiront encore et chercheront à diriger à leur profit la politique chérifienne.

Mais en même temps, mêlés aux caïds arabes des plaines, les caïds berbères de la montagne, fils des amghars indépendants des hautes-vallées, se hâteront d'oublier les derniers usages de leurs tribus qu'ils avaient conservés, et s'attacheront en tout point à vivre et à penser comme le font dans les villes les hauts personnages dont ils recherchent l'amitié ou convoitent la place. Ils entreront ainsi plus complètement encore dans la tradition de l'Empire. Par une conséquence naturelle de cet esprit d'imitation, l'exercice de leur pouvoir tend à devenir semblable à celui des chefs des régions soumises au Makhzen depuis plusieurs siècles ; aussi bien, la ruine définitive des institutions berbères a-t-elle déjà rendu les tribus de la montagne des Masmouda, jadis si attachées à leur coutume, presque identiques en apparence à celles du Gharb ou des plaines atlantiques : masse organisée de cultivateurs ruinés, courbés sur leurs terres, qui ne connaissent leurs maîtres que pour leur payer l'impôt, et dont la seule espérance est celle de la prochaine révolte, à la mort du Sultan.

Sans doute, l'évolution dont nous indiquons ici les grands traits ne se poursuit pas partout selon la même progression régulière ; de rapides conquêtes, ou au contraire une résistance obstinée, modifient ici ou là l'allure de la transformation du pays. La situation géographique, la valeur guerrière ou l'intelligence des habitants peuvent aussi changer selon les régions, le sort des tribus. Il s'en faut, en effet, que ce petit monde berbère nous apparaisse en tous lieux sous les mêmes aspects. Il n'est pas, au contraire, de région

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

qui soit plus variée, moins homogène. Ainsi, dans un groupe de hautes-vallées où le régime oligarchique est prépondérant, les assemblées ne sont pas toutes composées d'une manière identique, la représentation des familles n'est pas partout la même. Tantôt, « la parole », le commandement, se trouvent réservés à quelques villages privilégiés ; ailleurs, nous discernons l'apparition d'un petit sénat, qui évince peu à peu les chefs des autres familles et prépare lentement l'établissement du pouvoir personnel. De même, lorsque les petits états des sommets, jadis indépendants, vivent sous la protection d'un amghar qui a établi sa domination sur plusieurs cantons du voisinage, l'autorité du chef s'accorde, d'une manière variable avec celle des notables du pays, que nous voyons quelquefois réduits à l'impuissance, ou au contraire conservés avec leur « moqaddem », comme s'ils étaient encore, pour le nouveau maître, des auxiliaires précieux. Ces différences fréquentes entre les petites constitutions locales ont une grande importance; c'est par elles que se manifeste le mieux l'originalité, la personnalité peut-on dire, de tous les petits organismes sociaux, dont nous aurons bientôt à indiquer le nombre, les limites et l'importance. Elles nous rappellent, en outre, la vivante souplesse et la diversité d'une évolution que nous serions tentés d'expliquer par des lois trop simples.

Il n'en demeure pas moins certain que les grandes transformations de régime politique atteignent en même temps des régions entières qui évoluent vers le pouvoir personnel, s'unissent dans la résistance, ou succombent au contraire par grandes masses à la pression du Makhzen. C'est l'existence de ces mouvements d'ensemble qui justifie, malgré les différences locales, la simplification que nous chercherons à établir en expliquant toute l'évolution du Sud-Marocain par le passage du régime républicain à celui des amghars despotiques, puis à celui des grands chefs berbères de la montagne et enfin à la domination effective du Makhzen.

Pour étudier les institutions républicaines, il nous suffira de décrire l'état ancien du Haut-Atlas occidental, en faisant appel aux souvenirs encore précis des vieillards et en observant l'état social qui s'est conservé dans les vallées les plus reculées de la montagne; c'est dans cette région, à laquelle on pourrait donner le nom de « Kabylie du Haut-Atlas », qu'il nous sera le plus facile de retrouver la forme la plus développée du gouvernement berbère, celui des

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

assemblées de notables, présidées par un « moqaddem », nommé pour une année. La plaine du Sous, avant sa soumission au Makhzen, le Sirwa, la région du Dadès, du Todgha et les vallées de l'Atlas qui y descendent nous offriront des exemples analogues d'organisation oligarchique. Au contraire, la région des Ida Ou Tanan, la montagne de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, avec leurs constitutions plus égalitaires sont plus attachées à une organisation démocratique. Nous pourrons alors aisément montrer, par une rapide comparaison avec d'autres groupes des Jbala, des Senhaja de Sraïr, du Rif et de la Kabylie, comment le sud du Maroc possède, en dépit des apparences actuelles, une profonde analogie de structure avec les autres régions de l'Afrique du Nord peuplées de Berbères sédentaires et restées fidèles à leurs traditions séculaires.

C'est encore la même région du Haut-Atlas occidental, comprise entre l'oued Nefis et la passe de Bibaoun, qui nous paraît être le lieu le plus favorable pour examiner comment naît au sein de ces petites républiques, le pouvoir des amghars. Semblables à l'origine à ceux qui apparaissent dans toutes les autres tribus berbères, nous verrons ces petits chefs ici grandir peu à peu à la faveur de la guerre en s'appuyant sur les alliances territoriales qui prennent le nom de « leff ».

Bientôt, le développement du pouvoir des amghars nous conduira à étudier l'établissement du régime des grands caïds. Les chefs de Tagontaft présentent l'image la plus parfaite de cette organisation politique, tandis que ceux de Telwet et de Bouaboud appartiennent davantage par leurs origines à la tradition du Makhzen.

Enfin, les tribus des deux versants de l'Atlas, dans le pays des Haha, la plaine intérieure du Sous et des Chtouka nous donneront de bons exemples de la soumission définitive au Sultan. Les entreprises d''Abdallah ou Bihi, au milieu du XIXe siècle, et plus près de nous, celles des Glawa nous aideront à comprendre la phase dernière de la transformation des tribus. C'est alors seulement, nous le verrons, que tous les cadres anciens se trouvent brisés ; parvenu à ce degré de soumission, le pays berbère a le même régime de gouvernement que les grandes plaines du Nord peuplées d'Arabes, dominées par des caïds, des khalifats ou des chikhs, livrés eux-mêmes aux caprices du Makhzen. Le pouvoir absolu du Sultan s'impose à tous ; mais ce Makhzen despotique demeure lui-même menacé par l'anarchie intérieure ; il lutte désespérément jusqu'à

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

l'établissement de notre Protectorat contre les révoltes incessantes qui éclatent sur tous les confins de l'Empire.

VIII. *La transformation politique du Sous, image de celle de la Berbérie.* — Notre ignorance de l'histoire de la vie intérieure des tribus ne nous permet pas d'étudier l'évolution du Sud-Marocain pendant une longue période. A peine parviendrons-nous à la suivre au cours des événements qui ont agité le Sous depuis trois générations. Mais dans ce bref intervalle de temps, nous allons voir la volonté obstinée des Berbères, dont l'idéal est de réaliser, par leurs constitutions, la chimère de l'équitable partage des profits du pouvoir, se heurter à l'ambition sans frein des amghars et des caïds.

La transformation qui résulte de cette lutte et s'accomplit en moins d'un siècle, selon les mêmes règles, sur divers points d'une vaste province, n'est pas, nous le savons à présent, la première qu'ait subie le Haut-Atlas. D'autres chefs, nous l'avons vu, sont nés et ont grandi dans ce même pays, au temps des Almohades et des Mérinides ; si nous ne pouvons connaître les conditions dans lesquelles s'est formée et a disparu leur puissance, il est permis de croire que le jeu des forces sociales, demeurées si semblables à elles-mêmes au cours des siècles, s'est exercé jadis sous la même forme qu'aujourd'hui.

On pourrait aller au delà et rechercher, dans d'autres provinces de l'Empire chérifien, à présent soumises à l'autorité du Sultan, les traces d'une évolution semblable à celle qu'a subie à plusieurs reprises le Sud du Maroc. D'une manière plus générale encore, l'histoire musulmane de l'Afrique du Nord tout entière nous donne le spectacle des tentatives, éphémères pour la plupart, entreprises par des hommes ambitieux pour fonder un pouvoir personnel, analogue à celui des amghars et des caïds berbères du Sous. Par la force de leurs armes, ou bien grâce à l'appui de la religion, ils édifient de petits états, rassemblent autour d'eux un groupe de tribus et fondent des dynasties qui s'efforcent pendant deux ou trois générations de retenir dans une organisation centralisée les peuples qu'ils ont asservis à leur autorité.

Mais les conditions dans lesquelles se constituent ces principautés dans un pays demeuré, dans son ensemble, fidèle aux institutions républicaines, restent le plus souvent obscures. Peut-être

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

parviendrons-nous, à la lumière de cette étude faite sur un passé encore vivant, à éclairer quelques-unes des règles cachées qui expliquent leur naissance, leur vie et leur disparition.

L'exemple du Sud du Maroc nous montrera comment peuvent se briser les cadres fragiles des petits états berbères, pour constituer un organisme politique plus vaste auquel on peut presque donner déjà le nom de royaume ; nous verrons aussi de quelle manière ces cantons, jadis autonomes, retrouvent bientôt, grâce aux révoltes, leur liberté première et reprennent avec leurs rêves égalitaires leurs institutions primitives. C'est ainsi que le cycle d'évolution des tribus du Sous, qui a son origine dans l'anarchie organisée pour arriver au despotisme ruineux du Makhzen et ne tarde pas à revenir à son point de départ, grâce au désordre des sibas, ne sera plus pour nous que l'aspect plus humble, la forme élémentaire d'un autre rythme : celui de la naissance, du développement et de la ruine des empires musulmans, dont le balancement régulier suffit à remplir toute l'histoire du Maghreb avec une inlassable monotonie.

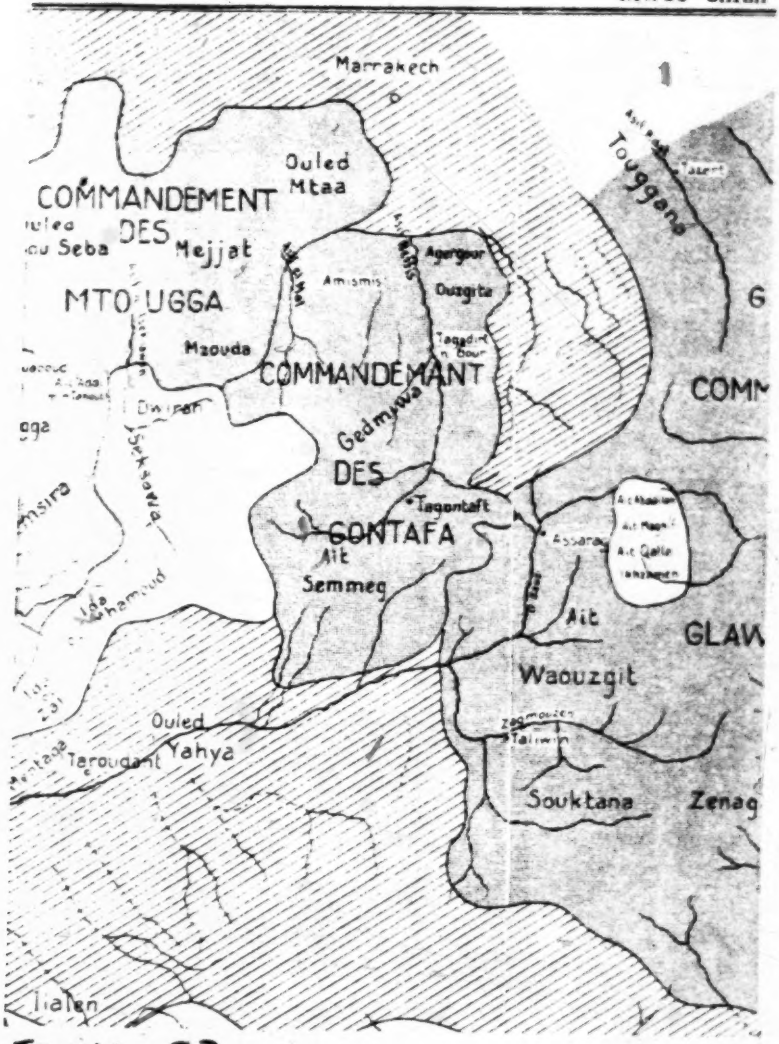
MW11 Shish

A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of positions of map inserted between pp. 146-147.
[facing p. 146-A]

COMMAND
Oueu
Bou Seba
DES
MTOUG
Hlaha
Mtougga
Ida
ou
Tahan
Agadir
Mesgina
Karma
Chtouka
Massa

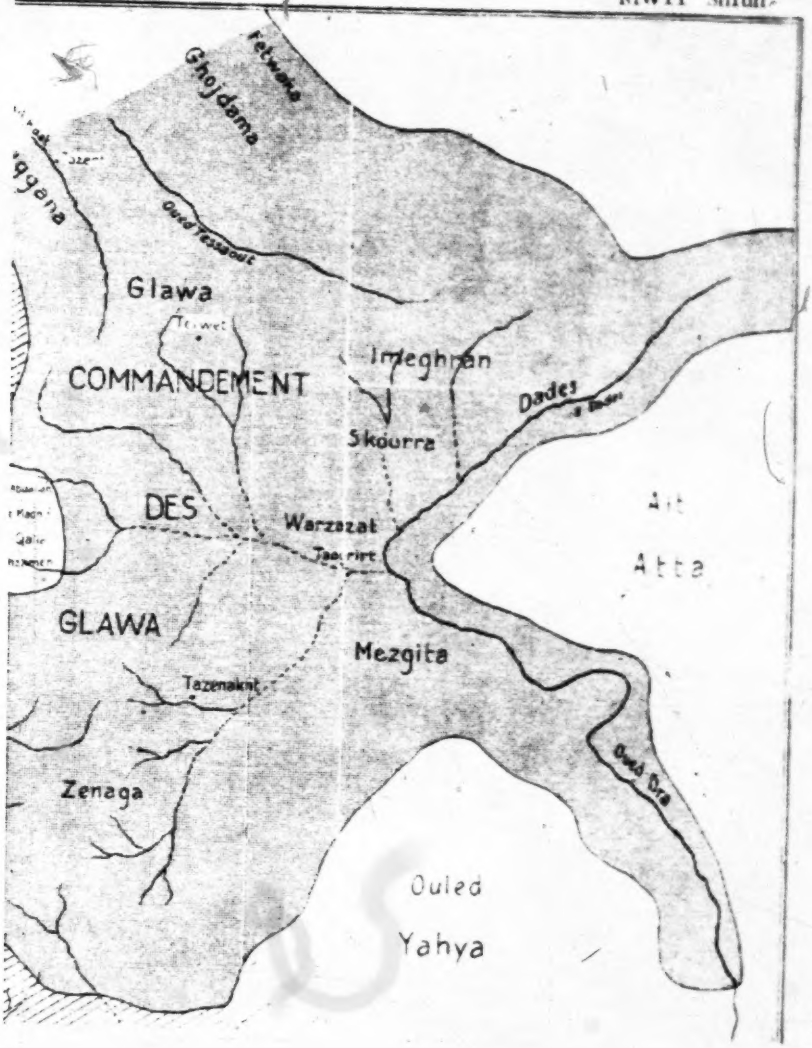
[P. 146-A]


Marrakech
Ouled
Mtaa
COMMANDEMENT
DES
Mejjat
MTOUGGA
Mzouda
COMMANDEMANT
DES
CONTAFA
Ait
Semmeg
Agergour
Ouzgita
Amismis
Gedmiwa
Tagontaft
Assaraq
Ait
Waouzgit
Souktana
Zenag
Touggana
COMM
GLAW
Ouled
Yahya
Taroudant
Iialen

[P. 146-B]

2: Montagne

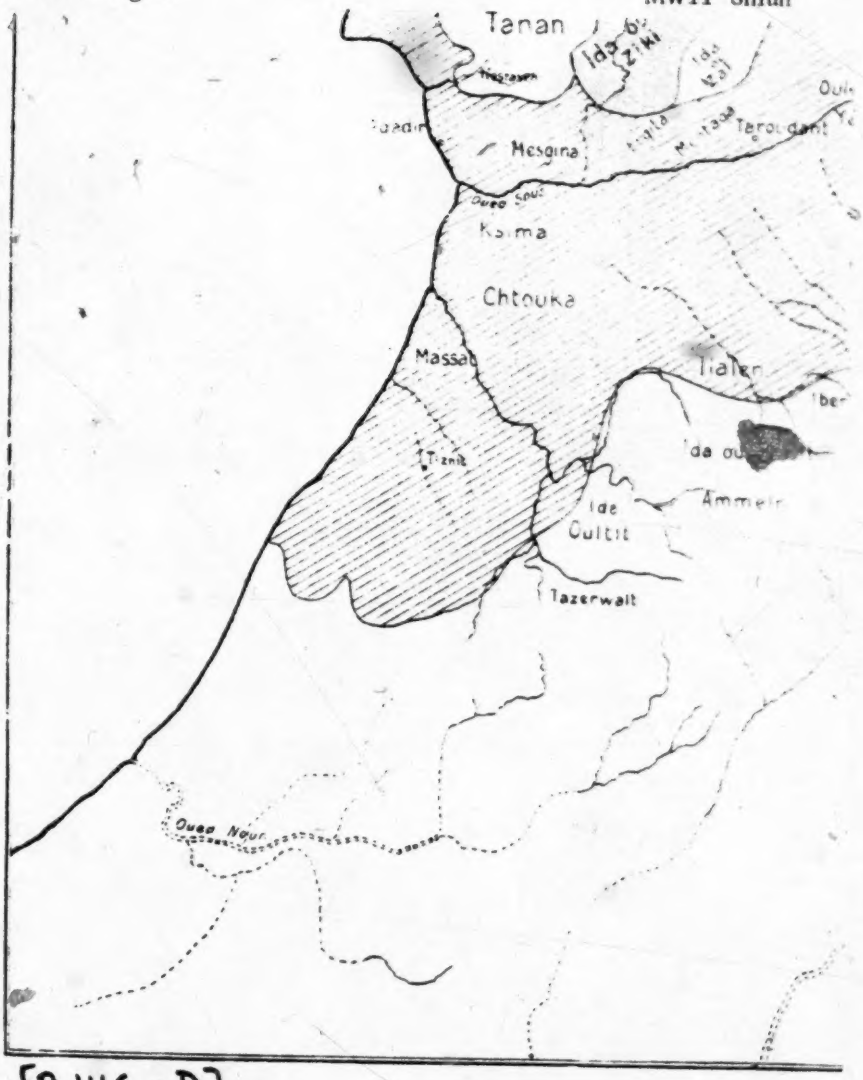
MW11 Shluh



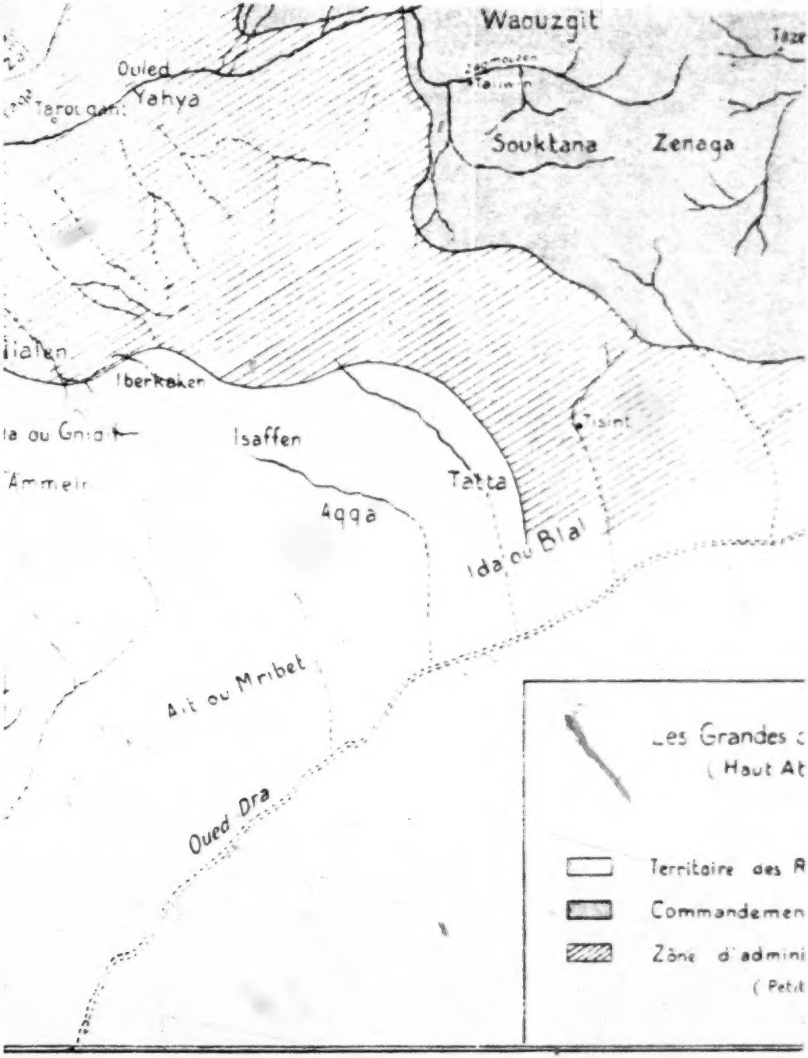
[P. 146-C]

2: Montagne

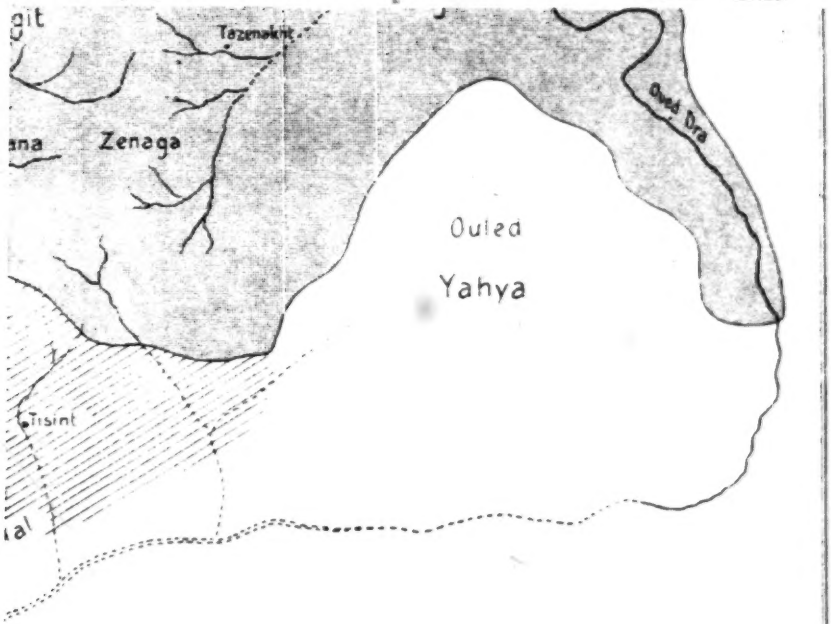
MW11 Shluh



[P·146-D]


Wacuzgit
Ouled
Yahya
Souktana
Zenaga
Iberkaken
Isaffen
Tatta
Aggâ
Ida ou Blal
Ait ou Mribet
Oued Dra
Les Grandes
(Haut At
Territoire des R
Commandemen
Zône d'admini
(Petit

[P. 146-E]



Les Grandes divisions politiques du Sud Marocain
(Haut Atlas, Plaine du Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)
Echelle 1/1.800 000

Territoire des Republiques indépendantes ou autonomes.

Commandements des Grand Caids : MTOUGGI, GONTAFI, GLAWI

Zône d administration directe du Makhzen
(Petits Caids & Chikhs).

[P.146-F]

[P. 147]

CHAPITRE II

Les petits états berbères : canton, tribu, confédération

I. Les unités sociales. — II. Hameau, village, sous-fraction. — III. La « taqbilt » fraction ou canton. — IV. L'existence des « taqbilt » ou cantons est générale dans tout le Sous. — V. Dimensions constantes du territoire de la « taqbilt ». — VI. La tribu : difficulté de définir sa nature. — VII. Équilibre des fractions à l'intérieur de la tribu. — VIII. Diverses catégories de confédérations. — IX. Les confédérations historiques. — X. Les confédérations factices. — XI. Le « canton » est dans le Sous l'unité politique essentielle. — XII. Les unités sociales chez les Jbala occidentaux. — XIII. Importance du « khoms ». — XIV. Tribus et cantons chez les Senhaja de Srair. — XV. Les khoms dans le Rif anarchique. — XVI. La « taddert » et l' « 'arch » kabyles. — XVII. Importance du canton, cellule politique des États berbères.

I. *Les unités sociales.* — Pour distinguer la véritable nature des institutions politiques du Sud-Marocain, il nous a fallu chercher, au delà des apparences, la réalité permanente que constituent les petites républiques berbères de la montagne. Derrière la façade féodale récemment élevée par les maîtres de l'Atlas, nous avons aperçu les résistances qu'opposent, depuis plusieurs générations, aux amghars et aux caïds du Makhzen, les tribus, obstinément attachées à leurs institutions démocratiques ou oligarchiques.

Avant d'étudier le jeu des forces qui ont amené la transformation du pays, il est nécessaire d'examiner l'aspect extérieur des petites unités sociales du Sous, de tracer leurs contours et de déterminer la nature des alliances qui les unissent en groupes plus vastes. Négligeant pour l'instant de considérer les divisions administratives de notre temps, nous remettrons à plus tard l'étude des grands commandements, de leur organisation et de leurs frontières et nous chercherons tout d'abord à étudier la nature des parties qui les constituent. Cette fois encore, les habitants des hautes-vallées demeurées libres, ou bien, dans les régions transformées de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

nos jours par le Makhzen, les vieillards qui ont vécu la vie d'autrefois, seront nos guides les plus sûrs ; mieux que les serviteurs des caïds, qui savent surtout les divisions établies dans les tribus en vue de faciliter la répartition des impôts, ils pourront nous aider à découvrir la structure sociale du pays berbère.

Une rapide enquête permet de voir, en effet, que les limites des grands commandements ne correspondent en aucune manière à des divisions naturelles ; ces frontières suivent habituellement les limites traditionnelles des tribus, mais comme elles ont été fixées par la conquête, il arrive aussi qu'elles partagent d'une manière arbitraire un territoire jadis indivis ; enfin, à l'intérieur même des régions placées sous l'autorité de l'un des puissants caïds de la montagne, on observe la présence de petits états, nombreux et enchevêtrés, superposés les uns aux autres, dont la longue existence, attestée par l'histoire locale, nous montre l'activité passée et la tenace vitalité. La même complexité de structure apparaît aussi dans les régions berbères directement soumises au Makhzen — telles que le pays des Haha, la plaine des Chtouka, ainsi que dans tout l'Anti-Atlas rallié ou dissident. Ce sont ces petites unités, que l'organisation souvent arbitraire du commandement n'a pas toujours respectées, qui méritent de retenir ici toute notre attention.

Les petits groupes dont est formée la société berbère peuvent être classés selon leur degré d'importance : le plus simple est le hameau ou le village ; les villages s'associent fréquemment pour former l'unité à laquelle nous donnons habituellement dans notre terminologie administrative le nom de sous-fraction ; plusieurs sous-fractions ou une dizaine de villages constituent un petit état élémentaire que l'on désigne généralement par le terme de fraction et auquel nous donnerons ici de préférence le nom de « canton » ; une réunion de fractions, trois ou quatre, parfois huit ou dix, prend le nom de tribu ; un groupe de tribus ou une masse considérable de fractions — vingt ou trente — celui de confédération.

Bien qu'une confédération se divise en tribus, une tribu en fractions, une fraction en sous-fractions et une sous-fraction en villages et hameaux, l'organisation hiérarchique de la société berbère ne présente pas des caractères d'uniformité absolue qui seraient d'ailleurs inconciliables avec la variété de la vie. C'est ainsi que parfois les confédérations n'existent pas et que les tribus

représentent les groupes les plus vastes ; d'autres fois, de petites unités ayant les dimensions moyennes d'une « fraction » se trouvent en haute montagne, indépendantes et isolées; enfin, il arrive que de gros villages comme ceux qui se développent à l'origine des vallées supérieures aient une importance suffisante pour former par eux-mêmes des sous-fractions. Ces exceptions marquent d'ailleurs avec plus de force l'individualité des divers groupes, dont nous chercherons ici à définir la nature.

Il est nécessaire de faire observer dès à présent que les Berbères ne savent guère appliquer de noms distincts à ces divers organismes que les besoins de notre politique administrative nous obligent à distinguer. Ils les désignent le plus souvent par le terme vague de « taqbilt » (1), et dans leur esprit, ces groupes sociaux que nous nous attachons à séparer pour mieux comprendre leur nature sont de simples subdivisions à l'intérieur de vastes groupes ethniques ; aussi leur suffit-il pour les définir de dire le nom porté par les hommes qui les forment : les « Ihahan » désignent ainsi ce que nous appelons la *confédération* des Haha; « Igedmiwon », la *confédération* des Gedmiwa, « Isouktan » la *tribu* des Souktana, « Afifen » celle des Nfifa sans qu'on n'utilise jamais aucun nom désignant l'organisme social qu'est une confédération ou une tribu.

Très souvent les hommes qui composent les États sont regardés comme les descendants d'un ancêtre éponyme : Aït Ou 'Azzoun, Aït Zekri, Aït 'Atta (2), dont la tombe se trouve parfois en un lieu connu. Les termes de Id, Ida, Inda, Ind, par lesquels on désigne beaucoup d'unités d'importances diverses — Id Brahim — Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif, semblent impliquer à la fois l'idée de descendance commune et de groupement. Cette conception généalogique de la société berbère dont nous avons déjà contesté la valeur et que nous aurons à nouveau l'occasion d'exa-

(1) Forme berbère de l'arabe « qbila », *tribu*. On pourra remarquer que les termes du vocabulaire politique des Berbères du Sous sont presque tous arabes : « taqbilt », « mouda' », « jemaa », « moqaddem », etc.

Les termes de sous-fraction, fraction, tribu, confédération n'existent que dans notre terminologie administrative ; nous définirons chacun de ces groupes par ses institutions. Le terme de « fraction » est, on le verra particulièrement impropre, puisque ce petit état — dont le nom implique qu'il est la partie d'un tout, la tribu — a en fait des caractères mieux définis que l'organisme supérieur.

C'est pour cette raison que nous emploierons souvent ici, de préférence à « fraction », le terme de « canton ».

(2) On montre chez les Ida Ou Tanan la tombe de Sidi Mehend Gou'azzoun ancêtre prétendu des quinze fractions des Aït Ou'Azzoun ; chez les Aït 'Atta, la tombe de Dadda 'Atta sur les rives du moyen Dra.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

miner, ne peut d'ailleurs ne nous apparaître que comme une « prénotion ».

Pour l'instant nous nous attacherons, dans la région des hautes-vallées du Haut-Atlas occidental, près des sommets du Tichka, ou sur les plateaux des Ida Ou Tanan voisins de l'Atlantique, à étudier en elles-mêmes les unités sociales et politiques les mieux conservées et les plus vivantes. Écartant résolument toutes explications empruntées aux traditions populaires, nous nous efforcerons de préciser la nature des diverses catégories d'états berbères en comparant leur vie et leur structure. Nous établirons ensuite dans leur hiérarchie, l'ordre et la précision indispensables pour nous permettre de comprendre la nature des institutions locales avant qu'elles n'aient été brisées par les progrès du pouvoir personnel des chefs et du Makhzen. Il nous sera alors facile d'étendre nos observations au reste de la région du Sous de nos jours transformée par la soumission, ainsi qu'aux montagnes encore libres de l'Anti-Atlas.

Enfin, une comparaison rapide avec le pays des Jbala du nord du Maroc, le Rif et la Kabylie du Djurjura permettra d'apercevoir l'unité de structure sociale de la plus grande partie de la Berbérie sédentaire.

Sans doute nous arrivera-t-il parfois, au cours de cette étude de la morphologie sociale, de simplifier quelques aspects de la vie de ces petits organismes superposés afin de mieux marquer la nature des caractères qui permettent de les distinguer. Il ne faudra pas ignorer par suite que la valeur de nos classifications n'est qu'approchée et que nous devons nous borner souvent à définir des « types moyens » en négligeant les formes individuelles qui s'en écartent parfois quelque peu, parce qu'elles ont la variété inhérente à tout ce qui vit, naît, grandit et disparaît. Par ailleurs, on ne s'étonnera pas que nos observations ne nous permettent pas toujours d'expliquer les faits par des notions claires et logiques, qui sont inconnues des primitifs. Les liens qui unissent un Berbère à sa fraction, à sa tribu, à sa confédération font appel à des représentations qui nous semblent parfois obscures ou même contradictoires ; par suite les petits états définis par ces liens nous apparaîtront parfois sous des aspects indistincts, bien différents de ceux dont nous aimerions à décrire la nature au moyen de caractères précis et positifs.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

II. *Hameau, village, sous-fraction.* — Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, « tadchert » (1), est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' « Ikhs » (2). Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque « ikhs » occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique : Assaka, le gué; Taourirt, la colline ; Agerd, la croupe; Achbarro, le poste de guet; Anammer, la pente ensoleillée. Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité : I'aisaten, les fils d''Aisa ; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, la colline des fils de l'Hachmi ; habituellement l'un et l'autre nom, celui du lieu-dit et celui du groupe ethnique, existent à la fois.

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de « mouda' » (3), et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une « mosquée du vendredi » où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un « agadir » ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette

(1) « Tadchert », forme berbère de l'arabe « dechra », village.

(2) « Ikhs » berb. qui a le sens etymologique d'os. En pays arabisé, le groupe familial est aussi désigné par « 'adam » (même sens primitif) ou par « fekhda ».

(3) De l'arabe « mouda' », *endroit*. C'est à ce groupe que Doutté donne le nom de « clan » (Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905, Rens. coloniaux, p. 9). Formé en réalité de plusieurs groupes familiaux (« ikhs »), de provenances diverses, le « mouda' » a moins d'importance et de cohésion dans les régions indépendantes que la fraction.

Il faut tenir compte, pour apprécier les observations faites par Doutté dans le nord des Haha de ce que le pays décrit par lui avait été depuis longtemps transformé par le Makhzen.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une « jema'a », assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du « mouda' ».

L'activité politique de ce petit groupe est presque nulle. Le plus souvent, dans les tribus indépendantes, le « mouda' » n'est qu'une division administrative qui permet de répartir les charges locales : tour d'hospitalité pour nourrir les étrangers, tour de nourriture du taleb, corvée de fumier ou de labours, réparation des séguias. Chaque « mouda' » possède enfin, au voisinage des hameaux, ses terres de pacage, sa forêt de broussailles, où l'on s'approvisionne en bois de chauffage et que l'on défriche par le feu lorsque l'on veut risquer la chance d'une récolte d'orge sur les terres non irriguées. Il ne s'agit pas là de terres collectives de tribu, mais plutôt de biens de famille indivis. Un étranger au « mouda' » ne saurait s'y établir sans permission et lorsque, dans les années pluvieuses, ces terres incultes valent la peine d'être défrichées et ensemencées, on voit chaque famille se hâter d'en revendiquer sa part.

III. *La « taqbilt » fraction ou canton.* — Plusieurs « mouda' », le plus souvent quatre ou cinq sur le versant nord de l'Atlas, trois sur le versant sud, s'unissent pour participer également aux charges communes d'un petit état auquel les Berbères réservent dans la région du Tichka plus spécialement le nom de « taqbilt ».

La jema'a de la « taqbilt » formée par tous les chefs de toutes les familles anciennes des divers « mouda' », est vraiment l'organisme politique le plus vivant et le plus actif, qui témoigne le mieux de la vigueur des institutions locales; les pouvoirs administratif, législatif, exécutif sont confondus en son sein. C'est elle qui veille sur les intérêts de la communauté et assure particulièrement la défense et l'inviolabilité des frontières.

Nous n'examinerons pas ici les institutions de la « taqbilt » et le rôle de son conseil; nous chercherons seulement pour l'instant à définir les caractères morphologiques de ce groupe social dont l'importance apparaîtra sans cesse plus grande au cours de cette étude.

C'est surtout l'unité géographique du territoire, le sentiment qu'il constitue le bien propre de la communauté, quels que soient les

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

changements subis dans les guerres heureuses ou les défaites, qui donnent à la « taqbilt » sa personnalité et commandent son activité extérieure. Certes, il arrive que par suite des luttes avec les fractions voisines, un hameau situé à la limite d'un état faible, se détache pour aller chercher la protection d'une autre « taqbilt » énergique capable de soutenir ses « frères ». D'autres fois aussi, on voit s'établir dans une partie du pays, pour un temps, une petite colonie d'étrangers chassés de leur propre territoire à la suite de revers subis dans la lutte des groupes familiaux. Lorsque ces étrangers sont nombreux et que leurs hôtes ne sont pas en état de les absorber, le village des émigrés renoue peu à peu des relations avec son pays d'origine ; il constitue bientôt un îlot irréductible à l'intérieur de la « taqbilt » qui l'a recueilli, et donne plus tard naissance à une « taqbilt » autonome. Mais ces faits sont exceptionnels en haute montagne ; la plupart des territoires de ces petits états élémentaires sont stables, ont des limites traditionnelles et ne contiennent à l'intérieur de leurs frontières aucun étranger qui puisse se réclamer des « frères » d'une fraction voisine.

Un territoire de huit à dix kilomètres de diamètre, trois ou quatre « mouda' » qui rassemblent en tout la population d'une quinzaine de hameaux, d'autres fois, un ou deux gros villages seulement comme ceux que l'on trouve dans la région des sommets, en tout deux à trois cents feux, suffisent donc pour constituer une petite république berbère autonome et former un « canton ». Les frontières de ce canton ne sont pas toujours établies en tenant compte des limites géographiques naturelles ; si le plus souvent chaque haute vallée possède sa « taqbilt », c'est que le compartimentage naturel du pays se trouve précisément établi aux dimensions qui correspondent à un petit état de quelques centaines de familles; mais lorsqu'il s'agit d'un long cours d'eau, comme l'Ogdemt, l'Aghbar, l'Asif Nefis, l'Asif el Mal, chaque petit état découpe dans la vallée la surface qu'il lui faut et s'établit à sa manière dans les limites trop vastes tracées par la nature.

C'est bien l'unité du territoire, le souci de le défendre ou de l'accroître qui créent entre les familles d'un même canton un lien social durable; et non pas, comme les indigènes le croient souvent eux-mêmes, le sentiment d'une commune origine. Bien que le nom donné à la taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït 'Abdallah, Aït Mousa) tende parfois à faire supposer que tous ses habitants sont les fils d'un

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ancêtre commun, il est facile de voir que cette croyance est une pure illusion. Nous avons dit quelle était l'importance des facteurs économiques qui créent à l'intérieur même de la région du Sous une constante circulation humaine. La haute montagne, dans la région que nous étudions ici n'échappe pas à ces mouvements de populations ; il semble même que le « brassage » ethnique soit ici plus actif. Dans un des cantons de l'Aghbar, chez les Aït Lemsour par exemple, sur dix-sept familles ou « ikhs » établies dans le pays, aucune ne se considère comme autochtone ; dans le pays voisin des Seksawa, que les habitants de la plaine regardent volontiers comme le territoire d'une tribu très ancienne, on trouve pêle-mêle des familles venues d'autres tribus de montagne du voisinage, ou bien de l'Azaghar de Marrakech, de la vallée du Sous, de l'Oued Noun. Un peu plus à l'Ouest, le territoire des Ida ou Tanan n'est pas mieux fermé aux étrangers (1). Le renouvellement constant de la population est la conséquence des famines, des maladies, des exils et des bannissements ; de nouveaux arrivants s'agrègent à la masse de ceux qui les ont précédés et qui se trouvent déjà établis dans les limites précises de la « taqbilt ». Mais dans ce perpétuel renouvellement des éléments individuels qui constituent le groupe social, la forme du petit état, ses frontières et sa structure demeurent inchangées.

IV. *L'existence des « taqbilt » ou cantons est générale dans tout le Sous.* — Dans la région du Tichka, beaucoup de « taqbilt » sont indépendantes ; telles sont les Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. D'autres se groupent pour former des tribus comme les Ida Ou Mhamoud, les Seksawa, les Demsira, tout en gardant leur pleine liberté ; il en va de même dans la partie du territoire des Gedmiwa restée insoumise, sur le versant nord de l'Igdad. Les limites d'anciens cantons sont encore très apparentes dans toute la vallée du Nefis et de l'Asif el Mal en montagne. Dans tout l'ensemble du pays compris entre le Nefis et le chemin de Bibaoun, des enquêtes locales permettraient de retrouver aisément le souvenir d'un très grand nombre d'unités identiques — cent vingt

(1) Sur le renouvellement rapide de la population à l'intérieur des « taqbilt », cf. nos monographies de Massat (*Hespéris* 1924, p. 378), de l'Aghbar (*Hespéris*, 1927, p. 9), des Ida ou Tanan (*Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, p. 225).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

environ (1) — et chacune d'elles avait gardé jusqu'au milieu du siècle dernier son indépendance ou son autonomie.

Plus à l'ouest, les trois tribus confédérées qui forment les Ida Ou Tanan étaient à l'origine, vraisemblablement au XVIe siècle, faites chacune de dix unités élémentaires; elles ont peu varié depuis, et si la forte organisation politique de ce groupe enlève à ses éléments constituants une partie de leur activité, les limites de chacune d'elles, à laquelle on donne le nom d' « afous », restent cependant très précises.

La confédération des Haha elle-même, faite de douze tribus, a conservé surtout dans la région la moins transformée par la domination du Makhzen, de petites divisions intérieures dans lesquelles nous n'hésitons pas à trouver la trace d'anciennes « taqbilt ». Chaque tribu est en effet partagée en cinquièmes, « khoms », qui ont un territoire de cinquante kilomètres carrés environ, et une population totale de cinq à six cents feux groupés en plusieurs « jema'a ». A la vérité, dans le nord du même pays, comme Doutté l'a observé dès 1904 (2), le « khoms » est seulement une division administrative qu'on pourrait croire à première vue établie par le Makhzen, à seule fin de percevoir les contributions; dans le sud de la confédération, au contraire, là où les institutions anciennes n'ont pas encore entièrement disparu, le « khoms » qui prend aussi le nom d' « afous » a conservé une vie propre, qui s'est manifestée jusqu'à ces dernières années. Chez les Aït 'Aissi, les Ida Ou Bouzia, les Aït 'Amer, en effet, le conseil des notables du « khoms » a gardé jusqu'à présent quelque importance, et au cours des « siba » de la fin du siècle, il constituait encore le petit parlement d'un minuscule état autonome, semblable à ceux qui subsistent autour du Tichka.

On observerait sans peine sur le territoire des Aït Waouzgit, dans la haute vallée du Sous et autour du massif du Sirwa, ainsi que sur le plateau des Isouktan, le même état de division cellu-

(1) Cet état de division paraît très ancien dans la région que nous venons d'étudier. Le chroniqueur El Beidaq (*Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, trad. E. Lévi-Provençal, p. 63 et sqq), nous montre, au début du XIIe siècle, les Gedmiwa divisés en 46 fractions, dont les noms peuvent être partiellement identifiés. La même confédération comprend de nos jours une trentaine d'unités. De même, le groupe des Genfisa, alors divisé en 22 fractions, n'a subi que des modifications peu importantes; la plupart des tribus qui le constituaient se retrouvent aisément parmi les tribus actuelles du Tichka, et sont de nos jours encore de simples « fractions » indépendantes ; les Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan par exemple.

(2) Doutté, Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha. *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, renseignements coloniaux, 1905.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

laire. Il est d'autant plus marqué dans cette région que les cantons ne s'unissent guère pour former des tribus et que chacun d'eux avait conservé jusqu'au moment de la conquête des Glawa, entre 1913 et 1917, une complète liberté politique à l'égard de ses voisins.

Le groupe des tribus de l'Anti-Atlas nous offre de même une organisation identique à celle de la montagne des Masmouda.

Dans le pays des Chtouka, tout d'abord, on trouve en plaine ou sur les premières pentes de la montagne, une vingtaine de cantons dispersés sans autre lien entre eux que celui d'une très confuse unité historique, et comme le souvenir d'un rôle commun dans la lutte contre les Igezzoulen. Chacun d'eux groupe quelques centaines de feux rassemblés en villages circulaires défendus par des haies d'épines. Chaque canton a sa vie propre ; son chikh soumis au Makhzen est le successeur du petit amghar d'autrefois, jadis indépendant, qui s'appuyait sur l'assemblée des chefs de famille. Un peu plus haut en montagne, quelques cantons qui forment la tribu des Aït Wadrim sur les rives de l'Asif n Saghour obéissent à un seul chef, mais chacun d'eux a gardé son petit conseil de notables, un sénat de six à dix membres, qui délibère comme dans une « taqbilt » du Haut-Atlas, sur tout ce qui touche aux intérêts locaux. Plus près des sommets, la pénétration du Makhzen est moins avancée encore et l'autonomie des petits états plus apparente. Au pied du Jbel Kest, chaque petite tribu, dont les dimensions sont les mêmes que celles qui entourent le sommet du Tichka, au pays des Seksawa, demeure indépendante : Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad ont ainsi leurs constitutions séparées et différentes. Dans chaque état, selon les coutumes locales, quatre, cinq, douze « inflas » décident de la guerre et de la paix ou administrent des « agadirs » semblables à ceux que possèdent les républiques autonomes du Sirwa. Les Aït Swab du voisinage connaissent, dans leur pays hérissé de pics et creusé de cañons, ce même état de division, tandis que les petites unités sociales isolées du versant sud du même massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, semblent être l'exacte réplique des Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, que nous avons trouvés perdus dans les hautes vallées de l'Atlas, sur les pentes du Tichka qui dominent la vallée du Sous.

V. *Dimensions constantes du territoire de la « taqbilt » ou canton.*

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

— Ce qui frappe le plus, lorsqu'on compare de la sorte dans tout le Sud du Maroc ces fédérations de villages auxquelles nous donnons le nom de cantons, c'est l'égale importance de leur territoire dans les diverses régions du Sous. Parfois, surtout lorsque le canton n'est fait que d'un seul « mouda' », dans les vallées les plus reculées de la haute montagne, le sol du petit état n'occupe guère que le fond d'une vallée et les pentes immédiatement voisines ; mais, le plus souvent, sa superficie est comprise entre vingt et cinquante kilomètres carrés, et quelle que soit la force numérique de la population, elle n'excède pas ces dimensions.

Il ne peut suffire, pour expliquer ce fractionnement en unités sensiblement égales, d'invoquer la disposition géographique des lieux ; on l'observe en effet dans un pays divisé en compartiments réguliers comme dans les hautes vallées du Tichka et de l'Igdad, aussi bien que dans une région de plateaux, par exemple à l'ouest du Sirwa, dans l'Azilal, ou le sud des Haha, ou le pays des Ilalen ; de même il subsiste dans de grandes vallées telles que celles du Nefis ou du Tifnout. La raison précise de cette constance étonnante des dimensions de la « taqbilt » nous paraît devoir être cherchée dans la nature non moins invariable de ses institutions.

Dans la plupart des républiques dont le territoire est resté indépendant du Makhzen, il existe, ou il y avait naguère, des petits sénats chargés d'administrer le pays ; de nombreux indices nous montrent qu'il en allait jadis de même dans les régions berbères à présent soumises. Or, l'assemblée des notables, chefs des « ikhs » qui peuplent chacun des hameaux, et qui se réunissent chaque fois que les intérêts du groupe sont en jeu, doit pouvoir à chaque instant répondre à l'appel de son président. Qu'une discorde éclate à la limite du territoire avec un petit état voisin pour une violation du pâturage, ou bien qu'une guerre privée s'allume brusquement dans les villages, qui menace la concorde entre les frères de la « taqbilt », si bien que l'on puisse redouter à la faveur de ce désordre une attaque du pays par les ennemis de l'extérieur, il faut prendre aussitôt toutes les décisions nécessaires en vue du combat ou de la pacification. Les dimensions du canton qui s'administre lui-même, sont alors sans doute déterminées seulement par la distance maximum qui permet aux notables de se réunir aisément en une journée pour délibérer en commun.

S'il en est ainsi, de telle sorte qu'une loi fonctionnelle détermine

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les dimensions maximum de l'état berbère élémentaire qu'est le canton, on comprend aisément qu'une « taqbilt » trop nombreuse, amenée à déborder peu à peu au delà de ses limites primitives pour assurer la subsistance de ses familles, soit contrainte à se couper en deux parties dès qu'elle a conquis ou absorbé les territoires voisins et reculé ses frontières. Cette division qui fait songer au mode de reproduction le plus simple des êtres inférieurs du monde organique, apparaît sans doute alors spontanément, au hasard des discordes intérieures. L'histoire des luttes des petits états de la haute montagne nous donnerait de nombreux exemples de tels accroissements suivis de telles divisions.

Ainsi, lorsqu'un groupe particulièrement actif et belliqueux parvient à s'étendre de proche en proche et tente de conquérir toute une vallée, il se divise intérieurement. Tel est le cas des Aït Haddiyous dans le pays des Seksawa. Les traditions locales représentent ce groupe comme formé à l'origine en quatre fractions : les Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga ; les deux premières auraient disparu usées par la guerre ; les deux autres auraient fondé successivement les Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït 'Abdallah, puis les Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, tandis que des groupes étrangers ralliés, les Idma et Tassa, donnaient naissance aux Aït Mehand (1).

On aperçoit d'ailleurs aisément dans ce cas, — et il serait facile d'en citer d'autres dans tout l'Atlas —, l'importance à l'intérieur du canton de la vie de chacun des plus petits groupes sociaux, tels que le village et le « mouda' »; leur accroissement numérique, la valeur de leurs guerriers, ont pour conséquence une extension des frontières du territoire commun, au détriment des états voisins les plus faibles ; la « taqbilt » s'étend ainsi peu à peu et finit par éclater en nouvelles fractions, sans que la séparation des parties se produise toujours brusquement. Ainsi peut-on parfois expliquer les inégalités apparentes de ces cantons. Dans cette région, certaines « taqbilt » correspondent presque par leurs dimensions à ce que nous appelons habituellement des tribus, comme les Aït Haddiyous ou les Imedlaoun, qui réunissent six cents feux ou plus. D'autres « taqbilt » sont des fractions d'étendue moyenne, comme les Aït Cha'ib, les Aït Breher des Demsira. Il en est qui

(1) F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga).

sont plus petites encore, comme les Aït Dris de la tribu des Ida Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid des Seksawa. Enfin, les Aït Mehand des Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun des Demsira, ne sont plus par leurs dimensions que des « mouda' », mais leurs institutions leur donnent déjà la plupart des caractères de véritables « taqbilt » (1).

Grâce à l'étendue limitée de son territoire et au souci que ses habitants manifestent d'en défendre les frontières, le canton est un petit état d'une grande vitalité. Nous allons, au contraire, observer que les organismes plus vastes — la tribu et la confédération — se trouvent, dans la même région, beaucoup plus difficiles à définir et que le lien qui unit leurs parties semble parfois échapper à toute recherche.

VI. *La tribu ; difficulté de définir sa nature.* — Une tribu est un groupe de cantons — dont le nombre peut varier entre trois et douze — qui possède un territoire défini, un nom, quelques traditions communes, et se trouve en même temps dépourvue de toute institution politique précise, surtout dans la région du Haut-Atlas occidental qui n'a pas été modifiée par l'organisation du commandement makhzen (2).

L'unité de la tribu n'apparaît que dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, lorsque l'indépendance des cantons se trouve menacée par le Makhzen et que tous les guerriers s'assemblent afin de défendre le pays. Mais le plus souvent, le lien durable qui unit les cantons — lien qu'atteste la persistance historique du nom de la tribu — est seulement caractérisé par l'existence d'un sentiment confus de fraternité dont nous ne parvenons pas à bien voir la nature et l'origine.

On pourrait, en invoquant l'exemple que nous venons de donner

(1) Par exception, on trouve, dans certaines tribus du Dir des divisions territoriales plus petites que la taqbilt, telle que nous l'avons décrite ici. C'est le cas des Aït Semmeg, partagés en une quinzaine de minuscules unités dont le territoire ne dépasse guère celui d'un « mouda' ». De même les Mzouda, sont divisés en dix « mia », qui n'ont chacun qu'une centaine de feux. D'autre part, dans certaines régions de peuplement récent, comme le sud des Haha (tribus des Aït 'Aissi et des Ida ou Bouzia), il arrive que la tribu soit divisée en plusieurs « khoms » dont les villages sont enchevêtrés, de sorte qu'il n'est plus possible de tracer leurs frontières. Enfin, un « afous » des Ida Ou Tanan, les Id Mansour a un territoire divisé en trois parties isolées les unes des autres. Ces exceptions n'affectent qu'une infime partie du Haut-Atlas occidental et nous pouvons à bon droit les négliger dans une description d'ensemble de la structure sociale.

(2) Nous l'avons dit, il n'existe généralement pas dans les régions élevées de l'Atlas ou de l'Anti-Atlas de nom particulier pour désigner la tribu. On emploie souvent le nom de « taqbilt »; de préférence on la désigne par le nom des hommes qui la forment : « Iseksawen », « Ida 'Ou Mhamoud ».

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

du développement progressif de la « taqbilt » des Aït Haddiyous, regardés comme les ancêtres des Seksawa, selon les traditions du Haut-Atlas, chercher à regarder les parties constituantes d'une tribu comme le résultat de l'accroissement d'un groupe unique, qui se serait en même temps fragmenté en petites unités au cours des temps. Cette manière de voir serait d'ailleurs assez conforme aux représentations que se font habituellement les Berbères eux-mêmes et l'on serait tenté de la justifier par les légendes généalogiques locales. Mais nous avons dit quelle était, même en haute montagne, l'importance des apports étrangers qui rendent illusoire l'idée de communauté d'origine.

D'autre part, il serait bien difficile d'admettre que toutes les tribus ne soient que des groupes de cantons à l'intérieur desquels se trouverait une « taqbilt-mère » ayant donné naissance aux autres unités par simple développement intérieur ou par conquête. En effet, la puissance d'expansion d'un groupe privilégié ne peut vaincre indéfiniment les résistances qui surgissent de tous côtés lorsqu'il cherche à s'agrandir ; un petit état élémentaire ne garde pas toujours la même ardeur guerrière et des causes de décadence interviennent pour arrêter sa croissance. Il s'établit d'ailleurs, entre tous les cantons, des systèmes d'alliances organisés de manière à constituer dans toute région deux ligues opposées dont les efforts s'équilibrent ; cette institution, à laquelle on donne le nom de « leff » et dont nous dirons bientôt l'importance, a pour conséquence de limiter l'expansion des groupes trop actifs et d'établir entre tous une sorte de balance ; c'est sans doute à son influence conservatrice que nous devons de voir subsister dans le Haut-Atlas une grande partie des tribus et des fractions qui s'y trouvaient déjà à l'époque des Almohades (1).

L'existence d'un territoire commun, qui forme comme l'héritage historique d'un groupe de fractions dont l'unité a peut-être

(1) On a déjà signalé ailleurs cette complexité de structure de la tribu.
Cf. A. Bernard et Lacroix, *Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, p. 278. « Les tribus sont très hétérogènes en général, contenant des fractions sédentaires et d'autres nomades, des fractions religieuses et d'autres laïques, des fractions en luttes les unes contre les autres. C'est le clan et non la tribu, comme on le dit généralement, qui répond au γένος grec et à la *gens* romaine. La tribu s'est formée à la fois par le développement de l'élément familial et par l'agrégation d'éléments étrangers ». — « C'est à tort, dit M. Doutté, qu'on se représente les divisions des tribus sous la forme d'un arbre généalogique. Les divisions des groupes actuels des populations constituent généralement non des rameaux issus d'une même souche, mais des greffes supportées sur un pied primitif qu'il est devenu parfois impossible de discerner ». (Doutté, Figuig. *Notes et Impression*. — *La géographie*, 1903, t. IV, p. 186).

été jadis plus grande que de nos jours, est parfois regardée par les membres de la tribu comme le lien le plus fort par lequel ils se trouvent unis. La possession d'un sol aux frontières bien dessinées prend alors une plus grande importance que la croyance à l'existence d'un ancêtre commun. Ainsi un homme de la tribu des Ida Ou Mhamoud, dont les limites géographiques sont très précises, questionné sur les origines de sa tribu et sur la personnalité de ce Mhamoud qui lui a donné ce nom, répond : « Nous sommes des Aït Tounert. C'est le nom de notre « taqbilt »; Ida Ou Mhamoud n'est que le nom de notre pays (1). » De la même manière, dans l'Anti-Atlas, un Tamli, de la tribu des Ammeln nous dit : « Les Ammeln ne forment pas une tribu, mais ce sont des gens qui possèdent un pays dont les limites sont marquées par des montagnes. Et, dans ce pays, on trouve sept petites tribus. » Ces « petites tribus » des Ammeln se trouvent précisément être ce que nous avons appelé des « taqbilt » ou cantons.

Mais bien souvent aussi, les frontières sont mal définies et il semble qu'elles aient varié au cours des siècles. Dans la région du Tichka, certaines tribus comme les Demsira ou les Mesgina qu'on nous représente dès le XIIe siècle comme des « émigrés auprès des Genfisa » (2), étaient alors peut-être des groupes ethniques chassés en masse de la plaine par l'arrivée des Berbères nomades qui cherchaient à vivre dans l'Atlas des Masmouda. Ces unités ont dû peu à peu faire leur place au milieu de populations hostiles. Lorsqu'elles n'ont pas réussi à conquérir un habitat paisible, et qu'elles ont continué de subir le choc des tribus voisines, on conçoit que la notion généalogique primitive forme le seul lien durable entre les fractions, bien que le mélange des familles étrangères lui ait enlevé toute valeur réelle.

Le sentiment de la solidarité tribale nous semble ainsi fait de notions quelque peu confuses ou même contradictoires : celle de l'existence d'un ancêtre commun dans un pays habité par des familles venues des régions les plus diverses ; celle de l'unité d'un territoire dont les limites ne sont pas toujours fixes.

VII. *Équilibre des fractions à l'intérieur de la tribu.* — Un autre élément d'une nature toute particulière, et dont l'existence achève

(1) F. de La Chapelle (*Ibid.*).
(2) *Documents, inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 65.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de dérouter nos esprits habitués aux définitions simples et claires vient souvent s'ajouter aux précédents : on observe fréquemment une sorte d'état d'équilibre entre deux partis opposés, qui se livrent à l'intérieur de la tribu une lutte acharnée.

Dans la plus grande partie du territoire de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental, il existe deux grandes alliances dans lesquelles entrent isolément les fractions de tribus. Toutes les petites cellules politiques que nous avons décrites sous le nom de cantons, en arrivent ainsi, en s'opposant ou en s'associant en suivant la ligne des vallées ou des cols, à former comme un immense échiquier en deux couleurs qui s'étend depuis le col des Bibaoun jusqu'à la tribu des Glawa. Or, les fractions ou cantons qui constituent les tribus se trouvent souvent divisées entre ces deux « leffs » de telle manière que les deux partis y soient très exactement équilibrés. L'Aghbar est ainsi formé de quatre cantons opposés deux à deux, l'Ogdemt de cinq parties appartenant alternativement à l'une ou l'autre des alliances. Les Mzouda ont de même deux groupes de cantons répartis en damier entre lesquels se trouvent partagés les dix « mouda' » de la tribu ; les Dwiran connaissent une disposition analogue. Aussi paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, la répartition des cantons en deux partis adverses de même force devient alors une garantie de l'existence du groupe plus vaste qui forme la tribu. L'équilibre intérieur, malgré les guerres, est sans cesse assuré ; peut-être cette opposition équilibrée est-elle d'ailleurs, mieux encore qu'un marché central ou un sanctuaire vénéré, le signe permanent de l'unité.

Cet état d'équilibre n'est pas particulier au Haut-Atlas occidental; il serait facile de trouver dans l'Anti-Atlas et le Sous des exemples identiques, bien que l'équilibre des leffs soit moins rigoureux et que les alliances ne s'étendent pas à des distances aussi grandes. Ainsi voyons-nous, en plaine, la tribu de Massat formée de quinze villages, répartis en trois fractions dans une petite oasis de la plaine atlantique. Pendant un siècle, des combats incessants se sont livrés entre les Ida ou Mout établis au centre, et Aghbalou uni à Tassenoult, aux deux extrémités du territoire. Chaque groupe délibérait à part dans les périodes d'anarchie, avait ses alliés propres à l'extérieur, son recueil de droit coutumier. La tribu de Massat, dont l'unité se trouve si souvent brisée et reconstituée, est

faite de trois groupes politiques autonomes qui équilibrent leurs forces (1).

En montagne, dans la région voisine, la tribu des Aït Mzal, forte de huit cents feux, dont les beaux villages jalonnent la voie d'accès qui mène des oasis sahariennes de Tamanart, Tizounin et Aqqa à la plaine intérieure du Sous, est célèbre par l'habileté de ses commerçants, l'importance de ses marchés, l'intelligence de ses habitants. En apparence, c'est là encore un groupe uni, soumis au Makhzen, commandé par un seul chikh et doté d'une forte constitution intérieure. Un fractionnement savant permet, cependant, ici de distinguer quatre « khoms » : Tinchouft, l Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan et Afella Wasif. Chacun d'eux est lui-même partagé en trois tiers, qui comporte trois ou quatre villages de vingt feux. Le conseil d' « inflas » est formé de vingt-quatre notables, six par fraction, deux par tiers de fraction. Jadis une grande forteresse collective, détruite au temps d'une expédition du Makhzen par Sa'ïd Gellouli, grand caïd des Haha, était le symbole de l'unité des Aït Mzal. Mais, dès que l'on cherche à pénétrer par l'histoire locale la vie de la tribu, on voit qu'elle est faite surtout de la lutte que se sont livrées entre elles ses parties, avant d'avoir été soumises à un seul « amghar ». Les Aït Oufella Wasif avaient le plus souvent leur indépendance. Aussi forts par eux-mêmes que les trois fractions inférieures réunies, ils luttaient avec l'aide des montagnards, leurs voisins Ida Ou Ktir et Ida Ou Gnidif, contre leurs frères de la vallée. Ayant construit un agadir pour leurs besoins et constitué un petit parlement autonome comme si leur sénat de six notables était insuffisant pour leur activité politique, ils entretenaient dans la tribu l'état de division, et d'opposition équilibrée qui paraissait nécessaire à la vie du groupe.

Ainsi, c'est surtout lorsque les cantons qui constituent la tribu peuvent s'opposer d'une manière durable dans un territoire de faible étendue que ce groupe social prend le mieux conscience de lui-même, soit pour arriver à concilier les intérêts opposés soumis aux délibérations d'une assemblée commune, soit pour trancher par la guerre entre deux partis égaux les différents insolubles. Par un étrange paradoxe, les tribus véritablement vivantes sont les plus petites et les plus exactement divisées en parties de même force

(1) Cf. notre étude sur Mzmat, *Hespéris*, 1934.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

à l'intérieur desquelles la guerre peut sans danger se perpétuer, telles sont par exemple dans le Haut-Atlas, les tribus des Dwiran ou l'Aghbar, dans la plaine du Sous Massat ou les Aït Mzal dans l'Anti-Atlas. Les groupes de fractions plus nombreux, tels que les Demsira et les Ilalen ne sont que des agrégats de parties unies seulement par un même nom, une certaine uniformité d'existence dans un cadre géographique imprécis, et le sentiment obscur d'un rôle commun dans une histoire presque oubliée.

On peut se demander si l'état inorganique dans lequel nous trouvons à présent les tribus du Sud-Marocain est primitif; il est permis de penser qu'elles ont eu jadis des institutions positives, avant d'être comme de nos jours des cadres vides, à l'intérieur desquels les cantons vivent à leur gré ou se font la guerre en veillant seulement à respecter une sorte d'équilibre entre les forces opposées. Il serait, en effet, difficile d'admettre que des associations aussi lâches de petits états élémentaires aient réussi à subsister indéfiniment au cours des siècles, si leurs membres ne s'étaient pas autrefois senti unis par un sentiment de fraternité beaucoup plus intense qu'aujourd'hui. Liens du sang, rites d'adoption peut-être, souvenir plus net d'une histoire commune, ont dû contribuer à former ces groupes que la vie sédentaire, l'organisation des cantons, le mélange des familles ont plus tard contribué à dissocier, sans toutefois réussir à les détruire complètement.

VIII. *Diverses catégories de confédérations.* — La nature des confédérations, constituées par des groupes de tribus ou de fractions n'est pas plus facile à définir que celle des tribus elles-mêmes.

Ces groupes importants peuvent réunir jusqu'à huit et dix mille feux, répartis sur de trop vastes espaces pour que les petits états qui les forment aient toujours un sentiment très net de l'unité du territoire commun. Il est facile d'observer, en outre, que les limites de ces organismes supérieurs ne correspondent guère à des frontières naturelles, comme chez les Chtouka, fixés à la fois en plaine et en montagne, ou jadis les Heskoura ou les Genfisa établis d'une manière assez indistincte sur les deux versants de l'Atlas, aussi faut-il renoncer à chercher dans le lien du groupe social avec le sol l'explication de ces agrégats d'états élémentaires.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Si l'on examine leur structure, on peut répartir les confédérations en deux classes. Les unes sont constituées par des tribus, elles-mêmes divisées en fractions; les Haha en fournissent l'exemple le plus typique ; formés de douze tribus, ayant chacune trois, quatre ou cinq khoms, par leur cohésion et leur unité, ils donnent l'impression de constituer un ensemble homogène qui a des traditions et une vie propre. Dans d'autres confédérations, au contraire, les liens qui unissent les tribus sont fort lâches; elles ne sont guère que des masses amorphes de petits cantons autonomes, tels les Chtouka de la plaine, les Aït Waouzgit ou surtout les Gedmiwa, dont le lien mutuel est presque indéfinissable, si l'on examine l'état dans lequel ces groupes se présentent aujourd'hui.

On peut aussi, en s'inspirant de considérations historiques, distinguer les confédérations qui ont une très longue existence, attestée par les écrivains les plus anciens et qui ont en majorité subsisté jusqu'à nos jours — les Haha, les Gedmiwa, les Aït Waouzgit, et, d'autres, qui nous apparaissent au contraire comme des créations plus récentes, volontaires, factices, au sens étymologique du mot, constituées pour un but déterminé ; le meilleur exemple en est celui des Ida Ou Tanan.

Ces deux classifications, morphologique et historique, ne sont pas exclusives l'une de l'autre; les confédérations anciennes et stables peuvent être, en effet, organisées comme chez les Haha, ou bien amorphes, comme chez les Gedmiwa ; les confédérations factices peuvent être fortement charpentées et durables, ainsi que les Ida Ou Tanan, ou bien au contraire éphémères et relâchées, comme ce groupe des Aït Tamedlou qu'a naguère connu de Foucauld dans le Sirwa et dont nous ne retrouvons plus à présent que le souvenir.

Le sentiment de la communauté d'origine n'explique pas mieux l'unité des confédérations que celle des tribus. La provenance diverse des éléments dont elles sont formées de nos jours est assez évidente. On ne saurait, d'autre part, tenter d'attribuer aux hommes qui appartiennent à ces vastes ensembles un type ethnique déterminé; ou du moins si quelques caractères morphologiques paraissaient communs aux habitants d'une même région, faudrait-il y voir plutôt le résultat d'une adaptation locale aux conditions d'existence que la preuve de leur descendance commune.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

IX. *Les confédérations historiques.* — Plus positif est le lien qui unit les fractions et les tribus dans le souvenir commun et parfois confus des grands événements historiques auxquels elles ont pris part dans un passé parfois lointain. Nous avons dit le rôle des grandes tribus almohades à l'époque du Mahdi Ibn Toumert et la forte organisation qu'elles reçurent alors, au point que chacune d'elles devint comme une des colonnes sur laquelle ' Abd el Moumen put faire reposer le poids de l'Empire fondé en quarante années, de l'Espagne à Tunis. De même, les tribus qui ont formé les Hintata jusqu'au XVIe siècle, ou celles des Haha au XIXe siècle ont participé en totalité à des conquêtes ou à l'exploitation de vastes commandements. Mais, en dehors de ces périodes glorieuses, les liens qui unissent les tribus et les fractions entre elles se relâchent; les confédérations ne connaissent plus guère que la vie élémentaire des petits états qui les constituent. Comme certains organismes inférieurs et multicellulaires du monde animal, elles ne présentent alors aucune trace de centralisation. Mais quelque chose survit encore de l'unité temporaire qu'elles connurent : lentement repoussées de leur habitat par les chocs des dernières tribus arrivées en plaine, il arrive qu'en changeant progressivement de territoire, elles gardent cependant le sentiment de leur unité. Ainsi ont fait les Haha dont les villes bordaient au XVIe siècle le Tensift, s'il faut en croire Léon l'Africain, et qui ont maintenant l'oued Qsob comme frontière du Nord. D'autres fois, comme les Aït Waouzgit, elles s'avancent à travers la montagne par les grandes voies de communication; nous voyons, en effet, ce groupe de fractions, dont la plus grande partie reste de nos jours, comme au XIIe siècle, concentrée autour du massif du Sirwa, s'étendre par ailleurs vers le Nord et parvenir par l'Asif Nefis jusqu'à la plaine de Marrakech (1). Mais, au cours de ces périodes sans gloire, il arrive aussi que les confédérations historiques cessent d'exister : leurs éléments subsistent alors intacts, mais disjoints, ainsi les tribus du Tichka, qui sont les restes épars

(1) Au XIIe siècle les Aït Waouzgit, entièrement distincts des tribus du Nefis, étaient établis exclusivement autour du Sirwa. A la suite d'une révolte, ils furent divisés en deux parties et annexés aux Tinmellel et aux Hintata par ordre d'Abd el Moumen (*Documents inédits*, p. 62, 194).

Nous retrouvons à présent un groupe d'Aït Waouzgit établis sur le Jebel Kik, ancien domaine des Hintata : c'est la tribu des Ouzgita d'Agergour. Les noms des leffs du Nefis, les Aït Atman et Aït Iraten, se retrouvent comme noms de leffs et de fractions dans le Sirwa. Au milieu du XIXe siècle, les deux chefs de Tagontaft et de Telwet se souvenaient encore de la fraternité des Aït Waouzgit du Nefis et des Glawa et ils l'invoquèrent pour se prêter un mutuel appui lors de l'expédition du Makhzen contre Tagontaft (*Cf. plus loin*, p. 305).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

des Genfisa du XIIIe siècle ; les tribus des deux versants de l'Atlas à l'est du col des Glawa, aujourd'hui isolées, formaient jadis les Heskoura. Les confédérations en arrivent même à disparaître à peu près complètement lorsqu'elles sont usées par plusieurs siècles de guerres à l'extérieur. Mais que se présente à nouveau une occasion de conquête, comme il advint aux Haha au cours du siècle dernier, la confédération se rassemble une fois encore sous le commandement d'un grand chef, reprend conscience de son unité et reconstitue, pour quelques générations, un patrimoine de souvenirs et de traditions dont vivront les siècles suivants.

Sauf pendant les époques où les grandes confédérations historiques tombent tout entières sous la domination d'un chef unique, les tribus ou les fractions qui les forment n'ont pas d'institutions communes. Du moins gardent-elles fréquemment pour leurs réunions générales, un lieu saint, un sanctuaire ou même une plaine spécialement réservée à cet effet. C'est lorsqu'elles se rassemblent pour la guerre que reparaît, selon une tradition qui semble millénaire, un ordre de bataille rigoureusement déterminé : en tête, les porte-bonheur, puis les divers groupes, venant chacun à leur rang, dans une succession connue de tous. On sait quel parti avait tiré Ibn Toumert de cette institution pour organiser le « Tamyiz » des Almohades. On l'observe encore de nos jours très vivant chez les Haha, comme en bien d'autres régions du Maroc berbère (1).

On peut se demander si les confédérations historiques, dont les parties sont le plus souvent de nos jours si faiblement unies les unes aux autres, ne sont pas ce qui subsiste, en tant que « cadre social », de masses ethniques homogènes arrivées jadis à la conquête du Sud-Marocain. Envahissant l'Atlas en groupes nombreux, peut-être encore attachées aux formes de la vie nomade, les populations masmoudiennes, divisées en grandes familles, auraient ainsi peu à peu conquis leur place; plus tard, elles auraient perdu le sentiment de leur unité par l'apport d'éléments étrangers, ou plus simplement encore en raison du lien plus fort qui attache à leur sol les habitants des fractions. En même temps, les institutions communes auraient disparu.

Ce qui confirmerait cette manière de voir est l'importance qu'ont encore les liens de confédération chez les Berbères Senhaja semi-

(1) En particulier chez les Ait 'Atta, confédération de semi-nomades du Saghro et de l'Atlas central, et chez les Ghomara.

MOGADOR
Tribus et fractions dans les Confederations des HAHA et des IDA ou TANAN
IDA ou ZEMZEM : tribu
Injafen : fraction
Echelle 1/500.000
IDA ou GOURD
IDA ou WISSARN
INEKNAFEN
AIT Azaghar ZELTEN
IDA ou ZEMZEM
MTOUGGA
IMGRAD
IDA ou GELLOUL
IDA ou BOUZIA
IDA ou KAZZO
AIT AISSI
AIT ou TGHOUMMA
AIT TINKERT
IDA OUAZZOUN
AIT AMER
TANAN
IFESFASEN
IUA ou ZIKI
Bousbou
AGADIR

[facing P. 168]

nomades des deux versants de l'Atlas central. Nous voyons, en effet, dans cette région, ainsi qu'à l'est du Dra, des groupes importants qui vivent encore sous la tente, prendre possession du pays et garder, malgré leurs luttes intérieures et leur dispersion, un sentiment particulièrement fort de leur unité ethnique (1). Tels sont les Aït 'Atta, les Aït Morghad, les Aït Haddido, les Aït Sokhman, les Izayan qui entrent en guerre par grandes masses et semblent se pousser par vagues successives du sud au nord, du désert vers les plaines du Gharb. Le plus souvent ces confédérations restent fidèles à l'usage du « chikh fouqani », du chef élu par tout l'ensemble des tribus de même race. Une telle unité contraste au plus haut point avec l'état de division des confédérations de sédentaires Masmouda que nous trouvons morcelées en fractions opposées les unes aux autres, dans le cadre même des tribus, par le jeu d'alliances territoriales auxquelles on donne le nom de leffs (2).

L'état de division cellulaire des groupes Masmouda pourrait être ainsi regardé comme le terme d'une longue évolution, la conséquence de la prise de possession du sol, de l'appropriation des terres cultivables par des groupes jadis errants et attachés primitivement à la vie pastorale. Une telle hypothèse, dont la fragilité est évidente, nous paraît cependant mériter d'être examinée avec intérêt; les conclusions de nos recherches sur l'origine des leffs viendront bientôt, en effet, la confirmer et accroître sa valeur.

X. *Les confédérations factices.* — Les confédérations que nous venons d'étudier forment encore de nos jours les groupes historiques les plus anciens des Masmouda.

Les Ida Ou Tanan nous donnent un exemple différent et unique dans le Sud du Maroc : celui d'une confédération récente et factice, mais dont l'organisation répond à des nécessités permanentes et qui subsiste depuis plusieurs siècles (3).

C'est au moment où la pénétration du Makhzen, qui s'effectuait

(1) A la vérité, il se peut que ces confédérations soient composées elles aussi d'éléments de provenances diverses. Mais un lien artificiel de fraternité, créé par des cérémonies d'adoption ou par l'existence d'obligations d'assistance mutuelle peut sans doute, chez les seminomades, jouer le même rôle que le sentiment de communauté d'origine.

(2) Comparer sur la solidarité des grandes tribus arabes, telles que les Dwi Menia, A. Bernard, *Les Confins algéro-marocains*, Paris 1911, p. 96.

(3) Seul parmi les historiens et les géographes, Ibn Khaldoun cite le nom des Ida Ou Tanan sans qu'il paraisse s'appliquer à cette région. Les « Youtanan » lui apparaissent comme l'une des subdivisions des Mesfiwa, appartenant à la tribu d'Asseden des Masmouda, *Histoire des Berbères*, t. II, p. 160.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

par le sud des Haha et la plaine du Sous allait mettre en péril les fractions indépendantes de la pointe extrême de l'Atlas occidental, qu'un marabout, Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, disciple de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im, selon la tradition locale, sut donner aux Berbères la constitution qui allait leur permettre de fonder un petit état fermé dans l'isolement des montagnes et des hauts plateaux voisins de l'Atlantique. Trois tribus, égales en droit, et sans doute égales en force à l'origine, forment la confédération. Ce sont les Aït Tinkert, les Aït Ou'azzoun, les Ifesfasen, qui vivent d'ailleurs de nos jours sous des régimes politiques différents et règlent comme bon leur semble leurs affaires intérieures. Mais, deux fois par an, au cours du « mousem » du saint patron du pays, chaque tribu délègue des représentants en nombre égal, qui règlent selon un cérémonial déterminé et d'un commun accord « sous l'olivier sauvage » de Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, toutes les contestations qui ont pu s'élever entre les fractions limitrophes. Lorsqu'un danger extérieur, la conquête du Makhzen surtout, vient à menacer le pays, l' « ajmo'a » général, la réunion de toutes les tribus en armes, est décidée au Souk el Khemis d'Imouzzer, à la frontière commune des trois tribus. Ici, malgré la divergence des intérêts locaux, en dépit de la tendance centrifuge des trois tribus qui se trouvent en contact avec des populations différentes, la volonté de conserver l'indépendance vis-à-vis de l'étranger a été la plus forte ; elle a suffi pour constituer un bloc irréductible formé des éléments ethniques les plus divers. On aperçoit ici la force de l'idéal berbère d'indépendance, seul capable d'agglomérer la poussière sociale des petits états élémentaires ; la menace permanente du Makhzen a suffi pour faire disparaître le morcellement du pays, comme s'il était nécessaire pour créer dans la masse amorphe des « taqbilt » de solides noyaux de résistance, de la frapper à coups répétés (1).

XI. *Le « canton » est dans le Sous l'unité politique essentielle.* —

(1) On peut rapprocher de l'exemple des Ida Ou Tanan celui des tribus indépendantes, voisines des sommets du Tichka, sous la pression des caïds de Bouaboud et de Tagontaft. Au cours des dernières années, le petit chef de la « taqbilt » des Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, rêvait, dit-on, d'unir les débris épars de l'ancienne confédération disparue des Genfisa pour reconstituer, à son profit, une république du Tichka. Par ce suprême moyen, l' « amghar » aurait tenté, grâce à une politique d'union, de sauver les traditions berbères de la ruine inévitable qui les menace. Notre intervention est venue bouleverser ces projets et a changé l'équilibre des forces dans la haute montagne. Mais si les tentatives de ce petit chef avaient réussi, on aurait vu naître une nouvelle confédération, qui aurait pu prendre le nom d'Aït Haddiyous et dont l'aspect n'aurait sans doute pas différé beaucoup du groupe des Ida Ou Tanan.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Il nous est facile de voir à présent quelle est l'importance relative des divers groupes sociaux dont nous observons la présence dans le Sous.

Les confédérations ne nous apparaissent que par exception ou à de courtes périodes de leur existence comme des états véritables ; elles n'ont le plus souvent d'autre activité que celle des unités les plus faibles qui les composent. Les tribus ne sont, elles aussi, pour la plupart, que des masses inertes de cantons séparés. Il semble que les groupes les plus importants ne soient habituellement que des cadres géographiques et historiques, à l'intérieur desquels la vie des unités plus petites qui les forment s'organise à son gré, selon les convenances particulières de chacune d'elles.

En définitive, c'est un petit état de quelques kilomètres carrés qui est, aux yeux du montagnard, la véritable patrie. Tribu, confédération ont des limites trop vastes pour le jeu de ses passions et de ses ambitions. Il faut l'organisation profitable d'un grand commandement, l'attrait des expéditions lointaines dans les riches plaines soumises du Nord ou les vallées irriguées du Sud, la force de l'esprit de guerre sainte ou l'amour de l'indépendance, parfois menacée par le Makhzen, pour que l'esprit du Berbère s'élève un instant jusqu'à l'idée d'associations plus étendues que celles des vingt familles de son pays natal. Encore garde-t-il au fond de lui-même, dans ces grandes circonstances, un sentiment plus fort que tous les autres : l'amour de sa « taqbilt » d'origine, définie par son territoire, ses institutions, ses alliances et ses haines intérieures. Survienne un affaiblissement du lien qui a réuni un instant les cantons de la montagne, le bloc se brise à nouveau et chacun retrouve, sans étonnement comme sans regret, le cadre étroit et familier de sa vallée.

XII. *Les unités sociales chez les Jbala occidentaux.* — Ainsi, la cellule de la société berbère du Sous est, de nos jours du moins, un état élémentaire plus grand que le village, plus petit que la tribu, et nous verrons par la suite, au cours de notre recherche des circonstances dans lesquelles naissent et grandissent les chefs, se confirmer l'importance de cette minuscule unité.

Mais ce n'est pas seulement dans cette province du Sous, là où il nous a été possible de multiplier nos enquêtes, que l'on observe le rôle joué dans la vie locale par ces petits cantons qui absorbent

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

la plus grande partie de l'activité politique du pays. Il en va de même dans les diverses parties du nord de l'Afrique peuplées de Berbères sédentaires. Sans chercher ici à refaire l'étude de la morphologie sociale de ces régions, nous croyons nécessaire d'indiquer à grands traits comment, sous des aspects parfois un peu différents, la même structure cellulaire que nous découvrons dans le Sud-Marocain, peut être trouvée chez les Jbala du Nord-Marocain, dans le Rif et en Kabylie; il nous suffira le plus souvent de dire comment certaines des observations déjà faites par nos devanciers s'accordent exactement avec celles que nous avons pu faire dans le Sous et l'Anti-Atlas pour qu'apparaisse la profonde unité de structure sociale de toute la Berbérie.

Le pays des Jbala présente avec le Haut-Atlas occidental de nombreuses analogies ; l'un comme l'autre confinent aux plaines tenues depuis longtemps par le Makhzen et dans les deux pays les tribus montagnardes s'attachent, dans la mesure de leurs forces, à conserver leur indépendance.

M. Michaux-Bellaire qui étudiait cette région en 1911, au moment où elle vivait dans un état de complète liberté, distinguait, comme nous l'avons fait dans le Sud-Marocain, plusieurs organismes superposés : le village, le « khoms » et la tribu (1). Le village correspond par son importance numérique — une centaine de feux en moyenne — à l'unité que nous avons trouvée sous le nom de « mouda' » dans le Haut-Atlas ; comme lui, il est administré par l'assemblée de tous les hommes, la « jema'a ». Plusieurs villages, cinq ou six environ, forment un « khoms » ou cinquième, dont le gouvernement est assuré par un conseil de notables, à raison de deux hommes par village ; le « khoms » a les mêmes dimensions territoriales et une force numérique à peine supérieure à la « taqbilt » ou fraction des Masmouda. Plusieurs « khoms » s'unissent pour former une tribu, « qbila », dont la politique extérieure s'impose généralement aux fractions qui la constituent ; ce groupe supérieur manifeste son activité au cours de réunions générales, dans les circonstances graves, lorsque tous les notables se réunissent en présence des guerriers de tout le territoire. Mais bien que les tribus aient ici une vie plus apparente que dans le Sud-Marocain, et qu'elles entrent habituellement en totalité dans la guerre qui

(1) Michaux Bellaire. *Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt*, Archives marocaines, t. XVII, p. 43.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

oppose entre elles les deux grandes ligues historiques des Senhaja et des Ghomara, le « khoms » n'en garde pas moins, à l'intérieur, une large autonomie et sa vitalité est plus marquée que celle des autres groupes inférieurs, tels que villages et hameaux.

XIII. *Importance du « Khoms »*. — On ne saurait trouver une meilleure preuve de cette individualité du « Khoms » que dans l'existence d'un insigne particulier. Chaque fraction de tribu, dit M. Michaux-Bellaire (1) « a un drapeau (alam) qui est porté par l'un des habitants du « khoms » désigné à cet effet, et qui conserve le drapeau dans sa maison. Ce drapeau n'est pas comme la bannière des confréries ou des marabouts, un morceau d'étoffe plus ou moins riche et plus ou moins brodé, et d'une couleur laissée au caprice du donateur. C'est un véritable drapeau d'une couleur déterminée et qui ne change pas; de telle façon que chaque fraction est reconnue de loin par le drapeau qui est porté avec elle... Dans les combats, le drapeau de chaque fraction en accompagne les combattants et leur sert de point de ralliement... Ce qui est assez digne de remarque, c'est que les Djebala, dans leurs luttes entre tribus, cherchent réciproquement à s'emparer du drapeau les uns des autres et que la prise d'un de ces drapeaux est considérée comme un triomphe pour ceux qui sont parvenus à s'emparer de celui du parti ennemi, et comme une honte pour ceux qui se sont laissé prendre le leur. Une fraction dont le drapeau a été pris est raillée à ce sujet par les autres Djebala. Le drapeau pris sur l'ennemi est ramené en triomphe par la fraction victorieuse avec accompagnement de musique, de tabbal et de ghaita. Il est apporté à la maison du cheikh et planté dans un arbre devant cette maison, comme un trophée. Il arrive généralement que les ennemis sont réconciliés par l'entremise des chorfa influents dans les tribus et que, parmi les clauses de la réconciliation, le rachat du drapeau est stipulé à certaines conditions ».

Il y a lieu de remarquer, en outre, que l'alam des « khoms » est différent de l'étendard remis au caïd des tribus arabes par le Sultan, qui prend le nom de « terrada ». C'est donc bien là une coutume locale, profondément liée à la vie politique du pays. L'auteur de l'étude sur les « Tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt » conclut,

(1) Michaux-Bellaire, *loc. cit.*, p. 74-77

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

en ces termes que nous conservons ici parce qu'ils montrent chez les Ghomara du Djebel des notions et des sentiments semblables à ceux que nous avons observés chez leurs frères Masmouda de l'Atlas-occidental : « L'existence d'un véritable drapeau particulier à chaque fraction de tribu dans les Djebala, le point d'honneur attaché à la défense de ce drapeau et la honte qu'il y a à se le laisser prendre, indiquent bien, chez les montagnards une sorte de sentiment de patriotisme. Le fait que ce drapeau n'est pas celui d'un marabout, ni d'une zaouia et qu'aucune idée religieuse ne semble s'y rapporter, dénote de la part de ceux qui sont susceptibles de cet attachement pour le drapeau en tant qu'emblème de la tribu ou de la fraction de tribu, un sentiment d'affection pour leur sol et de solidarité de race à côté de la solidarité religieuse et de la vénération superstitieuse pour les marabouts locaux, morts ou vivants. Sans doute, ce patriotisme est très restreint puisqu'il ne s'étend qu'au petit territoire d'une fraction de tribu, mais il n'en est pas moins le signe d'une mentalité qui n'est pas uniquement religieuse et il dénote un sentiment d'autonomie d'autant plus grand que les drapeaux des Djebala flottent au-dessus des combattants, non seulement dans les luttes de tribu à tribu, mais également dans leurs batailles contre les troupes du Makhzen et qu'ils se dressent alors en face du drapeau rouge du Sultan ».

XIV. *Tribus et fractions chez les Senhaja de Srair.* — La vie sociale du Rif, surtout dans la région montagneuse des Senhaja de Srair et sur la côte entre l'Ouringa, frontière occidentale des Mtiwa et l'Ighzer Amqran, limite orientale des Aït Temsaman, apparaît sous les mêmes aspects.

Autour des sommets du Tidighin — sur lequel la légende veut que l'arche de Noé se soit arrêtée — les conditions d'existence présentent de grandes analogies avec celles du Haut-Atlas. Mêmes vallées étroites et profondes, fermées par des gorges, mêmes villages perdus dans la verdure des noyers, même vie indépendante à l'abri des influences du Makhzen.

Là encore, nous voyons les villages, plus importants parfois qu'au pays des Masmouda, s'unir pour former des groupes de deux cents foyers environ qui prennent ici encore le nom de « khoms », et dont la fédération constitue la tribu. Les petites tribus des sommets, tels les Beni Khennous, les Beni Bou Nsar, n'ont

qu'un seul « khoms », et sont identiques par leurs dimensions et leur force aux « taqbilt » indépendantes que nous avons trouvées autour du Tichka dans le pays des Masmouda. Plus bas, vers la mer ou l'Wergha, les tribus ont presque toutes quatre ou cinq khoms qui gardent chacun une existence distincte.

Parfois, il arrive, comme dans les régions montagneuses ou les plaines du Sous, qu'un cadre géographique tout préparé par la nature ait fixé la place d'une petite tribu et délimité un territoire qui dépasse, par sa surface et sa richesse, la valeur d'un khoms ; mais, ici encore, nous voyons alors les lois de la vie sociale l'emporter sur celles de la vie matérielle. La division en deux partis ennemis vient rompre l'unité que la géographie semblait imposer.

Ainsi, la riche vallée de Taghzout, au sud du Tidighin, semble destinée à constituer un petit état uni, aux limites précises. Les villages y prennent, grâce à la fertilité du sol et à l'activité des habitants une importance inaccoutumée. Chacun d'eux, perdu sous l'ombrage d'immenses noyers, forme avec sa mosquée, ses tombeaux de saints, ses bois sacrés dans lesquels délibèrent les conseils de notables, un centre de paisible activité. Des artisans renommés viennent par leurs travaux donner à ce coin privilégié de la montagne un aspect inattendu d'animation urbaine. Mais là, comme à Massat, dans la plaine du Sous, chez les Aït Mzal de l'Anti-Atlas, de même que dans l'Aghbar du Haut-Atlas, l'impérieuse nécessité du fractionnement a créé deux divisions; il faut distinguer dans cette vallée Taghzout n Dara et Taghzout n Ouarigha — Taghzout d'en haut et Taghzout d'en bas, qui forment des cantons séparés. Certains hameaux d' « en bas » ont été fondés par des habitants de la fraction supérieure qui gardent, aussi longtemps que règne la paix, les relations qu'il leur plaît avec leurs « frères » de l'autre partie de la vallée. Mais quand la guerre éclate, les liens du sang ne comptent plus. Les devoirs de chaque guerrier sont marqués par la place de sa maison sur le territoire de la tribu. Les combats sont alors si acharnés que l'on a vu, il y a quelques années, les forgerons du pays, célèbres dans tout le Maroc par leur habileté, tourner dans des blocs de fer de grossiers canons, et lancer sur les villages ennemis de lourds boulets de pierre.

De même, la petite plaine de Targist, au croisement des routes du Rif, dans un encadrement de montagnes, forme un centre naturel dont l'importance est accrue par la fertilité du sol. Ici,

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

semble-t-il, devait se trouver une ville ou du moins une forte tribu unie dans la défense des richesses naturelles du pays. Mais il arrive que là encore les limites géographiques sont trop largement tracées et les forces de dispersion ont été plus puissantes que la nature. Dans ce minuscule état de cinq cents feux, formé de douze villages alignés au pied de la montagne, on distingue un canton de l'est et un canton de l'ouest. Au cours du dernier siècle, leur lutte s'est poursuivie sans trève, avec l'appui des tribus voisines. Lorsqu''Abd el Kerim, maître du Rif et du Jbel, eut décidé, en 1925, de faire de Targist le réduit de sa défense, le souvenir des divisions intérieures était encore si vivant qu'il dut nommer un « pacha » au commandement de chacun des cantons hostiles.

XV. *Les khoms dans le Rif anarchique.* — Peut-être est-il d'ailleurs difficile, dans cette partie du Rif, de trouver au moyen de quelle institution le canton conserve sa personnalité et sa vie propre ; la raison profonde de cet état de division du pays en petites unités d'égale importance semble ici moins apparente et plus mystérieuse que partout ailleurs. Nous ne trouvons plus, en effet, de conseils de notables composés d'une manière aussi précise que dans le Jbel occidental et le Sud-Marocain. Dans les hautes vallées qui descendent du Tidighin, ce sont tous les guerriers en armes qui viennent assister aux délibérations du village, du « khoms » ou de la tribu. L'assemblée prend alors le nom d' « agrao » (1). La discorde et le tumulte y éclateraient sans doute bien vite si les marabouts de la famille des Khemalcha n'exerçaient leur arbitrage entre les partis hostiles. Grâce à leur rôle pacificateur, ces chefs religieux ont colonisé à leur profit tout le pays et jeté comme un réseau de zaouïas sur la montagne ; ils sont d'ailleurs habiles dans l'art de susciter des intrigues pour pouvoir aussitôt, grâce à leur baraka, arrêter les conflits.

Au cœur du Rif, chez les Beni Ouriaghel, les Beni Touzin et une partie des Boqqoya, l'organisation est plus relâchée encore (2).

(1) Berbère « agrao », plur. « igraoun », nom tiré du verbe « grou » *se réunir* (Biarnay *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif*, p. 70). L' « agrao » correspond à l'ajmo'a » des Ida Ou Tanan, à la « jema'a » de Kabylie.

(2) La tribu des Beni Ouriaghel, divisée en cinq «khoms», présente une structure sociale assez compliquée, qui résulte à la fois de l'état de guerre permanent dans lequel vivaient d'habitude les familles et de l'infertilité du sol qui disperse les habitants. Chaque « khoms » possède un territoire principal en montagne et des enclaves en plaine ou inversement. En outre, les marabouts forment un « khoms » supplémentaire dispersé dans tout le pays.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les marabouts deviennent incapables de s'opposer au développement de l'anarchie; armés eux-mêmes, divisés entre eux comme les gens du commun par les guerres privées, ils n'ont plus l'autorité qu'il faudrait pour faire régner la paix dans les assemblées. Les « igraoun » deviennent pour tous les groupes familiaux l'occasion de mesurer leur force, et il arrive très souvent, lorsque la tribu est livrée à elle-même, que tout gouvernement disparaisse pour faire place à la domination des plus belliqueux.

Cependant, même dans ces circonstances défavorables, le sentiment de l'unité du territoire subsiste, et en dépit des guerres privées, l'assemblée des clans qui forme le conseil du « khoms » garde encore, par un prodige de mémoire collective, la notion précise des limites territoriales. On la voit reparaître intacte lorsque les intérêts communs se trouvent menacés.

Il existe dans le nord du Maroc, comme dans le sud, au-dessus des tribus, des groupes plus vastes qui méritent le nom de confédérations : ce sont, d'une part, les Ghomara formés de neuf tribus, entre l'Ouringa, Chichaouen et Tigissas, et d'autre part les Senhaja de Srair autour du Tidighin, qui en réunissent dix. Ce sont là les restes — les témoins peut-on dire — de deux masses ethniques — Ghomara et Senhaja — dont les luttes ont rempli presque toute l'histoire du pays. Nous verrons bientôt comment de nos jours, tandis que s'apaise la guerre des deux races, apparaît chez les tribus détachées de l'une ou l'autre des deux confédérations la notion de ligue ou de parti politique qui se substitue à la vieille croyance d'une commune origine. Il n'est pas moins intéressant d'observer ici que ces deux confédérations, qui ont le mieux conservé la tradition historique des deux grandes races ennemies des Senhaja et des Ghomara, ne sont cependant que des masses presque inorganiques de tribus, qui n'ont entre elles que des liens fragiles et mal définis (1). Il semble qu'ici encore, les confédérations subsistent

Malgré cette confusion et en dépit de l'hostilité habituelle des groupes familiaux à l'intérieur du « khoms » et du « mouda' », les limites de chaque fraction restent parfaitement connues et il arrive fréquemment que les querelles intestines s'apaisent pour permettre à chaque khoms d'entrer en lutte contre le voisin.

Seuls dans tout le Rif, les Beni Ouriaghel ont des « khoms » dont le territoire est formé de parcelles séparées. Partout ailleurs chez les tribus des Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, la division en « khoms », très apparente, découpe le pays en petites unités sensiblement égales en force et en surface, quelles que soient les conditions géographiques de la vie.

(1) Les tribus Ghomara sont unies surtout par leurs traditions historiques. Elles ont cependant gardé un centre de réunion, Ain Hajer, et un ordre hiérarchique (Beni Bouzra, Beni

comme des cadres vides, dans lesquels les tribus et les khoms vivent à leur gré et concluent des alliances en pleine indépendance, comme si dans le calme relatif de notre temps qui succède aux guerres acharnées du passé, les unités les plus faibles se constituaient peu à peu et prenaient conscience de leurs intérêts particuliers et de leurs besoins.

XVI. *La « taddert » et l' « 'arch » kabyles.* — Un des caractères les plus originaux de la Kabylie du Djurjura est l'existence d'une population dont la densité est souvent supérieure à celle du territoire français. Le plus souvent, on n'y trouve pas de petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, comme dans le Haut-Atlas des Masmouda, mais plutôt des grands villages de cent à cent cinquante maisons, qui ont gardé jusqu'à nos jours une étonnante activité intérieure. Les institutions républicaines s'y trouvent plus développées que dans le Sud du Maroc et le droit coutumier a résisté, après quatre-vingts ans de conquête, à la transformation politique et économique du pays (1).

Jadis, les villages se groupaient, au nombre de trois ou quatre, pour former une tribu, « 'arch ». Les « 'arch » entraient en composition pour constituer des confédérations auxquelles on donnait le nom de « qbila ».

A première vue, surtout si l'on observe l'état du pays depuis la conquête, il semble que le village, « taddert », soit une unité comparable, par ses institutions, à la « taqbilt » des Masmouda. Les intérêts communs sont remis à une « jema'a ». Tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, font en droit partie de cette assemblée ; en fait, seuls les chefs de famille, « tomman », et les vieillards de bon conseil, « 'oqqal », y prennent la parole. L'existence d'une caisse commune, le rôle de l' « amin » ou président, la manière dont les délibérations sont tenues, rendent ce petit sénat assez semblable aux réunions d' « Aït Arba'in » ou « Inflas » dirigées par le « moqaddem » dans le Haut-Atlas occidental.

Lorsque les villages sont trop faibles pour constituer une nom-

Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Rzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa). Les tribus formant la confédération des Senhaja de Srair n'ont, à notre connaissance du moins, aucune institution commune. Ces deux groupes ont subi partiellement l'influence du Makhzen et reçu parfois des chefs qui commandaient nominalement, au moins, à la totalité des tribus.

(1) Milliot. Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles, *Hespéris*, 1926, 4e tr.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

breuse jema'a, ils s'assemblent et forment un « toufiq », de manière à rassembler des forces égales à celles d'une « taddert » normale. L'analogie peut alors sembler complète entre cette fédération de petits villages du Djurjura et le groupe de hameaux qui constituent une « taqbilt » indépendante dans l'Atlas occidental.

Cependant, si l'on veut bien examiner avec plus d'attention les institutions de la Kabylie au temps de son indépendance, on voit que la « taddert » est plutôt comparable au « mouda' » des Masmouda ou au village des Jbala avec un surcroît d'activité et de vie intérieure explicable par l'existence d'une population plus dense. C'est, au contraire, l' « 'arch » qui représente le mieux le petit état autonome, maître de son territoire et de sa politique, ce canton dont nous avons observé, dans les pages qui précèdent, l'existence si générale sous les noms divers de « taqbilt », d' « afous » ou de « khoms » dans le Sous et le nord du Maroc. A la vérité, la jema'a de l' « 'arch », aujourd'hui disparue, n'était point composée d'une manière invariable; chaque village se contentait d'y envoyer deux ou trois délégués, ainsi qu'on le fait pour le « khoms » des Jbala, mais ses attributions étaient les mêmes que celles du conseil de la « taqbilt » du Sud du Maroc : veiller à la sécurité des frontières, maintenir l'ordre, décider de la guerre ou de la paix. Souvent, la concorde était maintenue à l'intérieur en excitant les guerriers contre les « 'arch » plus faibles du voisinage. Si des troubles menaçaient, on faisait comme dans le Haut-Atlas, renaître la bonne harmonie en cherchant querelle aux ennemis traditionnels de l'extérieur (1).

L' « 'arch », comme la « taqbilt » des Masmouda ou le « khoms » des Jbala n'avait pas de limites absolument invariables; parfois, des villages s'en détachaient, des groupes se démembraient ou se fédéraient séparément; mais, par sa stabilité relative, cette unité constituait cependant en Kabylie le groupement politique le plus durable. En invoquant les modifications qu'ont pu subir certaines « 'arch » du Djurjura, on a voulu parfois les regarder comme des fédérations temporaires, des associations fragiles conclues pour un temps limité, et opposer à leur instabilité prétendue la forte constitution de la « taddert » (2). Mais cette manière de voir est

(1) *La Kabylie*, Hanoteau et Letourneux, Paris 1873, t. II, p. 64-67.

(2) Masqueray a déjà montré comment les critiques d'Hanoteau et Letourneux sur l'importance de l' « 'arch » devaient être atténuées, *Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie*, p. 93.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

contredite par les observations faites aux premières années de la conquête ; la vitalité de ces petits états, si semblables à ceux du Haut-Atlas occidental, paraît avoir été alors aussi grande que celle des « taqbilt » et des « khoms » des sédentaires du Maroc (1).

Ce qui a pu contribuer à faire accepter l'idée de la prépondérance du village sur l' 'arch est la rapide décadence dans laquelle l''arch n'a pas tardé à tomber par suite de la soumission de la Kabylie à la France. Cette union des villages, cette mise en commun d'un territoire dont on assurait la défense n'avait d'intérêt que dans un pays souvent agité par la guerre. La paix devait suffire à affaiblir le lien établi entre les « taddert » pour constituer des états autonomes. Nous voyons de même au Maroc, dans les plaines soumises au Makhzen, le « khoms » des Haha perdre peu à peu son importance et la vie locale se réfugier dans les limites plus étroites du « mouda' » (2). La constitution en Kabylie d'unités administratives nouvelles sous la domination française, connues sous le nom de douars et dont les limites parfois arbitraires ont brisé le cadre ancien des « 'arch » y a évidemment contribué. Comme d'autre part les villages kabyles avaient déjà une grande activité, on s'explique aisément que la « taddert » apparaisse de nos jours après l'effacement de l' « 'arch », avec son minuscule territoire et sa jema'a encore active, comme la seule unité sociale naturelle restée vivante en pays kabyle.

L'alliance de plusieurs « 'arch » formait une « *qebila* », tribu ou confédération. Mais les institutions de ces groupes plus vastes devenaient de moins en moins précises et les liens qui unissaient leurs parties n'apparaissaient qu'assez rarement, au cours des guerres importantes. On pourrait répéter pour ces « qebila » du Djurjura ce que l'étude du Haut-Atlas et du Rif nous a permis de dire pour les confédérations. De plus grandes masses de populations s'unissaient même, dans des circonstances impérieuses, mais pour les assembler, il fallait l'instinct de défense contre l'étranger ou la main ferme d'un chef puissant. Le péril ou l'autorité personnelle disparus, la Kabylie devenait à nouveau une poussière d'états indépendants, réunis seulement par des alliances traditionnelles

(1) Devaux, *Les Kebailes du Djerdjera*, p. 40. Les « 'arch » entrent en effet, tout entières dans la composition de certains soffs kabyles. Cf. plus loin, p. 211.

(2) Doutté. Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, 1905 ; sens. coloniaux, p. 11.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ou le souvenir confus de grands événements vécus ensemble (1).

XVII. *Importance du canton, cellule politique des états berbères.* — De cette longue étude de la nature des groupes sociaux des diverses régions de l'Afrique du Nord peuplées de berbères sédentaires, il nous est possible maintenant de dégager une conclusion dont l'importance apparaîtra plus complètement encore lorsque nous connaîtrons mieux l'évolution politique du pays. Sous des noms divers de « taqbilt », de « khoms », d' « 'arch », nous avons partout constaté l'existence de petits cantons au territoire minuscule, qui sont vraiment comme les cellules dont sont formés tous les états berbères. Parfois isolé en haute montagne, associé le plus souvent à ses voisins pour former une tribu ou une confédération, cet organisme est l'état le plus vivant, le plus actif et souvent le plus stable que les populations de l'Afrique du Nord aient été capables de créer. Il est fait de groupes plus faibles encore, villages et hameaux, dont il défend les intérêts particuliers, tandis que lui-même exige des parties qui le forment le sentiment de l'intérêt général. C'est en effet dans la défense de son territoire que cet état élémentaire affirme le mieux sa vitalité. Tribus et confédérations peuvent se briser et disparaître, les éléments dont elles étaient la somme continuent d'exister; lors même que les cantons se modifient, perdent des villages et en absorbent d'autres, ils demeurent par leurs dimensions et leurs forces semblables à eux-mêmes. On pourrait dire que leur vie intérieure paraît épuiser presque complètement la puissance constructive des hommes dont les instincts sociaux sont à la fois si impérieux et si simples.

C'est donc sur cette scène si étroite que nous verrons se jouer la plupart des actes du drame de la vie politique berbère : la naissance et le développement du pouvoir, la lutte des chefs et des masses, la pression du Makhzen, l'explosion des révoltes. Il est dès lors facile de comprendre quelles conceptions limitées peuvent animer l'esprit des sénats qui gouvernent les républiques de la montagne et dont l'horizon s'arrête aux crêtes qui bordent leurs vallées. Rien de

(1) Une étroite comparaison entre la Kabylie et les autres régions peuplées de Berbères sédentaires reste cependant difficile à établir, en raison de la grande densité de population du Djurjura. Par les institutions, l' « 'arch » ressemble à la « taqbilt » des Masmouda et au « khoms » des Djebala, mais son territoire est deux fois moins vaste et trois fois plus peuplé. De même la « taddert » a sensiblement l'importance numérique d'une « taqbilt » des Masmouda — deux à quatre cents feux — alors qu'elle présente des analogies de structure avec le « mouda' », comme il apparaît surtout dans le cas du « toufiq », fédération de hameaux.

grand ne peut sortir de cette mosaïque de petits états, aussi longtemps que les frontières n'ont pas été brisées et qu'en créant par la violence de petits royaumes, les chefs n'ont pas anéanti pour un temps les constitutions locales.

Mais cette petitesse des états berbères élémentaires, qui est une cause de faiblesse et qui suffit à expliquer à elle seule l'immobilité dans laquelle demeurent les vieilles populations de l'Afrique du Nord suffit à assurer la défense de l'ensemble ; ils opposent une redoutable force d'inertie à la pénétration du Makhzen. Établis au Maroc sur les chaînes de montagne qui forment avec le Rif, l'Atlas central et occidental, comme un arc à l'intérieur duquel se trouve la plaine soumise au pouvoir central, ils reçoivent parfois le choc des tribus arabes et des armées du Sultan. Quelques blocs du mur berbère — les cantons du Dir — s'ébranlent ou se trouvent écrasés, mais la haute montagne reste indemne et sent à peine les coups portés. Fortement unies par le ciment des alliances de lefs — dont nous verrons bientôt la nature et le rôle — les petites républiques indépendantes s'équilibrent entre elles, défendent jalousement leur territoire, en même temps qu'elles conservent leurs traditions. Ainsi peut-on comprendre que les habitants de ces minuscules états aient pu regarder avec indifférence, du haut de leurs observatoires des sommets, où ils trouvent un abri sûr, naître, grandir et disparaître dans la plaine les puissants empires des Sultans (1).

(1) Nous avons laissé volontairement hors des limites de cette étude les tribus berbères du Maroc qui vivent sous la tente et sont encore imparfaitement fixées au sol. On pourrait cependant établir de nombreuses analogies, entre leur mode de fractionnement intérieur et celui des groupes de sédentaires.

Chez les Igerwan du Sud, les Aït Ndhir, Aït Mgild, le groupe familial, correspondant à l' « Ikhs » de l'Atlas ou à la « kharrouba » de la Kabylie, prend le nom de « rif ». Un groupe de « rif », que l'on appelle « douar » ou « tigemmi », nous paraît analogue au « mouda' » de l'Atlas ou à la « taddart » kabyle ; l' « Ighs » qui est formé de plusieurs « douar » semble avoir approximativement le volume et les institutions de l' « 'arch » kabyle (Cf. Bruno, *Notes sur le Statut coutumier des Berbères marocains*, Archives berbères, t. I, fasc. 3, p. 135-137).

Chez les Zemmour, les familles (« ikhs ») se réunissent pour former un « asoun » qui entre lui-même dans la composition de la « fakhda », ou fraction (*Les Zemmour*, capitaine Querleux, Archives berbères, t. I, fasc. II, p. 22).

Enfin les Izayan d'Oulmes connaissent : le « rif », famille formée d'un groupe de entes, l' « asoun » constitué par plusieurs « rif », enfin la « tighat » et l' « ighs » sous-fraction ou fraction.

Malgré ces ressemblances, il ne nous paraît pas cependant possible d'établir, entre ces unités et celles qu'on trouve chez les populations sédentaires, des comparaisons assez rigoureuses pour permettre d'affirmer l'identité de structure.

[P.182]

CHAPITRE III

Les alliances de tribus et de cantons

I. Les leffs du Haut-Atlas. Difficultés d'étude. — II. Aspect ancien des leffs des Masmouda. — III. Rôle des leffs chez les Masmouda. — IV. Force et stabilité de l'institution. — V. Les leffs pendant la paix. — VI. Limites géographiques des leffs des Masmouda. — VII. Liaison entre les leffs des Masmouda et ceux de l'Anti-Atlas. — VIII. Le soff, alliance de familles. — IX. Recherches sur l'origine des leffs du Haut-Atlas. — X. Aspect des leffs de l'Anti-Atlas. — XI. Rôle politique des leffs. — XII. Hypothèses historiques sur la formation des deux leffs. — XIII. Les leffs des Jbala et du Rif. — XIV. La formation des leffs des Ghomara et des Senhaja. — XV. Les Soffs de la Kabylie. — XVI. La Kabylie a connu des leffs semblables à ceux de l'Atlas des Masmouda. — XVII. Hypothèse générale sur la formation des leffs berbères.

I. *Les leffs du Haut-Atlas. Difficultés d'étude.* — Chacun des petits états berbères du Haut-Atlas qui vit dans les étroites limites de sa vallée en suivant la tradition des ancêtres, sort de son isolement politique en entrant dans l'une des deux grandes alliances entre lesquelles se partage la montagne. Des liens séculaires unissent ainsi toutes les « taqbilt » selon des règles particulières impossibles à découvrir, mais de manière à former deux partis opposés d'égale force, capables de soutenir leurs membres dans la paix et dans la guerre. Sous le nom de « leff » ou de « soff », des alliances analogues ont été observées, non seulement chez les tribus berbères ayant conservé leur organisation spontanée, mais encore dans une grande partie du bled makhzen gouverné par des caïds. Nulle part cependant, cette institution ne présente une telle importance que dans la montagne des Masmouda, entre la piste de Bibaoun et le col des Glawa. Si l'on négligeait de l'étudier, il serait impossible de comprendre les conditions dans lesquelles s'est poursuivie depuis un siècle l'évolution du pays.

Après avoir examiné la nature de ces alliances au pays des

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Masmouda, nous pourrons utilement les comparer aux leffs de l'Anti-Atlas, à ceux de la chaîne du nord du Maroc, dans le Rif et le Jbel, et aux institutions semblables qui ont été depuis longtemps observées chez les sédentaires de la Kabylie du Djurjura. Peut-être nous sera-t-il alors possible d'apercevoir, sous une variété apparente d'aspects, les étapes successives d'une même évolution, et d'apporter ainsi un nouveau témoignage de l'unité de structure sociale de toute la Berbérie sédentaire.

Malgré leur vitalité, les leffs du Haut-Atlas ne peuvent être étudiés sans difficultés sérieuses. A la vérité, s'ils demeurent à peu près intacts autour des hauts sommets, ils ont été profondément atteints depuis cinquante années par la pénétration du Makhzen et par la substitution du pouvoir personnel aux petites démocraties et aux oligarchies conservatrices d'autrefois. De même que nous trouvons souvent les limites des cantons et des anciennes « taqbilt » à demi effacées par la nouvelle organisation des tribus, au voisinage de la plaine ou dans les grandes villes, de même le souvenir des leffs commence de se perdre dans toutes les parties de la montagne soumises aux grands caïds depuis deux générations. Près du Dir, seuls quelques vieillards qui savent encore les événements du règne de Sidi Mohammed, peuvent nous dire leur exacte composition. Si nous nous élevons vers les sommets sans pénétrer dans les régions dissidentes, seuls les hommes faits, qui ont participé aux combats de la « siba » de Moulay el Hasan, sont pour nous de sûrs informateurs, car déjà les jeunes gens grandis dans l'obéissance du Makhzen, vêtus de cotonnade, éclairés à la lumière des bougies, habitués au thé et aux perfectionnements de notre époque, abandonnent en même temps les vieilles traditions de la montagne et oublient les haines de leurs pères. Il faut s'adresser aux habitants des vallées du Tichka encore insoumises pour recueillir aisément les indications qui nous intéressent ; dans ces tribus, les enfants eux-mêmes connaissent les « taqbilt » alliées ou ennemies qui entourent leur canton et l'institution des leffs garde, pour quelques années encore, dans le territoire de l'ancienne confédération des Genfisa, l'importance qu'elle eut jadis dans toute la montagne des Masmouda.

Reconstituer la carte des leffs de la montagne est d'ailleurs une œuvre de longue patience. En interrogeant les vieillards, nous arrivons seulement à découvrir les alliances de chaque « taqbilt », dont l'horizon politique ne s'étend jamais au delà des quatre ou

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

cinq cantons du voisinage. Il faut donc multiplier les enquêtes dans toutes les vallées pour arriver à connaître la distribution des partis opposés dans tout l'ensemble de la grande chaîne. Dans cette recherche, nos meilleurs informateurs sont d'ailleurs souvent les plus modestes. Les chefs de tribus qui connaissent mieux le précieux échiquier n'aiment pas dévoiler ce qu'ils regardent comme le secret de leur force et de leur faiblesse ; et lorsque, par hasard, ils consentent à parler de leur leff, on s'aperçoit que la représentation qu'ils s'en font est toute utilitaire et tient compte surtout de leurs amitiés et de leurs haines personnelles plutôt que des traditions les plus sûres.

D'autre part, en réunissant toutes ces enquêtes partielles, nous trouvons parfois des contradictions dont la cause est tout d'abord inexplicable. Il arrive en effet qu'en comparant les résultats recueillis dans diverses parties du pays, on constate que des fractions comptées ici comme appartenant au même leff sont ailleurs regardées comme ennemies ; la correspondance des divers systèmes d'alliances régionales que nous pouvons découvrir s'altère dans l'ensemble de la chaîne. La carte que nous pouvons établir de ces alliances de cantons forme ainsi une sorte de mosaïque dont les diverses parties sont comme brisées et ne se raccordent pas exactement les unes avec les autres. Dans ce cas, c'est en faisant appel à l'histoire des tribus depuis trois générations qu'on peut arriver à résoudre ces difficultés. Parvenu à ce point de l'enquête, on en vient enfin à comprendre que l'institution était intacte avant la période du développement du pouvoir personnel et que les transformations survenues depuis lors s'expliquent par l'action politique des grands chefs.

II. *Aspect ancien des leffs des Masmouda.* — Reportons-nous donc, en écartant toutes les indications récentes que nous pourrions recueillir sur les leffs, au temps où les chefs de Tagontaft et de Bouaboud étaient encore enfermés dans les étroites limites d'une fraction ou d'une tribu. Nous avons dit qu'à la fin du règne de Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, les caïds du Makhzen, alors établis au pied de l'Atlas, se contentaient d'exercer leur commandement par l'intermédiaire de petits amghars eux-mêmes dominés en montagne par la politique des leffs. Jusqu'à cette époque, aucun signe de décadence ne s'était encore manifesté dans cette institution

berbère des alliances de cantons dont l'état d'équilibre donnait au pays des Masmouda, malgré l'agitation de tous ces petits états, une grande stabilité.

Sous des noms divers selon les régions, deux grandes alliances conclues entre les fractions de l'Atlas réunissaient toutes les petites unités politiques appartenant aux tribus fixées entre la passe de Bibaoun à l'Ouest et le col de Telwet à l'Est. Dans les tribus des Seksawa, des Demsira, des Mzouda et des Gedmiwa, on appelait les deux partis les « Indghertit » et les « Imsifern ». Chez les Ouzgita du Jebel Kik, les Gheghaïa, les Ourika et les Glawa, c'étaient les « Aït Fademt » et les « Aït Tzeggout » ; l'Asif Nefis était divisé en « Aït Atman » et « Aït Iraten ». Enfin, tout le versant sud de la grande chaîne, entre le pays des Ida ou Zal et les sources de l'oued Sous, était partagé entre les « Aït Zolit » et les « Ida Ou Zeddagh ». A ce moment, et encore de nos jours dans la plus grande partie du pays, on observait l'alliance constante des leffs des Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit, contre les Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. C'étaient donc bien là, malgré la diversité des noms, deux ligues permanentes qui, de proche en proche, unissaient dans les mêmes amitiés et les mêmes haines toutes les républiques berbères. On donnait à ces alliances le nom arabe de « leff » ou le nom chleuh d' « amqon » (1).

Les petits groupes territoriaux qui entraient dans ces systèmes d'alliance étaient, en haute montagne, des « taqbilt » isolées, constituées sous la forme que nous avons déjà longuement étudiée ; plus près du Dir, c'étaient des « khoms » ou des « rba' », des fractions de tribus ayant la même dimension que la « taqbilt » des sommets ; exceptionnellement, des unités plus faibles, des « mouda' » ou des sous-fractions, surtout au voisinage des plaines soumises au Makhzen, se réclamaient de l'un ou de l'autre des deux leffs.

Aucune règle précise ne permet d'expliquer *a priori* le mode de répartition des deux leffs.

A l'examen de la carte, établie après de multiples enquêtes, on distingue cependant quelques principes généraux de l'équilibre des partis. Il arrive rarement, tout d'abord, qu'une « taqbilt » soit entièrement isolée de ses alliés et les communications qu'elle

(1) Du berbère qqen (*attacher, lier*). Comparer : Destaing, *Vocabulaire français berbère* I, p. 25 (eqqen, atteler) et de Foucauld, *Dict. Touareg-fr.*, II, p. 516.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

conserve avec les autres cantons semblent s'établir le plus souvent par les cols et les lignes de crêtes. En montagne, on trouve fréquemment côte à côte deux ou trois unités appartenant à la même alliance. Au contraire, les grandes vallées ou les chemins qui constituent des voies de pénétration naturelles sont occupées par de petits groupes opposés presque rigoureusement alternés. L'Aghbar, l'Ogdemt, l'Asif Nefis, l'Asif el Mal, le chemin du Tizi Ma'cho, offrent des exemples particulièrement frappants de ces modes de répartition. Seule, la grande masse des Seksawa, qui groupe étroitement cinq cantons du leff des « Indghertit », semble apporter une dérogation aux règles habituelles d'équilibre (1). Parfois d'ailleurs, l'histoire locale nous montre les efforts répétés d'un canton pour conquérir les villages adverses établis sur l'autre côté du col. C'est que la maîtrise de la voie de passage est particulièrement précieuse, parce qu'elle peut augmenter la valeur des alliances de leffs. Pouvoir communiquer librement en tout temps avec ses « frères » est, en effet, pour le Berbère, une des nécessités les plus impérieuses de sa politique extérieure ; les petites colonies qu'on trouve parfois isolées en apparence dans les hautes vallées, se rattachent toujours, par des chemins difficiles, aux groupes plus forts qui peuvent les soutenir ; il n'est pas douteux que ce souci constant des libres communications n'ait contribué à créer la répartition des deux leffs que nous observons à présent sous forme de cantons alternés et reliés à leurs associés par les cols et les lignes de crêtes.

Ce sont, en règle générale, des « taqbilt » entières qui entrent dans l'un ou l'autre des deux leffs. Il existe parfois cependant des fractions qui sont peuplées de familles appartenant aux deux partis, habitant des villages séparés, tels sont les Aït Tounert du canton des Ida Ou Izimmer, dans la tribu des Ida Ou Mhamoud, ou bien dans la région du Sirwa, les Id Nouh. Mais cette situation paraît liée à la présence d'anciennes « taqbilt » affaiblies, absorbées par des voisines plus puissantes.

III. *Rôle des leffs chez les Masmouda.* — L'échiquier politique des leffs présente pour la vie des « taqbilt » indépendantes une extrême

(1) Il se peut que l'explication de cette anomalie doive être cherchée dans le développement progressif de ces « taqbilt » particulièrement guerrières et conquérantes (*Cf.* plus haut, p. 158).

importance. Grâce à cette disposition d'équilibre, une assurance permanente se trouve ainsi constituée contre des risques de guerre. Nous avons pu, dans la tribu de l'Aghbar, aux sources du Nefis, étudier le jeu des leffs au temps où cette partie de la montagne avait encore conservé ses institutions indépendantes (1). Le jeu des alliances dominait, dans cette région de haute montagne, toute la vie politique. Un canton était-il menacé par ses voisins à la suite d'un différend ou d'un meurtre que les « moqaddems », présidents des petites assemblées de notables, ne voulaient ou ne pouvaient régler conformément à la coutume? Chacun faisait alors appel à son leff en faisant la « tamatart », signal d'alerte par coups de fusil espacés à intervalles connus. En quelques heures, les républiques voisines rassemblaient leurs guerriers qui venaient « remplir » le territoire de leurs « frères ». Le plus souvent les moqaddems des fractions étrangères à la discorde arrivaient à s'entendre et à régler l'affaire, sinon c'était la guerre allumée sur toutes les frontières des petits états, combats plus bruyants que meurtriers, où chacun attendait, caché derrière un rocher, que son ennemi montrât la tête et ne retournait dans sa maison qu'après avoir épuisé sans résultat sa provision de poudre et de balles.

Parfois aussi, les leffs étaient un moyen de pacification intérieure. Lorsque les guerres privées éclataient dans les villages et que les moqaddems étaient impuissants à imposer leur autorité, ils faisaient donner l'alarme sur les collines qui dominaient les cantons amis ; on voyait alors en un clin d'œil cinquante piétons armés venus des vallées voisines descendre les pentes abruptes, occuper les maisons des fauteurs de désordre, et rétablir la paix par la force.

Les cantons du même leff se devaient en toute circonstance aide et assistance, mais c'étaient là des obligations générales dont il importait d'entretenir le culte en renouvelant par des alliances particulières des relations cordiales avec les républiques voisines. Les fêtes d'hospitalité, les « tinoubga », dont nous verrons plus loin l'importance, réchauffaient chaque année l'enthousiasme de tous les alliés du voisinage et il suffisait alors de faire entendre la « tamatart » pour obtenir de ses alliés un secours immédiat. Dans les circonstances plus graves, on allait souvent chercher des appuis à

(1) Cf. *Hespéris*, 1927, 1er tr., L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

grande distance en égorgeant une vache, selon le rite traditionnel qui donne à la demande ainsi exprimée un caractère sacré. Un autre moyen d'établir un « 'ar » particulièrement solennel était le suivant : plusieurs hommes du pays allaient demander l'appui de la « taqbilt » contre l'ennemi commun devant la maison du moqaddem, tandis que des jeunes filles vierges qui les avaient accompagnés s'introduisaient dans toutes les maisons du village dont l'alliance était sollicitée. Il fallait alors qu'à l'instant même tous les hommes prissent leurs armes et vinssent avec les suppliants et les jeunes filles jusqu'au lieu du combat.

Ainsi comprise, cette notion de fraternité des leffs venait corriger tout ce qu'avait de trop exclusif le patriotisme étroit des membres d'une même « taqbilt ». Un leff était alors comme une sorte de nation aux frontières capricieuses, dont les limites s'étendaient à une distance indéfinie et l'on voyait encore, dit-on, au début du XIXe siècle, des guerriers du Jbel Kik prendre les armes pour aller soutenir des combats dans les montagnes des Seksawa. Si l'esprit de solidarité des fractions a diminué depuis les progrès du Makhzen, il est resté cependant très vivant encore : Si el Madani Glawi pouvait dire encore il y a quelques années pour expliquer ce qu'était un leff. « En cas de guerre, nous voyons arriver chez nous des gens que nous ne connaissons pas et qui viennent se faire tuer pour nous » (1).

L'alliance de leff unit des familles et non pas des territoires. Un guerrier appartient au parti des « Imsifern » ou des « Indghertit » non pour cette raison que le hasard l'a fait naître dans une « taqbilt » de l'un des partis, mais parce que toutes les familles de son canton sont liées entre elles par une sorte de lien de fraternité. Ce sont les hommes qui entrent dans le leff et non pas leur pays. Cette distinction peut paraître subtile dans un pays où les limites territoriales des cantons sont si bien connues et si peu variables et où ces deux notions, celle du territoire et celle du groupe humain qui l'occupe, se trouvent à présent confondues. Il faut la faire cependant pour comprendre comment des colonies d'exilés gardent parfois à leur fraction d'origine et à leur leff une longue fidélité et résistent longuement à l'assimilation. Cet attachement explique en particulier les limites capricieuses des « taqbilt » et des « mouda' »

(1) Justinard. Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain. *Hespéris*, 1926, 4e tr., p. 360.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

du pied du Dir, dans les régions où le mélange des habitants récemment descendus de la montagne est incessant. Chacun garde avec ses frères de leff des relations utiles, pour être protégé contre ses voisins; comme, d'autre part, les villages s'associent entre eux en tenant compte de ces alliances, il en résulte au pied de l'Atlas, un état de confusion des limites territoriales des petites unités sociales qui contraste avec la précision des frontières des « taqbilt » dans les hautes vallées.

IV. *Force et stabilité de l'institution.* — Les leffs ont, dans le Haut-Atlas, une remarquable stabilité. Avant la période récente de transformation politique, pendant laquelle le développement du pouvoir personnel a si souvent, comme nous le verrons, altéré le jeu équilibré des deux partis, il était presque sans exemple qu'un canton des « Imsifern » eût jamais passé aux « Indghertit » ou inversement; sans doute, il arrivait qu'il trahisse ses associés dans une querelle, mais cela eût été pour lui une grande honte de renier définitivement des liens séculaires. On jugera de la force de ce sentiment de fidélité à l'alliance traditionnelle et des actes de haine qu'il est capable d'inspirer contre l'ennemi, par les deux exemples suivants.

Dans le Haut-Asif el Mal se trouve la petite tribu des Aït Tigidar qui lutte depuis un siècle avec un étonnant acharnement à la tête du leff des « Imsifern » contre les « Indghertit » de la taqbilt des Ind Maghous. Elle est actuellement formée de deux fractions appartenant au même parti. Tous les vieillards du pays savent encore qu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, au temps de la « grande siba de sept années », marquée par un redoublement de la guerre des leffs dans toute la montagne, il n'en allait pas comme à présent. La fraction supérieure, dont le centre est le village d'Assais, appartenait aux « Imsifern »; l'autre, celle d'Ilemti, aux « Indghertit ». Un jour, les « Imsifern » décidèrent d'en finir avec leurs adversaires. S'étant concertés, ils cernèrent la zaouia d'Ilemti pendant la vingt-septième nuit de Ramadan, la nuit sacrée du « destin », et, sans reculer devant le sacrilège, égorgèrent les soixante-dix hommes sans défense qui s'y trouvaient. Ils passèrent ensuite aux villages, dont ils exterminèrent entièrement la population mâle et ruinèrent l'agadir, forteresse collective de la fraction ennemie. Désormais, débarrassés des « Indghertit », les « Imsifern » firent appel

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

à des familles étrangères d'origines diverses, repeuplèrent le pays et annexèrent à leur leff le territoire de la fraction disparue. Depuis lors, les deux fractions de cette petite tribu ont continué de s'administrer séparément. Elles ont d'ailleurs l'une et l'autre une constitution démocratique et des habitudes de discorde intérieure qui contrastent avec le régime oligarchique des « taqbilt » voisines. Mais le village d'Assais a conservé la prépondérance politique et le droit exclusif « à la parole » dans les assemblées.

Les événements plus récents survenus chez les Iwonsekten, dans l'une des hautes vallées indépendantes des Gedmiwa, sont plus suggestifs encore. Ce petit canton du leff des « Indghertit » se trouva en opposition avec un petit caïd du Makhzen, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, établi à Adasil, qui fit contre elle une expédition malheureuse vers 1870. Après ce succès, les Iwonsekten craignirent des représailles et songèrent à renforcer leur « taqbilt ». Au mépris des règles de la solidarité des leffs, ils firent appel à leurs voisins du canton des Amesmatert, de l'alliance des « Imsifern », menacés comme eux, au fond de leur étroite vallée, par les caïds des Ind Maghous. Ils établirent un certain nombre de leurs nouveaux amis dans leurs villages en leur donnant, comme c'est la coutume, des provisions et du bétail. Ces étrangers demeurèrent tout d'abord en paix dans la « taqbilt » qui les avait adoptés ; mais, bientôt, la réaction des fractions voisines du même leff contre cet oubli des règles de l'alliance devint si forte qu'il fallut, pour éviter la guerre, les faire sortir du pays. On les cantonna tout d'abord dans les villages inférieurs de la vallée, à Tamsoult et Tanammert; puis, en 1899, ils furent expulsés définitivement du canton des Iwonsekten.

V. *Les leffs pendant la paix.* — Les leffs ne sont pas uniquement des systèmes d'alliances militaires. Chaque année à la fin de l'été, il se donne entre « taqbilt » voisines de grandes fêtes qui contribuent à entretenir le sentiment de la fraternité des leffs. Ce sont les « tinoubga » (1). Une cinquantaine de guerriers armés et désignés par le « moqaddem » quittent la tribu pour effectuer une grande tournée d'hospitalité chez les républiques sœurs ; ils emportent quelques provisions de sucre et des moutons. Leurs

(1) Du berbère « anebgi » : *hôte.*

frères des républiques voisines en les accueillant, leur disent, après le premier soir : « Vous avez dans la tribu quinze jours de tinoubga, voyez avec nous quels villages nous visiterons ». Les fêtes commencent alors et se succèdent de hameau en hameau selon le programme convenu. On exécute surtout la danse guerrière des « Aït Tskawin » dans laquelle figurent une quinzaine de jeunes gens revêtus d'une grande tunique de coton blanc et qui portent sur l'épaule une corne à poudre en argent du nom de « tiskt » (plur. teskawin). Ils se groupent en cercle autour d'un « reis » et exécutent une sorte de parade rythmée dont les figures diffèrent beaucoup de celles des autres danses de la tribu. La corne portée par chacun des danseurs est un objet précieusement conservé dans chaque famille et il est souvent interdit de la vendre ; on la transmet de père en fils. Les « Aït Teskawin » ne dansent jamais en se mêlant aux autres guerriers de la tribu, mais ils restent autour de leur « reis » qui les anime par des chants dans lesquels il célèbre les fastes militaires de son leff (1).

La tradition des « Teskawin » se trouve encore conservée chez les populations des hautes vallées, là où l'indépendance a permis de respecter jusqu'à ces dernières années les institutions d'autrefois. L'Aghbar, les Seksawa, les Ida ou Mhamoud, les « taqbilt » isolées de haute montagne des Gedmiwa la gardent comme un symbole et s'y attachent avec le sentiment qu'elle exprime leur fidélité aux alliances de leff.

Les « Tinoubga » deviennent l'origine de nombreuses associations privées, d'alliances de familles et de mariages. Chacun cherche une femme en effet, de préférence dans son leff, bien qu'il ne soit pas sans exemple de voir s'unir des familles de deux partis opposés ; dans ce cas, il peut arriver qu'un homme soit amené à prendre les armes contre son gendre ou ses petits-enfants, car le leff l'emporte sur les alliances privées.

Entre les cantons du même leff — ceux de la haute montagne et ceux du Dir — s'établissent aussi des relations économiques d'une grande importance. Dans les premiers se trouvent de riches

(1) A l'inverse de la danse des « Teskawin », l' « ahwach » et l' « assega » sont des danses pacifiques qui ont surtout pour but de permettre aux hommes, aux femmes et aux jeunes filles de se réunir et d'échanger, par allusions transparentes, des épigrammes où l'amour tient la première place.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

pâturages d'été, des récoltes de noix, de la laine en abondance, mais on y manque d'orge et de maïs, car la terre est rare dans les vallées encaissées. Au contraire, les cantons du Dir ont à leur pied d'immenses espaces qui peuvent se cultiver en « bour » ainsi que des champs irrigués, mais les troupeaux ne peuvent subsister en plaine au cœur de l'été. Ces raisons suffisent à créer des échanges importants : les troupeaux des Seksawa descendent en plaine à l'automne, ceux des Mzouda, des Dwiran et des Gedmiwa montent vers les sommets à la fin du printemps. Mais chacun ne se confie qu'à ses frères de leff afin d'obtenir protection pour ses biens si la guerre venait à éclater. Ce mouvement d'échange est accentué encore par l'attirance qu'exercent sur les hautes vallées les souks du pied de la grande chaîne, où affluent les produits manufacturés devenus indispensables de nos jours à la vie des montagnards. On s'explique ainsi aisément le rôle prépondérant qu'arrivent à jouer dans la vie des cantons les plus reculés de la haute montagne, les petits centres du Dir où le Makhzen règne en maître. Par le jeu des leffs, qui commande les relations politiques et économiques, on voit en effet prospérer des cantons comme Tisgin des Gedmiwa, au pied de la montagne, associé dans le leff des « Imsifern » aux Aït Tigidar de l'Asif el Mal et à Adouz de la tribu des Dwiran. De même, chez les « Indghertit », le canton de Dar Akimah, sur l'Asif el Mal, en plaine, est uni politiquement à ceux des Ind Maghous et des Aït Haddiyous. Parfois, la même chaîne d'alliances traverse tout l'Atlas et relie ainsi le leff des « Imsifern », sur le versant nord, à celui des « Ida ou Zeddagh », sur le versant sud, comme il arrive, sur les hauts sommets, par l'intermédiaire des Aït Tiksit et des Tigouga qui sont unis aux Igoudachen et aux habitants de Talekjont. Il est naturel d'ailleurs que les « taqbilt » de la haute montagne établissent leurs alliances et leurs relations économiques vers l'une ou l'autre des deux plaines. Ainsi peut-il arriver que des événements politiques survenus sur le versant nord de l'Atlas, affectent, par la chaîne des leffs, assez faiblement il est vrai, la vie des fractions du versant sud.

Nous dirons plus tard comment ces points d'arrivée en plaine des leffs de montagne ont été choisis par des chefs indépendants ou ralliés au Makhzen pour exercer sur les cantons éloignés une action politique. La conséquence de leurs efforts a été d'ailleurs souvent l'affaiblissement de l'institution ancienne des alliances berbères ;

mais celles-ci sont encore assez intactes pour qu'on trouve encore de nos jours, sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, les commandements de petits chikhs et leurs zones d'influence enchevêtrés les uns dans les autres sous une forme qui s'explique seulement par la répartition des cantons entre les deux leffs. Ainsi l'amghar de Talekjont parle avec ses frères de montagne, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, tandis que son rival de Talemt voit descendre dans sa kasba, les guerriers des Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan, Ida ou Msattog. Chaque petit chef tente d'accroître son autorité en avivant les discordes et en protégeant les plus forts. En toute circonstance il défend et soutient ses frères de leff contre les voisins et la haine réciproque des « Ida ou Zeddagh » et des « Aït Zolit » se trouve ainsi concentrée et symbolisée dans la lutte des deux maisons de Talemt et de Talekjont, au pied du Dir.

VI. *Limites géographiques des leffs des Masmouda.* — Lorsque ce système d'alliances, dans lesquelles entraient jadis tous les cantons de la montagne, avait encore toute sa force, les limites des leffs des Masmouda apparaissaient plus aisément que de notre temps. Elles étaient très précises et presque toujours marquées par des frontières géographiques naturelles. A l'Ouest, les « Indghertit » et les « Imsifern » ne franchissaient pas la voie Makhzen qui traverse l'Atlas d'Imi n Tanout au Tizi Ma'cho. Les Mtougga, Haha (1) et Ida Ou Tanan, aussi loin que nous pouvons remonter dans l'histoire de leurs guerres intérieures, semblent avoir échappé à l'influence de ces deux grandes alliances (2). A peine les relations de voisinage amenaient-elles parfois les « khoms » ou les « afous » orientaux de ces tribus côtières à entrer dans l'un des deux leffs des Masmouda par le moyen d'alliances temporaires contractées avec les Demsira et les Ida ou Mahmoud. De même sur le versant sud du Haut-Atlas, les Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, dont la vie sociale est cependant analogue à celle des tribus de la haute montagne, n'ont pas gardé un souvenir précis de l'institution des leffs au cours du dernier siècle sous la forme que nous avons décrite ; c'est surtout en raison de leurs amitiés actuelles avec les unes

(1) Les Haha se réclament, en totalité, du « leff » des Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas.

(2) Doutté a décrit chez les Haha (*Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905, renseignements coloniaux, p. 75) des leffs qui sont de simples associations temporaires de tribus ou de fractions de tribus, ainsi qu'on en voit dans tout le bled el Makhzen.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ou les autres des fractions voisines qu'elles se placent à présent dans le parti des « Aït Zolit » ou des « Ida Ou Zeddagh ».

La limite orientale de l'échiquier des leffs n'est pas moins apparente dans le Haut-Atlas central. Au delà du territoire des Glawa, les grandes alliances permanentes des Masmouda ne viennent pas se fondre dans les associations plus fragiles qui relient entre elles les fractions de tribus des Imeghran, Ghojdama et Fetwaka, lors même qu'on essaie de remonter, pour retrouver la trace d'anciennes alliances, à la période la plus reculée dont la tradition garde le souvenir.

Il n'est pas sans intérêt d'observer, d'une part, que les deux grandes voies de pénétration du Makhzen du Tizi Ma'cho et du col de Telwet servent ainsi de frontière aux leffs anciens et que, d'autre part, la région des Haha, à l'Ouest, et celle de l'ancienne confédération des Skourra, à l'Est, qui forment la limite de cet état de division politique ont supporté, en raison de l'invasion des Arabes du désert et des plaines atlantiques, le choc des tribus les plus diverses pendant de longs siècles. On comprend aisément que cette situation ait pu contribuer à faire disparaître ici l'opposition équilibrée des deux leffs.

Par leur politique traditionnelle, les tribus arabes ou arabisées de la plaine intérieure du Sous, Howara, Menabha et Oulad Yahya n'entrent pas dans le jeu des leffs de montagne. Elles forment ainsi comme un écran qui isole l'Atlas des Masmouda de l'Anti-Atlas des Igezzoulen. Au contraire, au fond de la plaine du Sous, les alliances de fractions gagnent de proche en proche le massif du Sirwa et atteignent jusqu'au Dra le Warzazat et le Dadès (1). Les tribus arabes de la bordure du désert, dans le cours moyen du Dra, s'y rallient elles aussi, mais par masses plus fortes et leur inconstance en fait des auxiliaires douteux. Au contraire, sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, il y a moins de dix années, par exemple dans la tribu des Souktana depuis conquise par les Glawa, la violence des combats de leffs était encore si grande que cent vingt guerriers du leff des « Igezzoulen » cernés dans l'agadir d'Ighri, et contraints par la soif de se rendre à leurs ennemis héréditaires les « Isouktan », furent égorgés par leurs adversaires comme des moutons.

(1) Les leffs du Dadès et du haut Dra, Oulad el Mahalli et Beni Zouli, ont à peu près le même aspect que ceux des Masmouda (De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, p. 288-289).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

VII. *Liaison entre les leffs des Masmouda et ceux de l'Anti-Atlas.* — C'est par cette région du Zagmouzen et des Souktana que semble se faire la liaison des leffs du Haut-Atlas avec ceux de l'Anti-Atlas. Mais, dans ce pays, il n'est plus possible de reconstituer, même au prix de patientes enquêtes historiques, un tableau satisfaisant de correspondance entre les diverses alliances locales de manière à retrouver, comme nous l'avons fait ailleurs, deux partis opposés sous des noms divers. Dans l'Onein, on observe bien la lutte des « Aït Ikhlef » et des « Aït Qodni », reliés encore aux « Ida ou Zeddagh » et « Aït Zolit ». Mais chez les Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa, nous trouvons trois groupes de deux leffs : les « Aït Atman » ennemis des « Aït Tintlet » dans le Tifnout; les « Inemzel » opposés aux « Aït Iraten » à l'est du Sirwa ; plus au Sud et vers la limite du désert, les « Igezzoulen », adversaires héréditaires des « Isouktan ». Les indigènes croient bien encore ici à l'unité de deux grandes alliances, mais en comparant leurs indications recueillies dans les divers cantons, nous trouvons des contradictions irréductibles.

Il se peut que cette brisure dans la marquetterie des deux leffs primitifs ne soit pas sans relations avec l'action perturbatrice exercée par les rivalités de petits chefs anciennement soumis au Makhzen, et dont les kasbas se trouvent sur la voie de passage qui réunit Taroudant au col des Glawa en passant par les Ihouziyoun, le Zagmouzen, Tazenakht et le Haut-Dra (1). On peut croire aussi que, dans cette région de transition, la liaison n'est pas parfaitement établie entre les leffs du Haut-Atlas et ceux de l'Anti-Atlas, parce que la lutte des « Igezzoulen » et leurs adversaires « Isouktan » ou « Aoggwa » ne revêt pas exactement la même forme que celle des deux ligues des Masmouda. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'affaiblissement de l'institution n'est pas tel que, dans la tentative de conquête des Souktana par Si Tayeb Gontafi, en 1902, ce chef ne se soit souvenu de l'alliance des « Aït Iraten », son leff d'origine, avec celui des « Igezzoulen » et n'ait réussi à protéger dans l'Anti-Atlas ses frères de leff. La politique des Glawa dans le nord des Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa a su aussi habilement profiter des traditions anciennes qui reliaient leur leff, celui des « Aït Fademt » du versant nord de l'Atlas aux « Inemzel » du versant saharien.

(1) Nous verrons plus loin (livre III, ch. I et II) comment la politique des amghars aboutit rapidement à la dissociation des leffs.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

VIII. *Le soff, alliance de familles.* — Les petits états du Haut-Atlas connaissent, comme toutes les communautés berbères, une autre forme de division que celle des leffs : celle qui résulte de la rivalité, guerrière ou pacifique, des « ikhs » ou groupes familiaux à l'intérieur d'un canton (1).

Tandis que, dans la plupart des cas, les « taqbilt » ou cantons entrent par unités entières dans l'alliance des leffs, il existe presque toujours dans chacune d'elles deux ou plusieurs partis, appuyés souvent par des étrangers, et dont les discordes agitent au moindre prétexte toute une partie de la montagne. Mais ces associations qui n'ont pas, comme les leffs, de base territoriale, sont beaucoup moins stables. Elles unissent seulement pour quelques années des familles intéressées à la défense ou la conquête du pouvoir ou celles qui sont contraintes à former hâtivement un parti pour venger des morts ou assassiner un ennemi trop puissant. Les Berbères, avec l'imprécision habituelle de leur langue, donnent aussi à ces alliances privées le nom d' « amqon ». Pour les distinguer des leffs, nous leur donnerons le nom de « soff », en utilisant le mot qui désigne en Kabylie de semblables associations de familles ; leur importance est d'ailleurs telle dans le Djurjura qu'elles semblent avoir fait disparaître les « leffs » d'autrefois (2).

Le « soff » ne s'étend jamais, chez les Masmouda au delà du territoire de quelques cantons. Il reste une institution privée dont la nature s'oppose dans une certaine mesure aux institutions de la « taqbilt » dont il menace l'unité ; on ne lui reconnaît pas, comme en Kabylie d'existence officielle, et nous avons vu que dans les discordes intérieures il n'était pas rare de voir intervenir le leff, représenté par les guerriers des cantons alliés du voisinage, pour imposer la paix aux familles engagées dans des querelles de soff trop ardentes.

IX. *Recherches sur l'origine des leffs du Haut-Atlas.* — Lorsqu'on cherche les causes qui ont pu produire l'institution des leffs, qui déborde, nous l'avons vu, le cadre de la vie politique pour embrasser en même temps la plus grande partie de l'activité commerciale et

(1) On donne parfois, dans les régions soumises au Makhzen, le nom de « soff » à l'institution que nous avons décrite ici sous le nom de « leff » ou « amqon ». Nous distinguerons ici les deux termes, et nous réserverons le mot « soff » pour désigner exclusivement l'alliance de familles.

(2) Voir plus loin p. 214.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

économique des petites républiques berbères du Haut-Atlas, on est tenté tout d'abord d'expliquer cet état de division par des raisons ethniques ; on imagine volontiers que cette organisation représente par exemple la survivance de l'état de guerre entre les autochtones et les envahisseurs appartenant les uns et les autres à deux grandes familles opposées. Ce qui peut suggérer cette explication c'est le nom même que prennent, dans d'autres régions, les grands leffs dont nous décrirons l'aspect : les « Igezzoulen » et les « Isouktan » dans l'Anti-Atlas, les « Senhaja » et les « Ghomara » dans le nord du Maroc. Ce sont là en effet, à l'origine, de grandes familles berbères qui occupaient le pays aux époques historiques ou qui sont venues l'envahir en se disputant entre elles la possession du sol.

Cependant, il est très facile de se convaincre que dans le Haut-Atlas, en cette région où les leffs ont précisément conservé jusqu'à ces dernières années une grande vitalité, cette hypothèse ne peut à elle seule expliquer l'état actuel de l'institution. La diversité des familles qui forment les « taqbilt », le renouvellement progressif des éléments qui constituent les tribus par la naissance ou la disparition des fractions dont elles sont formées, la stabilité ethnique d'une région qui depuis dix siècles ne semble pas avoir connu de changements importants par voie d'invasion ou de conquête, sont autant de raisons qui s'opposent à une explication des leffs, tels qu'ils sont constitués de nos jours, par la lutte constante entre deux races opposées. On ne trouverait d'ailleurs dans les indications qui nous sont données par les historiens ou les géographes sur cette région du XIe au XIVe siècles aucun argument en faveur de la présence de deux grandes familles ennemies, traditionnellement hostiles et dont les luttes auraient pu aboutir à l'inextricable confusion d'aujourd'hui (1).

On peut aussi faire appel à une explication géographique en invoquant l'existence de compartiments naturels dans les hautes vallées de l'Atlas et qui auraient formé comme des alvéoles dans

(1) Il est vrai que les Berbères désignent leurs frères de leff par le terme d' « Aïtmas » les « fils de la même mère ». Mais, en ce qui concerne les liens sociaux, la langue est peu précise et ne parvient pas à distinguer par un nom particulier la fraction de la tribu, le leff du soff. Il n'est donc pas possible de retenir cet argument. Au surplus, cette fraternité n'est pas conçue comme le résultat d'une parenté véritable, mais plutôt comme une sorte de pacte d'alliance perpétuelle. Le terme d' « Aïtmas » désigne d'ailleurs aussi les frères d'une même famille, les membres d'un canton, d'une tribu, d'une confédération, selon le cas.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

lesquelles se seraient établies l'une après l'autre les petites communautés berbères. L'état de guerre permanent qui aurait opposé ces états indépendants aurait abouti spontanément à la constitution de systèmes d'alliances établies en tenant compte surtout de l'existence des voies de communication par les lignes de crêtes ou par les cols. La répartition des deux leffs serait alors comme une conséquence presque directe de la disposition du relief.

Quelle que puisse être la valeur de ces considérations dans certaines parties de la haute montagne et bien que l'existence de moyens de communications entre les « taqbilt » amies soit une nécessité, il est impossible de s'en tenir à cette simple observation et surtout de lui donner une valeur générale.

Les frontières de ces petits états ne sont pas, en effet, toujours déterminées par des accidents géographiques ; souvent elles courent capricieusement sur les plateaux fertiles, dans les vallées irriguées, s'avancent en pointe, sans raison apparente, et nous semblent être beaucoup plus souvent les limites de l'expansion des petits groupes de familles qui constituent les « taqbilt » plutôt que les barrières naturelles qui les contiennent. En outre, nous pouvons constater la même répartition équilibrée des deux leffs sur les pentes rapides du versant sud du Haut-Atlas chez les Ida ou Zeddagh et les Aït Semmeg ; cependant, ici, aucune division géographique ne nous paraît plus séparer entre eux ces groupes de hameaux établis sur le flanc incliné de la montagne ou au voisinage des sources. Il en va de même dans la région du Sirwa et des plateaux de l'Azilal des Aït Waouzgit, où les villages se pressent autour des filets d'eau échappés du plateau volcanique, et sont séparés par d'immenses espaces déserts, de même encore sur le plateau des Souktana, dépourvu de frontières intérieures naturelles propres à séparer les « taqbilt ». Les tribus sont cependant dans ces régions partagées en fractions unies en deux chaînes d'alliances dont l'aspect est identique aux leffs des Gedmiwa de la haute montagne.

Enfin, nous l'avons vu, la division du pays en cantons opposés, régulièrement alternés, est plus marquée encore sur le passage des grandes voies de communications naturelles et des vallées telles que l'Asif Nefis, le Zagmouzen, le Tifnout, comme si l'absence de limites géographiques entre les communautés berbères avait, au contraire, pour effet de renforcer leurs oppositions respectives et de

répartir d'une manière plus parfaite encore les petits états entre deux leffs équilibrés (1).

L'histoire et l'ethnographie n'apportent que de bien faibles lumières sur les origines des alliances berbères du Haut-Atlas On ne s'étonnera pas que cette institution n'ait jamais été, malgré son importance, décrite par les lettrés. A peine Ibn Khaldoun nous dit-il, en rapportant les luttes qui opposaient entre eux au XIVe siècle les chefs des Gedmiwa, des Seksawa et des Hintata, qu'il s'agissait seulement de guerres amenées « par les causes ordinaires qui mettent la discorde entre tribus voisines, savoir : la proximité de leurs territoires et le souvenir de leurs anciennes querelles » (2). C'en est assez pour supposer qu'il s'agit de luttes de leffs, mais nous aimerions trouver quelques renseignements plus précis sous la plume du seul historien qui ait aimé à faire connaître la vie des Berbères.

Cependant, El Beidaq, dans sa précieuse liste des fractions almohades au temps du Mahdi (3), nous donne quelques indications intéressantes. Les Gedmiwa, nous dit-il, comprennent quarante-six fractions : les Aït Yalmazdog — aujourd'hui disparus, puis les « Banou Masifra », « qui passent les premiers dans la revue » ; ensuite, les « Inad Ghertit », « qui sont des Gedmiwa de la montagne ». Ainsi voyons-nous figurer, au premier rang de cette confédération, les deux fractions qui ont donné leur nom aux deux grands leffs de cette région, les « Imsifern » et les « Indghertit ». De même, au début de la liste des fractions des Genfisa, figure le nom des « Ida ou Zeddagh », qui est encore celui d'un des grands leffs du versant sud du Haut-Atlas (4).

(1) On pourrait, en la circonstance, invoquer pour les vallées irriguées les discordes qu'entraîne habituellement l'usage de l'eau (comparer notre étude sur Massat, *Hespéris*, 1924, p. 362). Il se peut que les querelles si fréquentes qui naissent de l'usage des séguias ait joué un rôle important dans la formation des alliances, pour la région du cours moyen ou inférieur des oueds. Cet argument est cependant sans valeur en haute montagne où les problèmes de l'irrigation sont sans importance et faciles à résoudre.

(2) Ibn Khaldoun, t. II, p. 267-268.

(3) El Beidaq, *Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade*, p. 63.

(4) Dans la classification officielle des tribus du Makhzen, les Ida ou Zeddagh représentent de nos jours non pas un leff, mais une tribu formée par l'ensemble des fractions comprises entre les Ida Ou Zal et les Aït Semmeg. Mais dans le pays même, les Ida Ou Zeddagh ne désignent qu'un leff, opposé à celui des Aït Zolit.

Le nom du leff des Aït Zolit est à rapprocher du nom de Beni Zouli, l'un des leffs du Haut-Dra et de Tinzoulin, district du Moyen-Dra. Le nom du leff des Inemzel, chez les Aït Waouzgit est à rapprocher de celui de la fraction des Inemzal signalée au temps des Almohades. El Beidaq, *Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 62. Les leffs des Aït Fademt et Aït Tzegout sont donnés également par El Beidaq comme ceux d'anciennes fractions.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Peut-être est-il possible d'aller au delà et de suggérer, à titre d'hypothèse, quelques rapprochements. Ce n'est sans doute pas sans raison que les organisateurs du petit royaume des Masmouda de Tinmel avaient donné une telle importance à cette classification hiérarchique des fractions dans lesquelles l'ordre et la place de chacun étaient minutieusement prévus, aussi bien pour la bataille que pour le partage du butin. Ainsi se trouvaient respectés et utilisés les tendances formalistes et le goût du cérémonial chez ces populations de la montagne, si attachées d'autre part à leurs constitutions anarchiques. On voit encore à présent dans les mêmes régions les actes les plus importants de la vie sociale s'exécuter suivant une coutume anciennement établie qui fixe avec soin les préséances et l'ordre respectif des fractions et des tribus. Chez les Ida Ou Tanan, les grandes tournées de justice accomplies par les notables se font, nous l'avons vu, dans un ordre rigoureusement déterminé, elles commencent toujours par le territoire de la fraction qui doit précéder dans les combats et dont les guerriers sont regardés comme les « inflas » du pays. Ce sont, en effet des « porte-bonheur » qui doivent entreprendre les premiers toute action difficile ou importante dont le succès est lié au bon ordre et à la prospérité de la tribu (1). La même tradition a été observée chez les Haha où il existe des groupes privilégiés destinés à prendre la tête des tribus et de la confédération en toute circonstance ; ce sont eux qui commencent les fantasias et entrent les premiers dans le combat (2) ; on leur donne dans le sud de ce territoire le nom d' « inflas n tschil », c'est-à-dire de porte-bonheur chargés de « faciliter » l'accomplissement de toute action importante. Dans les luttes intérieures de cette grande confédération ce sont les « inflas » de la tribu des Imgrad qui décident souvent du sort des combats en retardant ou précipitant l'attaque à leur gré. On pourrait alors supposer que les groupes sociaux qui ont donné leur nom aux leffs de montagne ont été parfois ceux qui, par leur « baraka » magique, l'emportaient dans les décisions ou « facilitaient » par leur simple intervention le succès dans la guerre. D'autres fois aussi, sans doute ce sont les plus actifs qui l'ont emporté et ont entraîné dans leur alliance les républiques voisines ; ils avaient alors par

(1) Cf. notre étude sur les Ida Ou Tanan, *Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, p. 237.
(2) Doutté. Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux, n° 1, p. 11.

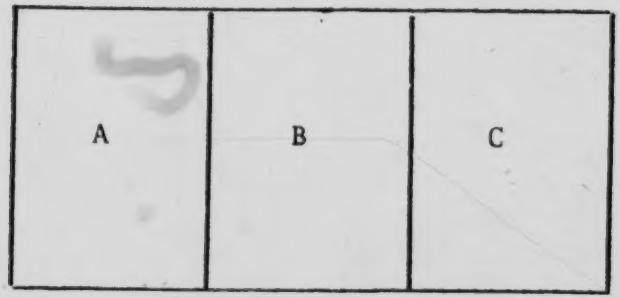


Chart of positions of map inserted between pp. 200-201.
[facing p. 200-A]

Aspect des leffs
dans une partie du Haut Atlas, du Sirwa et de l'Anti Atlas

Echelle 1/600.000

Zone 1 Region peuplée de tribus arabes qui n'ont pas de leffs stables

Zone 2 Region des leffs de l'Atlas occidental — Ait Abmas, Ait Ifrane (haut Nofis); Indghert: Ait Yademt, Ait Tazegzout (Dadès et Ou Ri); Ait Zolit (Ida ou Zeddagh, haut Atlas)

Zone 3 Region des leffs des Ait Wawzgit et du Siroua — Imanirar, Ait Irgsten

Zone 4 Region des leffs des l'Anti Atlas — Isoukkan, Igezzoulen

Zone 5 Region des leffs du Tifnout et de l'Aglal (Ait Wawzgit) — Ait Abmas, Ait Tinflas

[P.200-A]

Imesfawen
Isouktar
Ait Waouzgit
Ogdemt
ON
AIT
WAOUZG
5
Tadrert
Id Willoun
Ait Slimar
Ait Wegoas
4
Imadidan
Tinfat
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Fenzar
Ait Hamid
Ilouman
Ounzin
Ouledjoun
Azrar
Ighghadiyou
Imghartiyn
Agnaou
Ait Atlas

[P. 200-B]

Iqiiwa
(Giawa)
Imeghran
Taiwet
Ait Tamenast
Ait Tamesliht
Ait Tamedrin
Ait Bou-Ze
Tsagir n Ouzzirim
Ait Zinco
Ait Waligher
Ait Bou Dellat
3
AIT
AOUZGIT
Ait Tawnya
Ait Tammust
Warsazat
Ait Hagnin
Ikkemar
Ait Tamassin
Ait Bamgen
Ait Waghersa
Ait Igdi Ouchen
Imara
Ait Atmar
Ait Qubial
Ait Amer
Ait Ghenten
Ait Ousgod
Fmjicht
Ait Oulad Jaun
Timdi Irasfen
Iznagen
(Zenaga)
Ait Wallen
Ait Said
Azounzen
Agnan
[P. 200-C]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

leur force, « le droit à la parole », et leur nom serait ainsi devenu synonyme d'une alliance permanente entre toutes les « taqbilt » qu'ils protégeaient.

A la vérité, en l'absence de toute indication historique précise sur les rivalités anciennes des tribus du Haut-Atlas, il nous paraît impossible pour l'instant d'expliquer par une cause unique la répartition présente des leffs des Masmouda. Stabilisés par des siècles de guerres intérieures, dans un pays soustrait aux influences extérieures, les leffs ont sans doute pris leur forme actuelle sous l'influence des facteurs les plus divers ; mais leur aspect actuel ne permet plus de découvrir leur lointaine origine. C'est l'examen et la comparaison des alliances territoriales entre les tribus dans l'Anti-Atlas, le pays des Jbala et du Rif ou dans la Kabylie du Djurjura qui va nous permettre d'imaginer comment cet état de division pourrait représenter le terme d'une longue évolution dont la cause initiale doit sans doute, dans le silence de l'histoire, nous demeurer cachée pour toujours.

X. *Aspect des leffs de l'Anti-Atlas.* — Les premiers leffs berbères qui aient été étudiés au Maroc sont ceux de l'Anti-Atlas : les « Igezzoulen » et les « Isouktan » signalés par Ch. de Foucauld. Ils restent cependant encore assez mal connus. Il n'est pas possible, en l'absence d'études monographiques suffisantes sur les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, de comparer ces leffs, avec toute la précision désirable, aux alliances des cantons des Masmouda (1). Nous nous contenterons ici de décrire leurs aspects essentiels.

Deux grandes masses de tribus se réclament dans l'Anti-Atlas de l'origine « Tagezzoult ». L'une d'elles est établie autour du Tazerwalt et comprend avec la confédération des Ida Oultit, les Akhsas et les Mejjat. L'autre groupe, les populations de l'Anti-Atlas central, déjà unies autour des Aghren au temps d'Ibn Toumert, embrasse les Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. Le parti opposé aux « Igezzoulen » de

(1) Cf. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, p. 318-320. Une courte note du Cᵗ Justinard sur les « leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain » (Notes sur l'histoire du Sous... *Hespéris*, 1926, p. 359) indique quelques aspects de cette organisation politique dans la région côtière. Nous avons pu, d'autre part, au cours de tournées chez les Ait Mzal et les Souktana, compléter rapidement notre documentation. Cependant des contradictions subsistent entre les renseignements recueillis jusqu'à présent. On ne saurait s'en étonner ; une enquête complète sur les leffs ne peut être menée sans étudier complètement la vie sociale et l'histoire locale des tribus. La carte politique annexée à cette étude ne donne que la distribution approximative des deux leffs.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

l'Ouest prend le nom d' « Aoggwa » ou « Ioggwin » ; les adversaires des « Igezzoulen » de l'Est s'appellent les « Isouktan ».

Les « Aoggwa » (1) sont formés par la plupart des tribus qui se trouvent actuellement sur les voies occidentales de pénétration de la montagne. De la plaine des Chtouka, ils s'étendent d'une part, vers Tiznit, les Oulad Jerrar, les Aït Brihim, les Ifran, par la piste côtière ; d'autre part, ils montent vers les sommets par les Aït Mzal, les Ida Ou Ktir, et les Ammeln où ils suivent le chemin transversal qui conduit de la plaine du Sous vers Tamanart et Tizounin.

En plaine, au voisinage de l'Océan, il n'est pas rare qu'une tribu se trouve partagée entre les deux leffs, mais dans l'ensemble, surtout dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental, ce sont des tribus entières ou même des confédérations qui entrent dans l'une ou l'autre des alliances. Au contraire, à l'Est, les unités qui forment les leffs des Igezzoulen et des Isouktan ne dépassent guère l'étendue d'un canton. Ch. de Foucauld avait observé déjà ce mélange plus intime dans les oasis sahariennes à Tatta, Tissint et dans la tribu des Inda Ou Zal ; mais sur la foi de renseignements incomplets, il avait cru à l'existence d'un bloc d' « Isouktan » embrassant les Aït Semmeg, les Souktana, Zenaga et Aït Amer. En parcourant les pays, nous avons pu nous convaincre de l'état de division des deux leffs dans la tribu même des Souktana qui donne son nom à l'un des partis (2).

XI. *Rôle politique des leffs de l'Anti-Atlas.* — L'importance des leffs dans la vie politique de l'Anti-Atlas varie selon les régions.

Au sud du Sirwa, elle est restée très grande jusqu'au moment de la conquête des Glawa. Dans cette partie du pays, chacun connaît encore avec une grande précision la limite de chacun des partis ; les marabouts surtout, habitués à aller apaiser les discordes à

(1) Les Aoggwa nous paraissent avoir été une ancienne tribu berbère du Sous. On trouve leur ethnique en divers points du pays (Notices inédites de F. de la Chapelle sur les tribus de montagne du commandement des Mtougga).

(2) Pour éviter des confusions nous emploierons ici la forme arabe « Souktana » pour désigner la tribu de ce nom, au sud du Zagmouzen et la forme berbère « Isouktan » pour indiquer le leff.

Dans la tribu des Souktana, les fractions des Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer de Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan et El Hazen appartiennent au leff des « Isouktan » ; celles des Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun sont « Igezzoulen »; Azrar, Izazen et Imghartiyn se partagent entre les deux leffs.

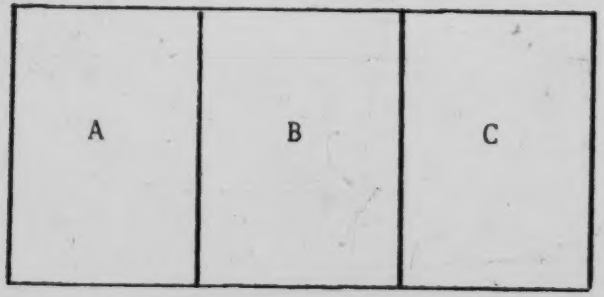


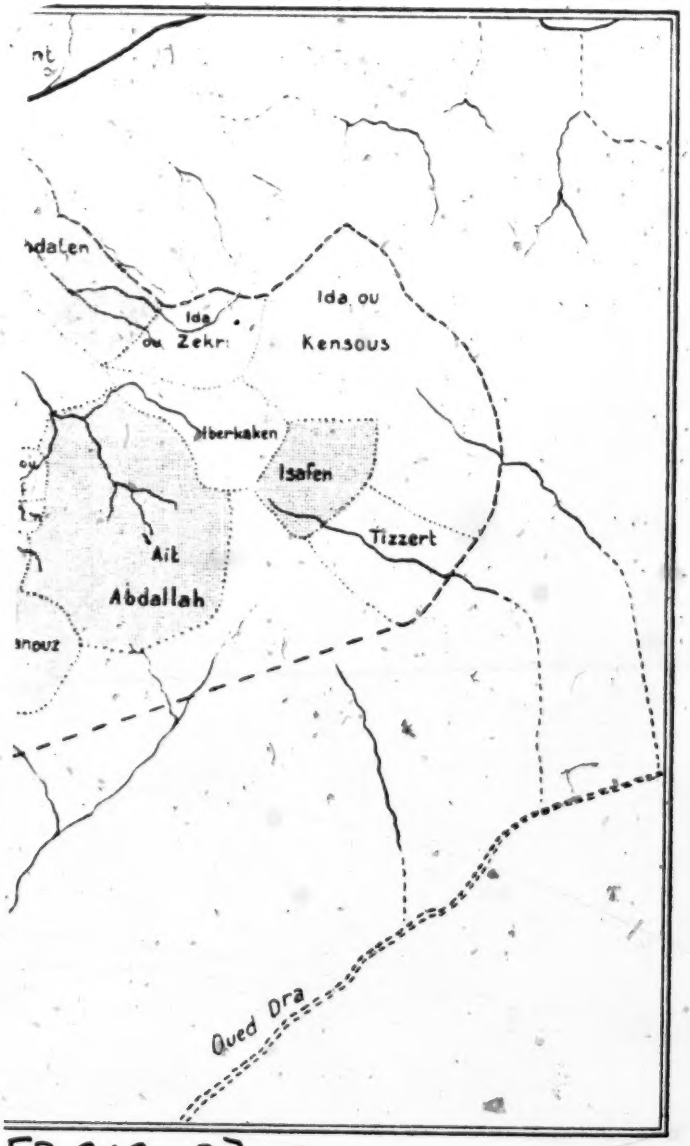
Chart of positions of map inserted between pp. 202-203.
[facing p. 200-A]

Schema des Leffs ou l'Anti-Atlas
Central et occidental
Ahoggwa ou Isouktan
Igezzoulen
Echelle 1/1.000.000
Agadir
Oued
Mas sat
Asif Oulgha
Maader
Ida
Aglou
Ait Tiznit
Ida ou Baqi
Ait Sahel
Ait Brihym
Oulad Jerrar
Ait Bou Ifni
Beker
Ait Erkha
Ait Yazza
Ait el Khomy
Ait Abdallah
Akhsas
Ifrai
Sbouya
Oued Noun

[P. 202-A]

Agadir
Taroudant
Oued Sous
Isendaten
Asif Assades
Ida ou Zekri
Mas sat
Biougra
Ilalen
Asif Oulghas
Maader
Ait Wad im
Ait Haal ou Kdir
Ilberkake
Ida ou Gnidif
Ait Tiznit
Ida ou
Ait Ahmed
Ait ouab
Ikhoulf
Ida ou Baqil
Gersmouk
Ammeln
Ait Abdallah
Oulad Jerrar
IDA
Ida ou
Ait Oumanouz
Tazerwalt Illigh
Semlal
Ait Erkha
OULTIT
Mejjat
Ifran
Oued

[P. 202-B]


Ida ou
Kensous
Ida
ou Zekri
Iberkaken
Isafen
Tizzert
Ait
Abdallah
Oued Dra

[P. 202-C]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

grande distance, distinguent avec soin à quelle alliance ils ont affaire dans le moindre village.

Dans l'Anti-Atlas central, au sein de la grande masse d'Igezzoulen de la montagne, le sentiment de la fraternité des tribus est nécessairement altéré par les discordes intérieures ; c'est seulement à la limite des tribus « Aoggwa » que les haines se révèlent avec force entre les deux partis. Ainsi la lutte des Aït Mzal, qui sont Aoggwa, et des Ilalen, de l'alliance des Igezzoulen, pour la possession des souks est envenimée par l'esprit des leffs.

Dans la plaine de Tiznit, la guerre était constante entre les deux alliances avant notre occupation et les poètes trouvaient dans ces combats une source inépuisable d'inspiration. Il semble, d'autre part, qu'au voisinage de la côte, la prépondérance de la montagne sur la plaine ait donné l'orgueil de leur force aux « Igezzoulen », longtemps groupés dans l'indépendance autour des descendants de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa dont ils faisaient leurs amghars et leurs rois. Ils croient leur leff supérieur en noblesse ou en courage à celui des agriculteurs plus riches, mais moins guerriers ; les « Aoggwa » ont ainsi honte d'avouer leur origine et les membres de ce leff en viendraient, dit-on, pour se reconnaître entre eux à l'usage de signes secrets (1).

La stabilité des deux partis, sans être peut-être aussi grande que dans le Haut-Atlas, suffit cependant pour distinguer aisément les leffs des alliances secondaires conclues entre les cantons afin de vider les querelles locales ; de telles associations temporaires sont rarement établies d'ailleurs entre des fractions de tribus appartenant à des leffs adverses.

De même que dans le Haut-Atlas, la politique du Makhzen a cherché dans l'Anti-Atlas à utiliser les rivalités de leffs pour pénétrer plus facilement dans la montagne. En particulier, au centre de résistance des Igezzoulen qu'a été le Tazerwalt, pendant trois siècles, les sultans semblent avoir opposé la masse des Chtouka. Aghennaj, le grand chef des Haha au début du XIXe siècle qui avait mis en fuite le marabout du Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar des Igezzoulen, entraînait avec lui les tribus de la plaine du Sous et les Chtouka du leff « Aoggwa » ; et l'on dit encore pour commenter cette défaite :

(1) Ce sentiment d'infériorité des Aoggwa n'est pas une des moindres difficultés des enquêtes faites pour connaître la répartition des deux leffs.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

« Par Dieu, ô les Gezzoula, n'est-ce pas honteux pour nous qu'Aghennaj ait battu dans l'aire aux portes d'Illigh » (1).

Aghennaj poursuivit d'ailleurs sa marche jusqu'au désert, atteignit Tamanart, autre centre traditionnel de la puissance des « Igezzoulen »; puis, selon la tradition, revint au Sous à travers la montagne entraînant derrière lui les contingents de toutes les tribus soumises, au milieu des combats, par la voie sûre que lui offraient vers le Nord les Ammeln, les Ida ou Gnidif et les Aït Mzal, du leff des « Aoggwa ». Cinquante ans plus tard, Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, Khalifat du Sous, sous le règne de Sidi Mohammed, à l'inverse de son prédécesseur Aghennaj, se souvenait encore que les tribus des Haha appartenaient toutes au grand leff des Igezzoulen et fêtait en grande pompe son alliance avec le fils de Sidi Hachem; il devait d'ailleurs, pour avoir changé de la sorte la politique traditionnelle, payer ce triomphe de sa vie, en buvant, sous les yeux du Sultan, le poison réservé aux ennemis du Makhzen.

XII. *Hypothèses historiques sur la formation des deux leffs de l'Anti-Atlas.* — Bien que l'aspect des leffs soit ici plus complexe que dans l'Atlas des Masmouda, il est plus facile d'apercevoir dans cette région l'origine de ces deux alliances. Dans l'esprit des Berbères des tribus, chez les Souktana ou les Aït Mzal par exemple, les deux leffs représentent la tradition d'antiques querelles entre deux familles rivales, au temps où les populations de l'Anti-Atlas vivaient encore au désert; à l'appui de cet argument, on fait valoir que la haine des deux leffs est restée beaucoup plus vive au voisinage du Sahara. Mais l'exaspération de la lutte des partis s'explique aussi bien, sur ces confins, par le mélange plus intime des familles appartenant aux deux leffs et qui sont venues récemment coloniser les oasis du Bani.

Le nom des leffs de l'Anti-Atlas qui désignent, soit une grande famille de Berbères envahisseurs — les Igezzoulen — soit d'anciennes tribus, comme les Isouktan et les Aoggwa, et l'aspect même des deux alliances opposées réparties par grandes masses, autour des sommets ou le long des voies de pénétration, suggèrent plutôt l'idée que cette institution prend ici son origine dans le mode de peuplement du pays. Notre ignorance de l'histoire des

(1) Justinard, *ibid.*, p. 362.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

tribus nous permet seulement d'imaginer comment les deux leffs ont pu se constituer aux époques les plus anciennes.

Les Igezzoulen, Berbères Senhaja venus sans doute du Sahara vers le Sous aux premiers siècles de l'hégire, ont trouvé devant eux des Zenaga — autres Senhaja qui avaient précédé leurs frères dans l'occupation du pays, ainsi que des Masmouda déjà fixés dans les vallées (1). Nous savons les résistances acharnées opposées aux Almohades par les Igezzoulen de l'Extrême-Sud. D'autre part, au XIIIe siècle, les Zenaga semblent, dans le Jbel Negisa (2), à l'est de l'Anti-Atlas, avoir donné avec les Arabes, leur appui à la fondation du petit royaume des Beni Yedder, qui lutta surtout contre les Igezzoulen. Les Zenaga furent-ils dans l'Est, en même temps que les Souktana, les champions de la lutte contre les envahisseurs, qui se seraient tout d'abord établis en montagne, dans la partie la plus pauvre du pays? Les Aoggwa, peut-être unis aux Chtouka, fixés dès cette époque, dans le voisinage des plaines occidentales, ne cherchèrent-ils pas, eux aussi, à contenir leurs rudes voisins dans la région des sommets? Enfin par suite de l'invasion des Ma'qil, il se serait produit sans doute une fusion des éléments arabes et berbères, plus sensible en plaine qu'en montagne, de telle sorte que le leff des « Aoggwa » serait de nos jours plus pénétré d'influences arabes.

Plus tard, la fixation progressive des tribus sur leur territoire, le mélange naturel des petits groupes sociaux et la répétition indéfinie des querelles des fractions de tribus ont dû amener la désagrégation des grands leffs, dans l'est de l'Anti-Atlas, au point de jonction avec le territoire des Aït Waouzgit ; le même phénomène se serait produit vers les plaines atlantiques et à la limite du désert. Ainsi se serait peu à peu constitué l'échiquier politique de l'Extrême-Sud, dont l'aspect irrégulier est encore loin de présenter l'état de division équilibrée des leffs des Masmouda, plus anciens, fragmentés en parties égales, dont les parties sont constituées par des cantons.

XIII. *Les leffs des Jbala et du Rif.* — L'institution des leffs

(1) Une tradition recueillie au pays des Ammeln représente les Igezzoulen comme le groupe des tribus nobles, venues d'Arabie pour apporter l'Islam aux Aoggwa de l'Anti-Atlas, alors attachés aux pratiques païennes ou au judaïsme. Ce serait là une interprétation populaire de la conquête de l'Anti-Atlas par les Igezzoulen, réalisée sans doute en invoquant les principes de l'Islam contre les tribus jusqu'alors mal converties.

(2) Ibn Khaldoun, t. I, p. 132.

revêt, chez les sédentaires du nord du Maroc, un aspect qui diffère à la fois de celui des Masmouda et des tribus de l'Anti-Atlas.

Depuis le versant atlantique de la chaîne du Nord et jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Moulouya, qui forme la limite orientale du Rif, on désigne, sous le nom de « Senhaja » et de « Ghomara », à la fois deux grandes confédérations et des alliances de tribus comparables à celles du sud du Maroc (1).

Dans la région du Habt, et d'une manière plus générale chez toutes les tribus du Jbel occidental, « Senhaja » et « Ghomara » sont des « 'alam », des « drapeaux » derrière lesquels se rangent pour s'affronter les petites unités politiques indépendantes du Nord-Marocain. Comme dans l'Anti-Atlas, ce sont des tribus entières qui entrent dans chacune des ligues ; il est rare que deux petits états, appartenant au même « 'alam », en viennent aux prises, tandis que la guerre éclate presque toujours entre « Senhaja » et « Ghomara ». Comme dans le Haut-Atlas aussi, les voisins prennent fait et cause pour leurs frères et la lutte s'étend sur de vastes régions à la suite d'un conflit local. Les leffs sont très stables comme le prouve l'existence d'une curieuse classification attribuée à un personnage inconnu par ailleurs, appelé « Bou Tyour », l' « homme aux oiseaux ». Chaque tribu est désignée, dans la liste de « Bou Tyour », par un animal — oiseau, mammifère ou insecte — ou même par un objet, et des règles simples doivent permettre, dit-on, en se souvenant du surnom, de trouver le leff d'origine. Tantôt les noms d'animaux dont la consommation est licite s'appliquent aux « Ghomara », tandis que ceux qui sont interdits par la loi religieuse sont « Senhaja » ; ou bien « tout ce qui peut être mangé » serait « Ghomara » à l'exception des poissons (Jaïa) ou des crabes (Beni Ahmed), les « Ghomara » ayant été « mangés », selon la tradition, et conquis par les étrangers Senhaja, voilés au litham et venus de Lamtouna (2) ; ailleurs encore, les « Ghomara » seraient

(1) Cf. sur les Ghomara et Senhaja : M. Michaux-Bellaire. *Quelques tribus de montagnes*, p. 4-8 ; E. Lévi-Provençal. *Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah* (Archives berbères, 1918). — Notre ami M. G.-S. Colin a bien voulu nous communiquer une étude inédite qu'il a exécutée sur les limites anciennes du territoire des Ghomara et des Senhaja. L'identification précise qu'il a faite d'un grand nombre de points ou de tribus cités par El Bekri et Ibn Khaldoun, permet de retrouver les limites anciennes du territoire des Ghomara et de mesurer l'importance des progrès de leurs ennemis au cours des siècles. Nous avons utilisé ses précieuses indications dans les pages qui suivent et donné, d'après ses recherches, le croquis du peuplement ancien du Nord-Marocain dans la carte des tribus Senhaja et Ghomara annexée à cette étude.

(2) Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.*

2: Montagne MW11/Shluh

désignés par des oiseaux (1), les « Senhaja » par d'autres animaux (2).

Chez les Jbala du centre, dans la région des Beni Zerwal et des Senhaja de Srair, l'hostilité paraît moins vive entre les deux partis que chez les tribus du voisinage de l'Océan, et elle s'est transformée en une simple antipathie, conservée comme un souvenir des luttes acharnées du passé (3). Les deux grands leffs ne jouent plus leur rôle dans les guerres récentes, et on ne les a pas vus s'opposer depuis la fin du dernier siècle. Plus à l'Est encore, entre le Nkor et la Moulouya, la liste de « Bou Tyour » n'est pas connue; cependant, les tribus se rangent encore d'elles-mêmes dans l'un ou l'autre des deux partis. Les leffs ne sont plus là qu'un simple souvenir historique.

Malgré la faible activité que présentent de nos jours les leffs du nord du Maroc, il est certain cependant que l'hostilité des Senhaja et des Ghomara dans le passé a été très vive. Outre les témoignages historiques, nous en avons la preuve dans le fait que chacun sait encore à grande distance le nom des tribus alliées de la sienne. Il est de la sorte beaucoup plus facile que dans l'Atlas des Masmouda de reconstituer la disposition générale des deux alliances, bien que chaque informateur ne connaisse guère que le territoire de sa propre tribu.

En reportant sur la carte ces alliances, on aperçoit immédiatement que la région dans laquelle les deux leffs se trouvent encore parfois aux prises, chez les Jbala occidentaux, correspond aussi à celle dans laquelle les alliances sont formées d'unités plus petites. Au centre de la chaîne montagneuse subsistent deux grandes masses opposées de Ghomara et de Senhaja. Ce sont, d'une part, les tribus Ghomara proprement dites, au sud-est de Tétouan

(1) Les Ghomara ont pour emblème, dans la liste de Bou Tyour, un petit oiseau qu'on appelle « aqouj ». Peut-être est-il possible de rapprocher ces surnoms d'oiseaux, d'allure totémique, de l'habitude ancienne qu'auraient eu les Ghomara de se représenter Dieu sous les aspects d'un oiseau (D'après la qasida d'Ibn 'Ardoun). Cette indication nous est donnée par M. G.-S. Colin.

(2) On a aussi l'habitude de désigner les tribus par un nom d'animal ou d'objet dans le Sud du Maroc, mais ces sobriquets n'ont rien à voir avec la classification des leffs. Nous avons ainsi relevé dans l'Anti-Atlas central les surnoms suivants : Ait Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (*les rats*) ; Ait Wagrou : lougra (*les grenouilles*) ; Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (*le caroubier*) : Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (*écorce de grenade*) ; Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (*le son*) ; Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (*les porte-malheur*) ; Ait Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (*l'amertume*) : Ait Ousa : Id Biqoussasen (*les figues vertes*) ; Ait Oughgoummi : Ibougha (*les renards*) ; Ait Tikiwit : Anziden (*les rats d'arganier*) ; Ait Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (*la fibre de palmier*) : Irasen : Ifkharen (*les potiers*); Ait Tmighat : Tighitten (*les chèvres*); Ait Mrait : Tatten (*les brebis*), etc... Ces appellations sont le plus souvent considérées comme injurieuses.

(3) Chez les Jbala de l'Est, tels que Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja da Gheddo.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

entre l'oued Lao, l'oued Ouringa, la crête de la chaîne du Rif et la Méditerranée ; et, d'autre part, les Senhaja de Srair, de Gheddo et de Mosbah, autour du sommet du Tidighin et aux abords de l'Wergha. Plus loin, vers l'Est, reparaît l'alternance presque régulière de tribus appartenant à l'un ou l'autre des deux leffs, mais il se trouve en même temps que celles-ci sont plus vastes ou plus peuplées que dans le Jbel occidental.

Enfin, les tribus du Gharb, de la plaine de Fès et du couloir de Taza entrent elles-mêmes de proche en proche, et comme par désir d'imitation pourrait-on dire, dans les deux grandes alliances du Nord, sans que cette adhésion paraisse modifier leur rôle historique de tributaires turbulents et prompts à se révolter contre le Makhzen des villes du Nord.

XIV. *La formation des leffs des Ghomara et des Senhaja.* — Une comparaison de l'état présent du nord du Maroc avec celui qui nous est décrit par El Bekri à la fin du XIe siècle, permet d'entrevoir la nature des transformations qui se sont produites dans cette région et de comprendre les conditions dans lesquelles se sont formés les deux grands leffs dont nous observons aujourd'hui la répartition équilibrée.

Le territoire des Ghomara s'étendait, il y a huit siècles, sur un pays beaucoup plus vaste que celui qui leur sert aujourd'hui d'habitat. A l'Ouest, ils parvenaient jusqu'à la rivière de Tétouan et sur toutes leurs limites occidentales, des populations masmoudiennes alliées et amies s'étendaient en formant une longue bande orientée du Nord au Sud, depuis les rives du détroit, en passant par le Jbel 'Alam jusqu'à l'Wergha. C'étaient, en particulier, les Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Au delà, vers l'Ouest, dans la plaine atlantique, d'Arzila à Anfa, les Beni Hassan, population ghomarienne d'origine, assuraient par l'intermédiaire des Berghwata, Doukkala et Regraga, la continuité de territoire jusqu'aux Masmouda du Haut-Atlas. Le seul élément étranger était un petit groupe de Senhaja établi autour de Tanger, avançant en pointe vers Tétouan (1).

Au sud du Rif occidental, les Ghomara unis aux Masmouda s'arrê-

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, t. II, p. 134 ; El Bekri, trad. de Slane. Alger, 1913, p. 207-210. Nous avons utilisé en outre des notes manuscrites de M. G.-S. Colin qui a identifié sur place un certain nombre des points cités par El Bekri.

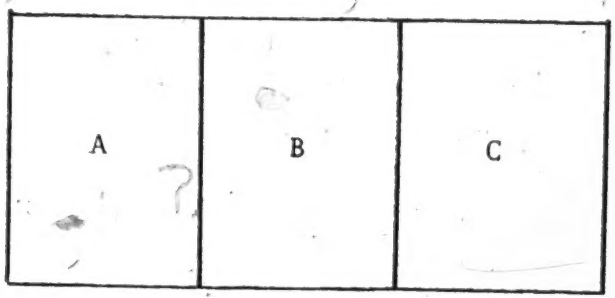


Chart of positions of map inserted between pp. 208-209.
[facing p. 208-A]

2: Montagne

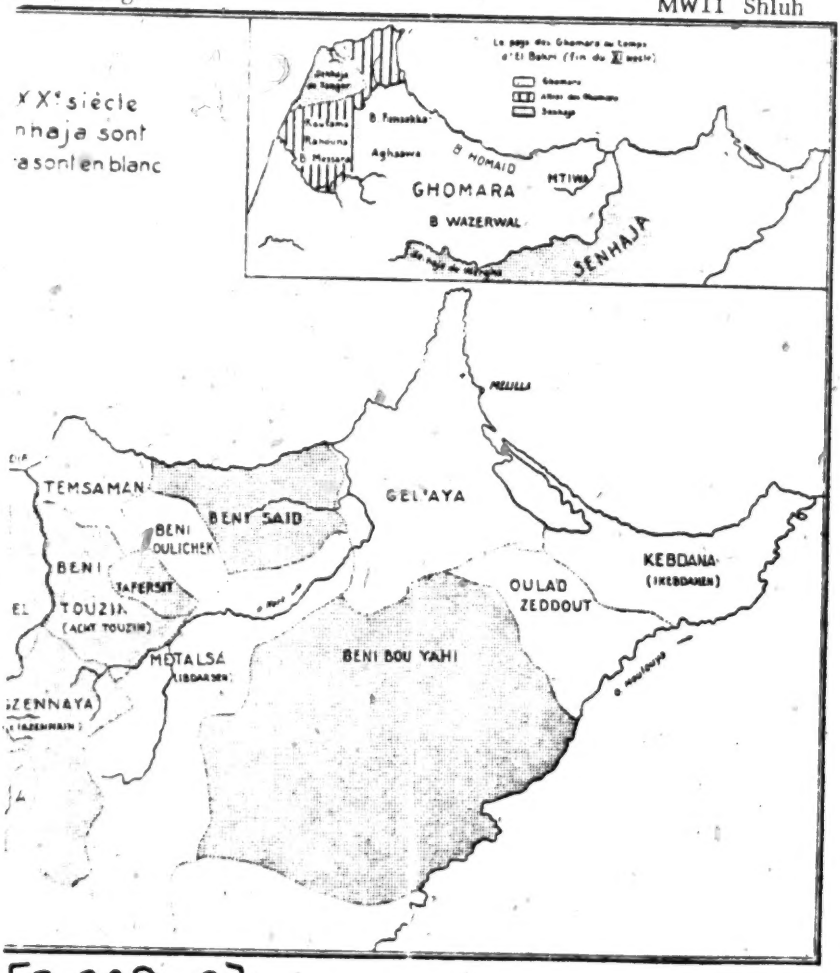
MW11 Shluh

[P. 208-A]

Les deux Leffs du Nord du Maroc au XXe siècle
Les territoires des Tribus de l'âlam Senhaja sont teintés ; ceux des Tribus de lâlam Ghomara sont en blanc

Echelle $\frac{1}{800.000}$

[P. 208 - B]


XXe siècle
nhaja sont
a sont en blanc
Le pays des Ghomara au temps d'El Bakri (Fin du XI siècle)
Ghomara
Aires des Ghomara
Senhaja
B Temsekka
Aghasrwa
B HOMAID
GHOMARA
HTIWA
B WAZERWAL
SENHAJA
MELILLA
TEMSAMAN
BENI SAID
GEL'AYA
BENI OULICHEK
BENI
TAFERSIT
TOUZIN
(AGNT TOUZIN)
MOTALSA
(IBDAASEN)
BENI BOU YAHI
OULAD ZEDDOUT
KEBDANA
(IKEBDANEN)
ZENNAYA

[P. 208-C]

taient à l'Wergha. Les Beni Zerwal, donnés par Ibn Khaldoun, tantôt dans l'un ou l'autre des deux leffs, paraissent avoir été plutôt Ghomara, si l'on en juge par leurs luttes constantes contre leurs voisins Beni Ouriaglel, de leff Senhaja, luttes qui se sont prolongées depuis le temps de Léon l'Africain jusqu'à nos jours (1). La rive gauche de l'Wergha était alors, comme à présent, tenue par de petites tribus Senhaja qui furent sans doute les « gich » almoravides chargés de tenir en respect les populations des montagnes du Nord.

A l'époque, impossible à préciser, où les Senhaja de Srair ne s'étaient pas encore avancés vers le Nord dans la direction de la mer, et où ils formaient sans doute un bloc unique avec les Senhaja de Mosbah et de Gheddo, les Mtiwa, autre population ghomarienne que nous trouvons maintenant brisée en trois tribus, devaient s'étendre de la mer à l'Wergha par le territoire actuel des Koutama et de Taghzout. Badès, d'après Idrisi, était la limite orientale du bloc des Ghomara ; le nom espagnol actuel de Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera, suffirait à prouver que c'était leur port.

A l'Est, se trouvaient encore, entre Badès et Ghassasa, au voisinage du cap Tres Forcas, des populations sanhajiennes et ghomariennes, qui avaient constitué aux premiers siècles de l'hégire, le royaume de Nekor des Banou Salih, avant la destruction de la ville de Nekor au début du XIe siècle (2). Il n'est d'ailleurs pas impossible que les guerres intérieures qui troublèrent profondément la vie de ce petit État aient été causées par l'hostilité permanente des deux races.

Quelles furent les causes historiques de l'assaut mené par les Senhaja contre le pays des Ghomara? Déjà, au temps d'Idrisi, au XIIe siècle, ces derniers avaient subi un échec sérieux, puisque leur territoire s'était trouvé réduit vers le Sud au bénéfice des Senhaja, par un juste châtiment de Dieu, « à cause de leurs nombreux péchés, de la faiblesse de leur islam, de leur persévérance à pratiquer l'adultère en toute liberté » et de tous leurs autres crimes (3). C'est à la succession de défaites qu'ils ont subies que fait allusion, nous l'avons vu, la classification de « Bou Tyour »

(1) Léon l'Africain, t. II, p 300.
(2) Ibn Khaldoun, t. II, p. 139.
(3) El Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, texte p. 170.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

dans laquelle les Ghomara sont représentés par des animaux « susceptibles d'être mangés ».

Mais il n'est pas possible d'expliquer par la seule avance des éléments Senhaja, venus sans doute à l'origine du Moyen Atlas à la conquête des meilleures terres, l'équilibre actuel des tribus des deux leffs dans la partie occidentale des Jbala. Tout d'abord, des éléments étrangers aux deux races prirent parti pour l'un ou l'autre des adversaires, selon les circonstances historiques. Déjà, les Koutama se comptaient au XIe siècle avec les Masmouda du Habt ; des éléments Nefzawa, tels que les Soumata et les Ghessassa, de petites tribus du groupe des Aureba, telles que les Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, le groupe des Branès, plus tard des envahisseurs zénètes comme les Metalsa durent choisir un parti et s'agréger à l'une ou l'autre des alliances. D'autres groupes, en se soumettant au vainqueur du moment, abandonnèrent même leur leff d'origine ; c'est ainsi qu'à présent, les Rhouna se donnent comme Senhaja, tandis qu'ils appartiennent à l'autre race. Des fractions Koutama se trouvèrent absorbées dans les Senhaja de Srair ; ils font partie maintenant de leur confédération ; par contre, les Boqqoya, Senhaja d'origine, selon Ibn Khaldoun, se comptent aujourd'hui dans l' « 'alam » des Ghomara. Les Khlot, Arabes établis sur le territoire des Beni Hassan s'attachèrent naturellement au leff ennemi de ceux dont ils prenaient la place.

Il est d'ailleurs facile d'imaginer comment par l'effet des divisions intérieures et des guerres locales, les groupes les plus faibles devaient se détacher de la masse homogène des tribus de leur race et se trouver peu à peu entraînés dans des alliances nouvelles, plus conformes à leurs tendances ou à leurs intérêts habituels. Aujourd'hui encore, observe M. Michaux-Bellaire : « les petites tribus des montagnes, incapables de se défendre elles-mêmes et de conserver leur indépendance vivent sous la protection et sous la domination d'une grande tribu voisine à laquelle elles payent tribut... Deux grandes tribus se disputent souvent par les armes la supériorité sur une de ces petites tribus et la petite tribu en litige devient successivement senhadjienne ou ghomarienne... » (1).

C'est ainsi que peu à peu, à l'idée d'une lutte de races se substitue celle d' « 'alam », d'alliance politique et militaire. On donne, de

(1) Michaux-Bellaire. *Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt*, p. 6.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

nos jours encore, des exemples de groupes qui ont ainsi changé de parti : les Mtiwa du Rif, dit-on à présent, étaient jadis Senhaja, après avoir été il y a plusieurs siècles Ghomora. Ils sont devenus à nouveau Ghomara ; de même, les Oulad Bou Slama, petite tribu autrefois rattachée aux Senhaja de Srair sont passés à l' « 'alam » ghomari ; par de tels changements d'alliance, volontaires ou forcés, s'explique ainsi sans doute, la présence au centre de l'ancien pays des Ghomara, des groupes des Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, de l' « 'alam » senhaji.

Bien des points restent encore obscurs, il est vrai, dans la répartition des tribus du Nord-Marocain entre les deux leffs. La présence de groupes Senhaja autour de Tétouan, l'existence de deux groupes de Beni Saïd du même leff sur la côte aux deux extrémités du Rif, la descente des Senhaja de Srair vers Yallich, qu'ils regardent comme leur port, ou la possession de Nekor par les Beni Ouriaghel sont des faits qui nous semblent mal expliqués. Il suffit cependant d'examiner la carte des deux « 'alam » à notre époque et de la comparer aux indications des historiens et des géographes arabes sur l'origine et la position ancienne des tribus pour se convaincre d'un fait important : par le jeu normal de la vie des tribus sédentaires, l'opposition qui prend la forme de guerre entre deux races tend à disparaître ; elle devient celle de deux grands leffs politiques qui peu à peu s'équilibrent, fractionnent leurs unités, en sorte que dans la chaîne du Rif peuplée de Senhaja et de Ghomara, la lutte des tribus en arrive à devenir, grâce à l'oubli des origines, semblable à celle des cantons du Haut-Atlas des Masmouda (1).

XV. *Les soffs de la Kabylie.* — Par le nom unique de « soff », on a désigné dans la Kabylie du Djurjura soit les alliances de familles à l'intérieur des villages, soit les ligues politiques dans lesquelles entrent en totalité une confédération, une tribu ou des « 'arch » indépendants. Il est cependant nécessaire, à la lumière des observations faites dans la Berbérie occidentale, de séparer ces deux institutions pour mieux en comprendre la nature et le rôle.

Hanoteau et Letourneux nous ont décrit les « soffs » de village, constitués au gré des circonstances et qui semblent être, d'après

(1) Comparer A. Bernard, *Les Confins algéro-marocains*, p. 105, sur les grands leffs. Beni Snassen et Angad.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

leur composition, aussi variables que les soffs du Haut-Atlas ou du Rif (1). Le Kabyle change fréquemment de parti ; la constitution de deux soffs ainsi formés n'est que la forme prise, à une période donnée, par l'opposition des intérêts particuliers dans un village. L'obligation d'entr'aide est d'ailleurs aussi rigoureuse pour les membres du soff que dans les associations plus stables que nous avons décrites dans l'Atlas Marocain sous le nom de leff. « Aide les tiens, qu'ils aient tort ou raison », telle est la devise des membres du soff.

Les soffs reçoivent, selon les diverses parties du pays, des dénominations variables : celui de « l'Est » ou de « l'Ouest », du « milieu » ou des « extrémités », ou empruntent leur nom à l'homme le plus en vue qui les dirige : « soff d'El Hadj Boudjemaa », ou d' « Amer n Aït Amara ». Ils parviennent à unir des groupes assez éloignés les uns des autres et sortent ainsi du cadre du village ou de l' 'arch. Lorsque cette institution avait encore toute sa force, dans les premières années qui suivirent la conquête, il existait en Kabylie quatre groupes de deux soffs qui se partageaient l'ensemble du pays. Mais chacun d'eux était isolé des autres et on ne trouvait pas cette correspondance des alliances qui caractérise par exemple les leffs des Masmouda de l'Atlas Marocain.

XVI. *La Kabylie a connu des leffs semblables à ceux de l'Atlas des Masmouda.* — D'autre part, la Kabylie a connu jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, au témoignage d'Hanoteau, deux grandes alliances d'une nature différente, connues sous le nom de « soff Oufella » et « soff Bou adda » — soff d'en haut et soff d'en bas — qui nous paraissent mériter, dans notre terminologie, le nom de « leffs ». D'une origine ancienne, antérieure en tous cas au XVIe siècle, elles unissaient entre elles toutes les populations de la Kabylie, par grandes tribus le plus souvent, mais aussi par unités plus faibles, surtout dans les régions montagneuses des Igawaoun et des Igouchdal. Il s'agissait dans ce cas d'alliances territoriales et non pas, comme dans les autres soffs, d'associations de personnes. L'aspect du damier politique constitué par les éléments des deux partis était alors assez semblable à celui que nous avons étudié dans le Jbel et le Rif au pays des « Senhaja » et des « Ghomara ».

(1) *La Kabylie*, t. II, p. 11-20.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Dans l'esprit des Kabyles, l'origine de ces deux ligues devrait être cherchée dans la lutte qui éclata un jour entre deux frères ennemis, en sorte que les « leffs » ainsi formés dans tout le pays n'auraient été que l'épanouissement d'un soff d'un village. Il se peut, comme l'indique la légende, que deux familles rivales aient joué jadis un rôle important dans l'opposition des partis. Mais la similitude des institutions de la Kabylie avec celles du reste de la Berbérie nous incite à chercher au delà de l'opposition naturelle des groupes familiaux la cause d'un état politique aussi général.

Hanoteau avait bien noté que les deux grands leffs d'autrefois n'empêchaient pas l'existence simultanée des soffs intérieurs, mais que « ceux-ci étaient beaucoup moins disposés que de nos jours à se faire la guerre, chacun sentant la nécessité d'une union intime contre l'ennemi du dehors » (1). Les observations faites dès les premières années de la conquête par le capitaine Devaux (2) et dont Hanoteau avait mis en doute la valeur et l'intérêt, viennent éclairer la nature d'une institution dont les aspects nous sont maintenant familiers. Lorsque le souvenir des luttes de tribus était encore très vivant dans cette région de montagne où, d'après les indications d'Hanoteau lui-même, les deux leffs nous paraissent s'entre croiser et se pénétrer davantage, on pouvait encore discerner l'existence d'un échiquier de fractions semblable à celui du Haut-Atlas occidental. Dans la vallée de Boughni, les unités de chaque parti étaient des « 'arch » isolées qui s'opposaient entre elles avec une étonnante régularité, à la manière des « taqbilt » du Nefis et de l'Asif el Mal des Masmouda. Hanoteau estimait *à priori* qu'une telle disposition équilibrée des partis était impossible à imaginer parce qu'elle supposait de la part des tribus « des vues d'ensemble et des idées de politique générale bien au-dessus de la portée de l'esprit kabyle ». Pour avoir observé sur de vastes espaces dans l'Atlas occidental une répartition des deux leffs sous la forme même sous laquelle Devaux l'a constatée dans les hautes vallées de la Kabylie, nous voyons la faiblesse de cette objection. Il faut donc restituer aux observations de Devaux toute leur valeur. Il reste toutefois difficile de comprendre que l'exemple de la vallée du Boughni soit demeuré unique dans les descriptions que nous ont laissées les premiers enquêteurs de la Kabylie,

(1) Hanoteau et Letourneux, *ibid.*, t. II, p. 17.
(2) Devaux, *Les Keballes du Djerdjera*. Paris, 1859, p. 39-40.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Peut-être suffit-il d'invoquer, pour expliquer ce silence, la date déjà tardive des études d'Hanoteau faites dix ans après la conquête et surtout l'insuffisance des recherches menées à cette époque sur la politique des tribus et l'historique de leurs luttes. Il se peut, d'autre part, que la complexité des alliances de soffs et leur développement au XIXe siècle aient masqué l'institution des deux grands leffs, déjà frappés de décadence depuis cent ans, selon la tradition recueillie par Hanoteau (1).

Quoi qu'il en soit, le schéma de la répartition politique des « 'arch » du Boughni, établi par Devaux, uni aux indications des auteurs de l'enquête sur les institutions de la Kabylie nous suffisent pour affirmer dans ce pays l'existence d'un état d'organisation, semblable à celui des autres régions peuplées de Berbères sédentaires. Nous sommes en droit de penser que le Djurdjura, comme le Haut-Atlas, a formé jadis comme un immense échiquier en deux couleurs sur lequel les tribus ont joué d'interminables combats, en observant les mêmes règles qu'au pays des Masmouda, jusqu'au temps où, pour des raisons inconnues, à une époque assez rapprochée de nous semble-t-il, les luttes des familles, les vengeances privées l'emportèrent sur l'esprit de leff, affaiblirent et firent disparaître ces alliances territoriales, au bénéfice d'associations plus fragiles.

XVII. *Hypothèse générale sur la formation des leffs berbères.* — Peut-être nous est-il permis, au terme de cette longue étude, de tenter d'établir une comparaison entre les divers aspects de l'institution des leffs que nous avons étudiés dans les grandes régions de l'Afrique du Nord peuplées de Berbères sédentaires.

D'une part, on peut tout d'abord observer que dans les massifs montagneux où vivent des tribus fixées depuis de longs siècles sans avoir subi le choc de grandes masses d'envahisseurs, comme le Haut-Atlas occidental et le Djurdjura, il s'établit un état d'équi-

(1) Masqueray avait bien vu l'importance des observations de Devaux qui décrivait un état politique analogue à celui qu'il avait personnellement retrouvé dans l'Aurès (*Formation des cités*, p. 168). Nous ne voulons pas ici redire les aspects de ce « damier en peuplade » constitué par les tribus de l'Aurès où les « soffs » apparaissent si voisins des leffs que nous avons étudiés chez les Berbères sédentaires du Maroc. Il se peut, en effet, que l'opposition respective des tribus s'explique d'une manière différente dans l'Aurès, peuplé de semi-nomades imparfaitement fixés là où la conquête du sol est encore inachevée. Cependant, l'exemple de l'Aurès, où l'équilibre des deux partis semble s'être établi sans tenir compte des divisions géographiques ou ethniques, vient s'ajouter aux précédents pour montrer les caractères généraux de l'institution des leffs berbères.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

libre presque parfait entre les plus petites unités politiques indépendantes. D'autre part, là où l'opposition des races et l'arrivée de nouvelles tribus survenues en grand nombre transforment les conditions d'existence des anciens occupants, comme dans l'Anti-Atlas avant le XIIIe siècle ou le Rif vers le XIe siècle, on constate que des confédérations entières ou de grandes tribus se heurtent et luttent pour la prépondérance politique et la possession des meilleures terres ; à ce stade, pendant la période qui suit les invasions, les leffs nous semblent être alors des divisions ethniques, tandis qu'ils ne sont plus dans les régions stabilisées que de simples divisions politiques.

Entre ces deux aspects extrêmes, l'exemple actuel des Jbala et du Rif nous offre peut-être un état de transition. Nous voyons peu à peu, en effet, s'effectuer dans ces régions le fractionnement des deux masses hostiles, tandis que l'idée de race disparaît peu à peu pour faire place à celle de parti.

On pourrait alors imaginer que l'Anti-Atlas, le Rif, puis l'Atlas des Masmouda et la Kabylie au siècle dernier représenteraient les aspects successifs d'une même institution.

Au début d'une invasion, telle que celle des Igezzoulen par exemple, à leur arrivée dans l'Anti-Atlas par masses compactes, les nouveaux venus commenceraient, en se heurtant aux anciens occupants, à provoquer la décomposition des groupes adverses en les intégrant par des alliances; des tribus, telles que les Aoggwa ou les Isouktan, donneraient leur nom à la ligue des autochtones et provoqueraient de la même manière des défections parmi les envahisseurs; peu à peu, le fractionnement se poursuivrait de manière à réaliser un équilibre de petites tribus, comme il se voit de nos jours dans la plaine atlantique du Sous ou de l'Anti-Atlas oriental.

Les Ghomara et les Senhaja, tels que nous pouvons les observer à présent et dont l'état fut semble-t-il, au XIe siècle, semblable à celui des Igezzoulen et des Aoggwa de notre époque, nous offriraient le deuxième stade de la transformation; déjà nous voyons, en effet, entrer dans l'alliance des unités sociales de faible importance et le souvenir de la guerre de race tombe dans l'oubli.

Il faudrait regarder comme le signe d'un état plus avancé encore de la désintégration de deux groupes, la constitution actuelle des leffs des Masmouda, dans lesquels entrent de simples fractions,

cependant que les noms pris par les leffs eux-mêmes sont ceux d'anciennes fractions de tribus remarquables par leur valeur ou leurs qualités magiques. C'est dans cet état de morcellement que se serait ainsi trouvée la Kabylie du Djurdjura au temps des deux soffs Bouadda et Oufella, dans cette période révolue que les enquêtes d'Hanoteau et les observations de Devaux ont attesté.

Faut-il aller au delà et regarder le développement ultérieur des soffs kabyles à l'intérieur des villages comme le terme ultime de cette division en unités sans cesse plus faibles, éternelle tendance commune à toutes les sociétés berbères ? Il se peut toutefois que la guerre des familles à l'intérieur du village ou de la tribu soit un phénomène social d'un ordre différent. En effet, tandis que le développement de l'institution des leffs, poussé jusqu'à l'extrême limite du fractionnement politique, paraît devoir aboutir à la conservation des groupes élémentaires, tels que le « khoms », la « taqbilt » et l' « 'arch », il semble au contraire que l'opposition des familles sous la forme des luttes de soff, arrive assez vite, au moins chez les sédentaires du Maroc, à briser l'unité des fractions, comme il apparaît dans les régions les plus anarchiques du Rif.

Quoi qu'il en soit de la valeur de l'hypothèse que nous proposons afin de rendre compte de la formation des leffs berbères, la comparaison des divers aspects de cette institution suffit à montrer comment elle se trouve liée aux conditions les plus générales de la vie matérielle, sociale et politique des tribus. Lorsqu'on étudie l'existence de ces petites sociétés élémentaires, on est frappé à la fois de la tyrannie exercée sur l'individu par le groupe et de l'impuissance dans laquelle se trouve ce dernier, pour faire disparaître de son sein l'anarchie. Les leffs matérialisent et projettent sur le sol, peut-on dire, les deux tendances opposées et complémentaires de la vie berbère : l'esprit d'association et le goût de la discorde.

[P. 217]

CHAPITRE IV

L'organisation républicaine ; les institutions politiques

I. Les institutions du Mouda'. — II. Le conseil du canton. — III. Les inflas ; leur origine magique. — IV. Le moqaddem. — V. Le partage des amendes. — VI. Les conseils de cantons ou de tribus sans moqaddem. — VII. Les tournées de justice. — VIII. Les guerres intérieures et extérieures. — IX. Les fêtes et les danses. — X. Les républiques berbères du Haut-Guir, des Jbala, des Branès. — XI. L'anarchie rifaine. — XII. Les républiques de la Kabylie.

Nous avons montré l'importance particulière de cette petite unité sociale, qui sous les noms divers de « taqbilt » dans le Haut-Atlas, de « khoms » dans l'Anti-Atlas et le Rif, d' « 'arch » dans le Djurdjura, est pour le Berbère indépendant la véritable patrie. C'est en effet dans ces étroites limites d'un état auquel nous avons donné le nom de canton que se sont développées les institutions simples et patriarcales des républiques oligarchiques, dans lesquelles se sont complus, pendant de longs siècles, les habitants des hautes-vallées.

Nous chercherons tout d'abord à décrire l'organisation de ces petits états dans la région de l'Atlas occidental. Sans doute, cette organisation a été en partie transformée depuis deux générations par le développement du pouvoir personnel. Mais on peut encore, en étudiant la vie des fractions restées libres jusqu'à présent dans les vallées les plus reculées, retrouver ce qu'était jadis la vie politique d'une grande partie de la montagne des Masmouda, à laquelle il n'aurait pas été exagéré de donner, il y a un demi-siècle, le nom de Kabylie du Haut-Atlas. En comparant ensuite cette région avec les parties les mieux connues de l'Anti-Atlas et du Rif, il sera facile d'apercevoir une fois encore la similitude qui existe entre les traditions politiques des Berbères sédentaires du Maroc et celles de leurs frères kabyles d'Algérie.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

comme un petit groupe autonome plus petit que le « mouda' » mais qui possède déjà des biens communs : fumier, terres de pacage, forêt. Une épaisse haie de jujubier que domine une tour de guet protège contre les voleurs. Pour assurer la sécurité des habitants on institue un tour de garde à la porte et une veille de nuit dans le « borj ». Le hameau tend alors à organiser sa vie propre pour la police, l'exécution des corvées, la répression des délits sans gravité et il absorbe de la sorte une partie des attributions du « mouda' ».

Lorsque le « mouda' » formé de plusieurs hameaux est une unité sociale active, ainsi qu'il arrive dans la plupart des vallées du Haut-Atlas, les chefs de tous les foyers des hameaux qui le constituent délibèrent en commun pour régler les détails de la vie. Mais si, d'après l'usage commun, l'assemblée est ouverte à tous les hommes mariés depuis un an, ce sont seulement les représentants respectés des familles, les chefs des « ikhs » qui prennent les décisions au nom de tous.

Les réunions du conseil du « mouda' » auquel on donne souvent le nom de « jema't », se tiennent habituellement à la mosquée du vendredi, qui est l'institution centrale, et peut-être la raison d'être de ce groupe social. Le tour de nourriture du taleb — un étranger pris à gages qui instruit les enfants dans la lecture du Coran, rédige des lettres ou des actes et fournit des amulettes pour guérir les maladies — l'entretien de la maison de prières, la réglementation de l'hospitalité due aux étrangers qui viennent passer la nuit dans la mosquée construite le plus souvent à l'écart du village, telles sont les petits problèmes pratiques que doit résoudre l'assemblée au mieux des intérêts de tous. La « jema't » accroît son activité en veillant à la protection des cultures, en fixant les périodes successives d'utilisation de la forêt d'arganier, pour le pâturage ou la récolte des baies ; elle fixe aussi le moment où l'on peut commencer les labours ou la récolte des noix (1), et intervient pour réglementer l'usage et la réparation des séguias ; enfin, c'est elle qui désigne souvent de petits fonctionnaires rétribués par la com-

(1) Pour des raisons magiques, il est souvent interdit par la jema't de labourer avant qu'une famille qui possède la « baraka » ait trouvé que les circonstances sont favorables pour commencer le travail. Cf. Laoust, *Mots et Choses berbères*, p. 313-315. Pour d'autres motifs, la récolte des noix ou des olives, qui se fait sur des arbres appartenant en commun à un grand nombre de propriétaires, ne saurait être faite qu'en présence du groupe tout entier, et elle est aussi réglementée par le conseil.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

I. *Les Institutions du « Mouda' »*. — La « taqbilt » du Haut-Atlas des Masmouda est formée le plus souvent par un groupe de « mouda' ». Le « mouda' » réunit plusieurs hameaux ; le hameau plusieurs familles. Chacune de ces petites unités a ses traditions, ses habitudes de vie en commun et, peut-on dire, sa « constitution politique ».

La famille, « Ikhs » (pl. ikhsan), nous l'avons dit, est un groupe patriarcal et agnatique, plus ou moins indivis, qui compte le plus souvent dix ou quinze feux. Il suffit d'habitude, pour retrouver l'ancêtre éponyme de l'Ikhs, de remonter à trois ou quatre générations, car, nous l'avons vu, le renouvellement de la population est rapide, même dans les hautes-vallées ; les épidémies si fréquentes, l'exil, la lutte des soffs suffisent pour disperser les groupes les plus vigoureux ou limiter leur accroissement.

Dans chaque foyer, une monogamie rigoureuse est observée ; à peine voit-on, dans les régions à présent gagnées par la transformation politique, les chikhs devenus riches épouser sur le tard une deuxième femme. Un dicton des Gedmiwa voue aux plus grands malheurs ceux qui amènent au foyer une deuxième épouse : « O toi qui a deux femmes, que les sauterelles mangent tes récoltes! »(1). Dans chaque famille — *stricto sensu* — les fils se séparent rarement de leur père, même après leur mariage. Chaque maison abrite le plus souvent trois ou quatre foyers. Après la mort de leur père, la coutume veut que les frères continuent de vivre aussi longtemps que possible dans l'indivision. Par des alliances nouvelles à l'intérieur de ce groupe primitif, les descendants d'un même ancêtre en arrivent à former une petite unité sociale dans laquelle l'étranger n'est admis qu'après un long séjour (2). Ce groupe n'a pas toujours pour chef le plus âgé ; c'est souvent le plus riche et le plus influent qui parle au nom de ses « frères » dans les assemblées, chaque fois que l'honneur ou les intérêts de l' « Ikhs » sont en jeu.

Deux ou trois « ikhs » peuplent habituellement un hameau, « tadehert », mais il n'est pas rare que l'un d'entre eux soit prépondérant et ait seul le droit de représenter les intérêts communs à l'assemblée de la « taqbilt ». Souvent, dans les régions voisines des plaines, et surtout dans l'Anti-Atlas, le hameau nous apparaît

(1) Compar. *Sitte und Recht*, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.
(2) Compar. Laoust, *Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc*, Arch. berbères, t. I, p. 76.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

munauté pour la réglementation des irrigations : ce sont ceux qu'on appelle du nom d' « amazzal », ou encore les « petits inflas », ou les « inflas de l'eau ».

Parfois, c'est le conseil de la « taqbilt » lui-même qui intervient pour appliquer à ceux qui contreviennent à la police des cultures, des amendes qu'on appelle les « azzain n igran », les amendes des champs. Mais le plus souvent, chaque « jema't » de « mouda' » fixe ces peines à son gré et perçoit les amendes à son profit sans s'écarter d'un tarif traditionnel connu de tous. C'est d'ailleurs sous cette forme des « azzain n igran » que persiste le plus longtemps le droit coutumier au sein du « mouda' », lors même que les progrès de la pénétration du Makhzen en ont amené la disparition dans le pays.

Ainsi, pour des raisons qui tiennent aux conditions de la vie matérielle, l'assemblée du « mouda' » prend souvent une grande importance locale. Même dans des régions comme celle des Haha où la population se trouve dispersée sur tout le territoire dans des maisons isolées, l'usage des pâturages en forêt, la pratique des travaux en commun par mutuelle assistance contribuent à maintenir la tradition des conseils de « jema't ». Les réunions se tiennent quand c'est nécessaire dans la mosquée du vendredi, qui se trouve perdue, comme toutes les maisons de ce pays, sur une colline solitaire (1).

II. *Le conseil du canton.* — C'est le conseil de « taqbilt » qui forme l'institution essentielle de la petite république autonome d'un canton berbère. Tandis que la « jema't » du « mouda' » est, en apparence au moins, démocratique, puisqu'elle réunit tous les chefs de foyer, la représentation des familles au sein du conseil de la « taqbilt » conserve un caractère oligarchique plus marqué. Chaque « ikhs » s'y trouve en effet représenté par un seul de ses membres. Souvent même, chaque hameau ne peut déléguer qu'une seule personne désignée par un tour qui change tous les ans

(1) Il peut arriver que l'organisation du « mouda' » se développe sur le modèle de celle de la « taqbilt » et qu'il soit alors dirigé par un moqaddem. C'est le cas dans plusieurs petites tribus des Seksawa (les Aït Haddiyous en particulier). Ce fait se produit dans une région où les « taqbilt », divisées en trois tiers, sont plus fortes qu'ailleurs ; on saisit ici sur le vif l'une des phases de l'apparition de nouvelles fractions autonomes se formant par simple croissance du « mouda' ». On voit aussi par là comment il peut être difficile à certains degrés de la constitution des petites sociétés berbères de distinguer la sous-fraction de la fraction, ou la fraction de la tribu.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

entre les chefs des diverses familles du lieu. D'habitude, on estime que pour faire partie du conseil du canton, qu'on appelle aussi parfois le « diwan », il convient d'être riche, afin de pouvoir, à son tour, recevoir dignement dans sa maison le conseil de tribu ; il est bon, en outre, d'être habile au gouvernement et de « savoir parler dans les assemblées » (1). Parfois, la tradition exige du représentant d'une famille qu'il parle au nom d'un certain nombre de foyers — dix dans le sud des Haha, vingt chez les Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ou'Azzoun).

Les membres du « diwan » ou du conseil du canton sont le plus souvent appelés dans le Haut-Atlas « les Aït Arba'in » — les quarante. — Il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer que ce terme d' « Aït Arba'in » désigne dans presque tout le Maroc berbère, Haut-Atlas central, Moyen-Atlas et Rif (2), l'assemblée des notables dans une tribu ou une fraction indépendante.

L'origine de ce nom, si généralement répandu, est inconnue. De nos jours, les Aït Arba'in ne sont pas quarante, mais, dans l'Atlas occidental, dix ou quinze seulement. Peut-être dans le passé a-t-on désigné de la sorte les représentants des tribus divisées en quatre groupes, à raison de dix par fraction (3). L'habitude de compter par dizaine est en effet très répandue dans l'Atlas occidental. Les Almohades, au début de leur mouvement, connaissaient à Tinmellel un « conseil des dix », réuni autour du Mahdi ; puis un conseil des cinquante, qui paraît bien avoir représenté en principe les cinq tribus privilégiées. De nos jours, chez les Ida Ou Tanan et dans le sud des Haha, chaque « taqbilt » ou « afous » doit, dans les circonstances importantes, compléter jusqu'à dix le nombre de ses représentants qui figurent aux assemblées générales de tribu ou de confédération. Il se peut d'ailleurs que le choix du nombre dix s'explique simplement par la nécessité de répartir les charges et les profits et de diviser en parties égales les impôts et les amendes, travail essentiel des assemblées de notables, en comptant sur ses doigts.

III. *Les inflas, leur origine magique.* — Sur le versant sud

(1) *Sitte und Recht*, p. 6.
(2) On signale également le terme de « Bou l arba » chez les Branès : Trenga, *les Branès*, Arch. berbères, t. I, fasc. 4, p. 319.
(3) La division des tribus en « reba' », *quart*, est assez fréquente, bien que moins répandue que la division en « khoms » ou *cinquième*.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

du Haut-Atlas, ainsi que dans la plaine du Sous et l'Anti-Atlas, le nom d' « Aït Arba'in », se trouve généralement remplacé par celui d' « inflas » ou d' « anfalis », qui est la forme pluriel d' « anflous ».

Il est ici plus aisé de trouver l'origine de ce terme. L' « anflous » (1) paraît être, à l'origine un personnage qui possède des pouvoirs magiques. Connu aussi parfois sous le nom d'« amzwar » (2), c'est lui qui procède aux premiers labours pour que les récoltes soient favorables. A Massat, on jette un instant dans la rivière les fils d'un « anflous » à chaque printemps, afin que l'irrigation des jardins donne de bonnes récoltes. De même il existe, pour la guerre, des « inflas lbaroud » dont la présence dans les combats est un gage de succès. Ce sont encore des « inflas el khir » qui font tomber la pluie, et on voit même, chez les Haha, cette conception magique du porte-bonheur prendre dans la vie du pays l'importance d'une véritable institution ; la confédération a ses « inflas » qui sont les hommes de la tribu des Imgrad ; chaque tribu a ses « inflas » choisis dans un « khoms » privilégié (3) et dans le sud du pays, là où les traditions sont plus intactes, le « khoms » ou « afous » a aussi les siens. Jadis, au temps de la « siba », aucune décision sérieuse n'était prise sans consulter ces personnages importants. Les « inflas n tsehil », ainsi nommés, parce qu'ils « facilitent » l'accomplissement de toutes choses (4), donnent parfois leurs conseils dans les circonstances politiques les plus critiques, alors même qu'ils passent dans la vie courante pour des hommes sans importance et qu'ils puissent être sans intelligence et pauvres d'esprit. Parfois même, pour la perception des impôts, leur rôle est indispensable. Chez les Aït 'Amer, c'est un « anflous » qui doit compter l'argent recueilli en le plaçant sur le pan de son burnous afin que cette somme reçoive par communication de sa « baraka » une heureuse destination. Si l' « anflous » n'est pas là, on fait asseoir sur son manteau un jeune enfant de la même famille, qui reçoit en échange de ses bons services un petit salaire — « l haqq n tbiliout » — le droit du « pan du manteau ». Sans doute, ces « inflas el

(1) Anflous, de la racine Fls, avoir confiance. (De Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-fr.*, t. I, p. 228). Le mot arabe « amin », employé en Kabylie, pourrait n'être que la traduction du mot « anflous ».

(2) Du berbère « Zwour », précéder. « L'amzwar » est celui à qui l'on demande de faire le premier un acte important ou difficile parce qu'il est un porte-bonheur.

(3) Cf. Doutté. Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905, supplément n° 1, p. 8.

(4) Cf. plus haut p. 200.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

khir », ces « porte-bonheur » n'ont de commun que le nom avec les « inflas » qui forment le conseil du « khoms » ou du canton dans la plaine du Sous et l'Anti-Atlas. Cependant, on ne peut manquer de chercher à rapprocher les deux institutions.

Il est permis de se demander si ces personnages magiques, de nos jours sans pouvoir politique, mais que l'on consulte encore avec soin, ne sont pas les successeurs des sorciers, des grands prêtres, des « rois agraires » dont les pratiques magiques ou magico-religieuses assuraient jadis la prospérité et la vie du clan (1). Dans beaucoup de régions, il est vrai, chorfa et marabouts ont, grâce à leur « baraka », remplacé les porte-bonheur d'autrefois. Mais on pourrait imaginer que le soin de décider des affaires de la tribu ait jadis appartenu à des hommes revêtus d'une autorité magique les « inflas el khir », et que, peu à peu, ils aient été remplacés au sein du conseil par de simples notables, puissants par leur richesse, ou forts par leur courage et le nombre de leurs frères. A l'appui de cette thèse, on invoquerait la présence dans l'assemblée politique de la fraction des conseillers de « bon augure » que l'on trouve encore de nos jours sur le versant sud du Haut-Atlas dans les tribus des Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. Là, en effet, le conseil est formé de deux parties : l'une d'elles est constituée par la représentation des familles, selon un tour de rôle rigoureusement fixé par la tradition ; l'autre réunit les « hommes de bon conseil », des vieillards habiles et qui connaissent les traditions, ou des hommes réputés pour donner des conseils que la fortune favorise. Ces derniers, qui mériteraient seuls à proprement parler le nom d' « inflas », sont appelés là les « Imeslaïn » (2) ou les « Imbarkiyn », et nous les voyons intervenir fréquemment dans les délibérations et donner leur appui personnel aux moqaddems, présidents des petites républiques indépendantes du Tichka.

Chez les Ida Ou Tanan, ce sont encore des « inflas el khir » qui désarment, dans les réunions, ceux qui sont cités devant l'« ajmo'a », assemblée générale des notables, et recueillent, sans avoir honte, les gages — « outaïq » — que leur donnent les hommes les plus âgés ou les plus respectés (3). Enfin, ailleurs, comme dans l'Aghbar, chez les Seksawa ou les Gedmiwa, ces inflas privilégiés n'ont pas de

(1) Laoust, *Mots et Choses berbères*, p. 313-315.
(2) Compar. Huyghe, *Dictionnaire kabyle-français*. Paris, 1901, p. 224, « meslaie », entretenir quelqu'un de quelque chose, parler.
(3) Cf. notre étude sur les Ida Ou Tanan (*Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, p. 238).

pouvoirs magiques ; ils ne nous apparaissent plus que comme les aides du moqaddem, « 'awan », transmettent ses ordres, lui donnent des conseils et l'assistent en toutes circonstances. Comme preuve de leur dévouement, ils déposent en gage dans la maison du chef des fusils ou des poignards.

IV. *Le moqaddem.* — Chaque année, le conseil du canton se réunit pour recevoir les comptes de gestion de son président, le « moqaddem » (1), et pour procéder à la nomination de son successeur. Selon la tradition ancienne, dans le Haut-Atlas, le moqaddem doit être un homme effacé, qui se considère à tout instant comme le porte-parole du conseil. Comme son nom l'indique, il n'est que le premier des « inflas », celui qui précède, que l'on place en avant. Pour toute affaire importante, il consulte les chefs des « ikhs » et les hommes de bon conseil, et lorsqu'il doit agir à l'improviste, il se hâte de faire approuver sa décision. Le plus souvent, il est choisi à tour de rôle dans chaque village, parfois on tire son nom au sort entre les chefs des « ikhs ». Cependant, dans la pratique, le rôle du moqaddem s'est beaucoup étendu ; c'est lui qui est choisi le plus souvent comme arbitre dans les contestations. Si les affaires qui lui sont présentées sont trop complexes, il indique un autre arbitre, étranger au canton, ou un cadi du voisinage (2). En sa présence se font les mariages et les divorces. Il procède aux partages d'héritages et prélève alors une petite part sur les successions. Il punit conformément à l''orf — la coutume — les crimes et les délits, et inflige les amendes qui conviennent à chaque faute. L'argent ainsi perçu est divisé en trois parties : la première revient au moqaddem ; la deuxième est à la taqbilt, que les inflas estiment dans cette circonstance représenter d'une manière complète ; la dernière part constitue un petit fonds de réserve pour les dépenses d'hospitalité.

L'autorité du moqaddem est variable suivant sa richesse et sa situation personnelle. S'il est déjà, en raison de la puissance de son « ikhs », un notable important, on le voit revêtu d'un habit

(1) De l'arabe « qeddama », *placer devant soi* ; littéralement : celui qui est placé en tête.
(2) Les décisions du cadi sont souvent sollicitées par des notables qui craignent de recueillir dans leurs cantons une sentence défavorable, mais qui sont d'autre part, assez forts pour faire respecter ou exécuter dans leur village, la décision d'un personnage étranger. Quelquefois aussi, le jugement du cadi passe pour être moins entaché de partialité que celui des inflas dont on redoute la rapacité.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de laine blanche, qui manifeste son rang élevé, tenir des conseils, fixer le tour d'hospitalité, accepter l' « 'ar » des étrangers qui demandent protection, et faire donner à celui qui lui offre un sacrifice des grains et des noix par contribution de tout le canton. Il conclut des alliances avec les cantons voisins et préside aux « tinoubga », fêtes données à l'occasion des visites de guerriers étrangers. Si le moqaddem, au contraire, est un homme sans influence, il s'efface devant les « inflas » ou les « 'awan » qui rivalisent entre eux pour faire régler au profit de leur famille toutes les contestations. Lorsque l'année s'est écoulée, le moqaddem réunit les inflas et sollicite son remplacement. Exceptionnellement, on lui renouvelle sa charge pour un an « si sa magistrature a été heureuse », mais jamais plus longtemps.

Il résulte de la tendance générale au développement du pouvoir personnel que, dans le Haut-Atlas, on méprise un peu, de nos jours, les moqaddems effacés qui s'en tiennent à la tradition ancienne selon laquelle ils ne seraient que les mandataires de leurs frères. Celui qui ne sait parler ferme et « ne ferme pas la porte », affaiblit la tribu ; il n'est pas capable, dit-on, de prendre les décisions nécessaires pour assurer au canton, au milieu des périls qui le menacent, une vie libre et indépendante.

Lorsque le moqaddem prend sa charge, il édicte souvent une liste d'infractions qui seront réprimées par ses soins, selon un tarif qu'il a fixé, d'accord avec ses conseillers. Un acte est dressé dont les notables certifient l'authenticité. L'examen de ces actes nous laisse deviner parfois les luttes qui éclatent à l'intérieur de ces petits états. Dans le Haut-Atlas, on voit souvent apparaître, à la place des noms des douze ou quinze chefs des « ikhs » qui représentent le canton, sur la feuille écrite par le taleb, celui de trois ou quatre personnages puissants, amis du moqaddem, qui prennent sur eux d'accepter au nom de tout le groupe, les règlements édictés par le nouveau chef. Il se forme ainsi comme un petit sénat qui diminue l'importance politique du conseil du canton.

Chez les Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa, le gouvernement intérieur de la « taqbilt » prend une forme dans laquelle se marque mieux encore l'influence des notables les plus riches. Là, les membres du conseil — les « Aït ed diwan » sont seulement au nombre de quatre. L'assemblée des « Aït Arba'in » subsiste cependant ; elle est formée de jeunes gens désignés pour un an, à raison d'un par famille, qui viennent à

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

leur tour assurer la garde dans la forteresse collective, reçoivent leur part des amendes perçues, mangent les repas offerts par les coupables à la tribu. Lorsqu'ils n'ont pas mieux à faire, ils vont chercher du bois pour la mosquée et font chauffer l'eau des ablutions. Aussi, leur donne-t-on par dérision le surnom de « bou khorbich » (1). A cet effacement du conseil correspond ainsi un accroissement du pouvoir du « sénat ». En même temps se trouvent réduites les attributions du moqaddem, jalousement surveillé par les notables influents.

Il s'en faut que les constitutions politiques de tous ces petits états soient identiques; dans le Haut-Atlas, certains cantons nomment leur moqaddem dans des conditions qui diffèrent beaucoup de celles que nous avons indiquées. Ainsi, les Aït Cha'ïb, dans la tribu des Demsira, qui ont opposé à la domination des caïds des Mtougga une résistance acharnée, procèdent de la manière suivante. Au début de l'année, la « taqbilt » réunit cent hommes armés dans un sanctuaire religieux. Quinze poignards sont remis aux représentants du « mouda' » dont le tour de commandement est arrivé. Ceux-ci désignent alors le moqaddem, qui dit une prière et nomme à son tour les Aït Arba'in de l'année, à raison de deux par « mouda' ». On voit aussi dans cette fraction le moqaddem réunir dans les cas graves, non seulement les Aït Arba'in en fonction, mais tous les notables. Ses pouvoirs sont, d'autre part, plus étendus qu'ailleurs ; les Aït Arba'in sont à ses ordres, et il est plutôt leur chef que leur mandataire. Sans doute, la puissance du moqaddem et son autorité, qui font de lui une sorte de chef de guerre, n'a-t-elle pas été sans faciliter l'attitude énergique de défense qu'ont gardé les Aït Cha'ib à l'égard de leurs ennemis Mtougga (2).

A Thinghir, dans le Todgha, le chef de l'assemblée, nommé pour un an et qui prend le nom d' « amghar », est choisi par son prédécesseur. En présence de tous les guerriers, le nouvel amghar désigne à son tour ceux qui l'assisteront dans le gouvernement : « Je veux qu'un tel, fils d'un tel, de telle famille, soit avec moi pour m'aider en ce qui concerne le règlement des contestations du village » (3).

Citons encore les Aït Tounert, dans la tribu des Ida ou Mhamoud,

(1) Khorbich, salle attenant à la mosquée où l'on fait chauffer l'eau pour les ablutions.
(2) D'après F. de La Chapelle (*Étude inédite sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga*).
(3) *Sitte und Recht*, p. 126.

qui prennent leur moqaddem dans quatre familles de la « taqbilt » à l'exclusion de toutes les autres. Dans la « taqbilt » des Aït Gaïr, dans les hautes vallées des Gedmiwa, ce sont les seuls habitants du village de Taounghast, où se trouve une grande forteresse construite il y a un siècle par contribution de tous les autres villages, qui ont le droit de diriger la politique de la vallée et le moqaddem est toujours choisi dans leur cité.

V. *Le partage des amendes.* — Aucun acte de la vie des « taqbilt » du Haut-Atlas ne permet mieux de juger de la force de leurs institutions républicaines que le partage des amendes. Lorsque la règle traditionnelle des trois tiers — réservés l'un au moqaddem, l'autre aux inflas, le troisième à la caisse commune de la « taqbilt » est encore observée exactement, on a la preuve d'une conservation parfaite des institutions oligarchiques.

Dans l'Atlas occidental, c'est le moqaddem qui est chargé de tenir les comptes du trésor (1). L'argent recueilli permet d'héberger les hôtes, de rétribuer les menus services rendus au conseil, de donner aux pauvres de petits secours, et surtout de célébrer avec éclat les « tinoubga », les fêtes d'alliance.

Quelquefois d'ailleurs, il est nécessaire, après des dépenses exceptionnelles, de reconstituer le fonds de prévoyance de la caisse de « taqbilt » et de procéder à une levée d'impôts extraordinaires ou « frida ». Les « inflas », ou quelques personnages considérables ou respectés, se trouvent alors souvent dispensés de fournir les contributions en argent.

Dans le Haut-Atlas, la seule région dans laquelle l'institution d'une caisse de taqbilt se soit conservée intacte jusqu'à nos jours est celle des Ida Ou Mhamoud, soustraite grâce à l'éloignement à l'influence directe des grands chefs. Encore voit-on à présent figurer dans les comptes annuels que le moqaddem doit rendre à son successeur, l'achat d'une mule offerte en « hedia » au puissant caïd de Bouaboud (2).

Souvent, il s'introduit une autre coutume, particulièrement répandue dans le Sous et l'Anti-Atlas, qui permet d'éviter les difficultés de partage des amendes : celle de l' « imensi n tqbilt », le dîner offert par le coupable aux inflas de la fraction. Le menu de

(1) Il en va de même de l'amghar dans le Todgha (*Sitte und Recht*, p. 128).
(2) D'après F. de La Chapelle (*Ibid.*).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ce repas est fixé d'avance selon l'importance du crime ou du délit; il est toujours accompagné d'une offrande de pains de sucre.

La rapacité des « inflas » — bien connue et même proverbiale, puisqu'on dit dans la plaine du Sous qu'ils seraient capables de réclamer jusqu'à la part d'héritage des chiens — se donne libre cours à l' « imensi n tqbilt ». En cette circonstance, on voit parfois les bénéficiaires de ces repas en commun se quereller parce que l'un d'eux invite, sans l'autorisation de l'assemblée, un hôte de passage. Il leur paraît, en effet, impossible d'admettre que cet étranger diminue ainsi la part de tous et dérobe aux chefs de famille la juste rétribution à laquelle ils ont droit (1).

VI. *Les conseils de fractions ou de tribus sans moqaddem.* — La constitution ancienne des républiques berbères du Haut-Atlas, dans la région du Tichka et des Gedmiwa de la montagne, supposait toujours l'existence du moqaddem. De nos jours, même dans les régions demeurées indépendantes, ce chef élu a été souvent remplacé par un « amghar », qui garde le pouvoir suprême aussi longtemps qu'il est assez fort pour imposer son autorité aux familles rivales. Mais dans les autres régions montagneuses du Sud du Maroc, l'esprit public est resté plus hostile à l'apparition du pouvoir personnel. Une tribu de la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, les Aït Oua'zzoun ne connaît ni moqaddem ni amghar; de même, la plupart des cantons des Aït Waouzgit, avant la conquête des Glawa, n'avaient qu'un petit sénat et des Aït Arba'in sans président. Enfin, chez les tribus indépendantes de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, de petits conseils de notables — six par fraction en général — administrent les « khoms », sans avoir de chef désigné. Là parfois, il est vrai, un notable influent exerce, grâce à son énergie, l'autorité véritable; mais par sa feinte modestie dans les conseils, il cherche à éviter les apparences du commandement. Dans l'assemblée, il n'est qu'un « anflous » au milieu de ses frères et si l'on consent à lui donner le titre de « moqaddem », il le porte sans ostentation, se gardant bien de paraître diriger les délibérations, dont il a par avance dicté la conclusion dans des entretiens secrets avec ses créatures (2).

(1) Certains règlements coutumiers discutent gravement ce problème de répartition, et l'on consent à fermer les yeux sur le tort fait aux inflas par l'invitation d'un hôte à condition que celui-ci ne prenne qu'une seule bouchée dans le plat, par simple politesse (*Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt*, communiqué par M. Ben Daoud).

(2) Les tribus du pied de l'Anti-Atlas occidental ou des oasis irriguées de la plaine possé-

La concorde est difficile à établir au sein des conseils d'inflas dépourvus de moqaddem, où la règle unique paraît être de maintenir l'égalité complète entre tous les représentants des « ikhs ». Pour prévenir les discordes et afin d'arriver à imposer aux groupes les plus forts les décisions prises par les autres familles conformément à la coutume, il arrive souvent que les petits états élémentaires de la montagne sortent de leur isolement et s'associent à leurs voisins : il se constitue ainsi de véritables conseils de tribu dans lesquels chaque « khoms » délègue ses inflas. Telles sont dans l'Anti-Atlas les assemblées des Aït Mzal, des Ida Ou Gnidif, des Aït Wadrim de la montagne ; elles réunissent chacune vingt-quatre représentants qui jugent les crimes conformément à l' 'orf (1).

VII. *Les tournées de justice.* — Lorsque les cantons sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le réglement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Aït Ou'azzoun et les Ifesfasen. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze « afous » ou fractions, chaque « afous » rassemble tout d'abord dix Aït Arba'in qui désignent un représentant. Les quinze délégués des « afous » ainsi nommés délibèrent à part et forment le

daient cependant, avant les progrès de la pénétration du Makhzen, des moqaddems semblables à ceux du Haut-Atlas — à Tiznit et chez les Ida ou Gersmouk par exemple. L' « 'orf » des Ida ou Gersmouk recueilli par M. Ben Daoud débute par la proclamation suivante : « Sachez que le moqaddem est la base sur laquelle reposent toutes les affaires de la tribu ».

(1) Dans ces conseils de tribu, les conditions dans lesquelles le droit coutumier est appliqué en cas de meurtre laissent apercevoir le relâchement des institutions sociales. Chez les Ida Ou Gnidif, par exemple, les inflas amis du meurtrier rendent à la famille de celui-ci la part de l'amende qui leur revient sur la somme imposée par la tribu. Chacun soutient ses frères ; les « ikhs » sont plus forts que la tribu. Souvent, il est vrai, le droit coutumier prévoit ce cas et l''orf intervient pour condamner à des amendes élevées les inflas qui tentent de se porter garants de leurs frères ou en appellent à des autorités étrangères.

Ainsi chacun des membres du conseil se trouve sans cesse sollicité en deux sens opposés : le devoir de protéger ses frères ou les frères de ses amis, et le désir de prendre part au partage des biens des coupables. Sa conduite s'inspire des circonstances.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

conseil des « imzran » (1), tandis que la masse des Aït Arba'in de toutes les fractions réunies constitue une force de police capable de faire exécuter toutes les décisions. Le tout prend le nom d' « ajmo'a » des Aït Ou'azzoun. Ainsi formée l' « ajmo'a » se transporte tout d'abord chez les Aït Wanzig qui sont les « inflas el khir » ou « porte-bonheur » de la tribu des Aït Ou 'azzoun. Pendant un jour et une nuit, le conseil examine tous les cas de vol ou de meurtre commis pendant l'année et dont le compte a été tenu avec soin par les notables et que le taleb a notés par écrit. Les coupables sont convoqués, entendus, condamnés à l'amende, et ils versent sur-le-champ des gages constitués par un certain nombre de fusils. Si les coupables sont des marabouts, qui n'ont pas de fusils, ils paient une amende sous forme d'animaux destinés aux repas en commun. Le lendemain, l' « ajmo'a » se déplace en suivant un itinéraire traditionnellement fixé, et stationne deux ou trois jours, selon l'importance des fractions. Une nuit se passe à la zaouia de Sidi Brahim Ou 'Ali, centre religieux de la confédération, où l'on offre au saint un sacrifice solennel. Enfin, la tournée de justice s'achève dans les cantons du nord et le dernier jour, à la zaouia d'Issouqal, les coupables viennent verser les amendes et retirent les fusils qu'ils avaient mis en gage. Les marabouts qui ont joué le rôle de conciliateurs ou de conseillers reçoivent des cadeaux, et un sacrifice est offert au saint d'Issouqal. Puis, l'argent qui reste est aussitôt partagé en deux moitiés ; l'une revient aux « imzran », l'autre aux fractions représentées par les Aït Arba'in.

On conçoit quelles difficultés se présentent pour faire régner l'ordre dans les petites républiques incapables de nommer de moqaddem, et qui ne savent pas, afin de mettre un terme aux querelles des «ikhs» rivaux, toujours menaçantes, s'unir à leurs voisines pour exécuter avec des forces nombreuses des tournées de justice. Livrées à elles-mêmes, elles deviennent des foyers d'agitation et de guerres privées, à moins qu'un chef ne parvienne à imposer sa volonté à l'assemblée turbulente des Aït Arba'in. Tel est chez les Ida Ou Tanan le sort des fractions isolées des Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, dans la tribu des Ifesfasen, qui ne possèdent ni moqaddem, ni «ajmo'a» puissant, capable de faire appliquer les

(1) Du berbère « ser » *voir*. Le mot, comme celui d'Aït Arba'in, n'a pas de singulier. Pour désigner l'un des membres, on dit « ian gh imzran », l'un des « imzran ».

décisions des notables. Les habitants essaient de constituer, tant bien que mal, par leurs propres moyens un « ajmo'a » où viennent tous les hommes en armes; mais, faute d'une tradition aussi respectée que celle des Aït Ou'azzoun, l' « ajmo'a » se termine souvent par des combats.

Un exemple semblable d'impuissance nous est donné au cœur du pays des Masmouda par la petite « taqbilt » des Aït Tigidar, dans l'Asif el Mal, dotée aussi d'une constitution démocratique sans moqaddem, au milieu des fractions voisines plus pacifiques et mieux organisées. Les discordes se sont multipliées à tel point sur ce petit territoire que le village d'Assaïs, centre politique de la « taqbilt », témoigne lui-même par son aspect extérieur de l'anarchie constante ; les maisons dispersées et isolées lui donnent l'apparence d'un petit coin du Rif.

VIII. *Les guerres intérieures et extérieures.* — Au cours des combats que se livrent entre eux les cantons des deux leffs du Haut-Atlas, les petits états berbères ne désignent pas de chefs de guerre. Le moqaddem en fait office. Chaque « taqbilt » lutte en ordre dispersé, dans l'inextricable confusion qui résulte de l'enchevêtrement des deux alliances. Même dans les circonstances les plus graves, lorsque l'indépendance de la haute montagne se trouve menacée par les forces du Makhzen ou les caïds voisins, l'état de division du pays ne permet généralement pas dans cette région de désigner un chef unique. Les Ida Ou Tanan eux-mêmes, dont la constitution est si forte et si respectée, sommés par Moulay el Hasan, en 1888, de manifester leur soumission par l'envoi de présents, surent bien s'entendre, malgré les efforts de leurs notables ou de leurs amghars, pour refuser cet hommage au souverain ; mais la masse des guerriers qui avaient décidé de rejeter l'autorité du Makhzen, ne put opposer aux harkas du Sultan que des efforts mal concertés et voués d'avance à l'insuccès. De la même manière, lors de la conquête de l'Aghbar par les caïds de Tagontaft les quatre fractions de la haute vallée, habituellement divisées, s'unirent un instant et imposèrent silence aux querelles de leff qui les opposaient ; mais aucun chef n'apparut capable de diriger une résistance qui fut cependant héroïque et obstinée (1).

(1) Cf. *Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, p. 231 ; *Hespéris*, 1927, p. 24.

Il semble que les plus grands périls ne puissent faire naître dans les cantons restés fidèles au régime des assemblées et des moqaddems, l'homme de guerre capable de les sauver du danger. Aussi, le plus souvent, les tribus indépendantes s'enferment-elles dans une résistance passive et cherchent seulement à éviter toute relation directe avec les représentants du pouvoir central. De leur côté, les caïds se contentent généralement de réclamer chaque année la mule traditionnelle, dont l'envoi équivaut à la reconnaissance théorique de leur pouvoir et redoutent de s'aventurer en force dans la région des sommets (1).

Le plus souvent, le péril le plus grave qui menace la vie des petites républiques indépendantes du Haut-Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas n'est pas la conquête du Makhzen, mais la discorde intérieure et le développement des guerres privées qui ont pour conséquence la formation des soffs. De tous les montagnards, les Seksawa sont ceux qui sont le plus enclins à la discorde. « Ils ont, dit-on, dans le cœur, ce qui est dans le cœur du chacal, ils ne rêvent qu'à s'entre-dévorer » (2). Cependant, il s'en faut que la guerre privée atteigne dans cette région l'importance qu'elle prend dans le Rif et en Kabylie. Lorsqu'elle se prolonge, le village vaincu disparaît parfois et ne laisse plus qu'un monceau de ruines; mais, dans l'ensemble, la vie sociale ne se trouve pas altérée et l'on ne voit pas l'anarchie intérieure s'y développer comme dans le nord du Maroc. En apparence, les motifs de discorde sont souvent des plus futiles : une discussion s'aigrit, on passe aux injures, puis aux coups. Les gens du village prennent parti, les coups de feu éclatent et chacun rentre dans sa maison pour se préparer à la guerre. Mais, avant d'ouvrir les hostilités, les principaux notables se hâtent de constituer, grâce à des alliances de familles ou à prix d'argent, un parti puissant capable de leur assurer le succès. Les deux soffs combattent parfois pendant des semaines, jusqu'à ce qu'un arrangement qui tient compte souvent du nombre inégal de victimes de chaque côté, et du prix du sang réclamé par les familles, intervienne pour rétablir la paix.

(1) Les « taqbilt » des affluents de droite de l'Asif Nefis étaient encore désignées jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle dans le fractionnement du Makhzen sous le nom d' « Aserdoun » ou mulet, parce que leur contribution se bornait à un mulet offert au caïd en hédia, à l'occasion des grandes fêtes.

(2) F. de La Chapelle (*Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga*).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les pactes d'alliances établis par le moyen d'échange de vêtements ou de « belgha », ne sont pas en usage chez les sédentaires du Sud du Maroc. On se contente de chercher des alliés en leur faisant un « 'ar » par le moyen d'un sacrifice offert sur le seuil de leur maison.

Les causes, insignifiantes en apparence, de la guerre des soffs, masquent le plus souvent les rivalités des notables qui se disputent le pouvoir. La querelle des villages n'est pour eux qu'un prétexte pour mesurer leurs forces. Cependant, comme cette lutte met en péril l'unité et la force de l'État, les autres chefs de famille interviennent souvent en médiateurs, afin, disent-ils, que l'on n'affaiblisse pas la tribu (1).

Dans le Haut-Atlas, aussi bien qu'en Kabylie (2), le plus sûr moyen de rétablir l'ordre dans un canton divisé contre lui-même, c'est de réveiller les haines anciennes contre les républiques voisines et de retrouver une occasion de faire appel à la fraternité des leffs. Ici, encore, les causes de la guerre sont futiles : injures adressées aux femmes qui ramassent le bois aux limites du pays, querelle de pâturage, vol dans un souk, suffisent pour réveiller le souvenir de discordes anciennes et dresser, pendant plusieurs années, les « Indghertit » contre les « Imsifern », les « Aït Atman » contre les « Aït Iraten ». Les combats d'ailleurs ne sont pas meurtriers. Les guerriers se rendent en un lieu consacré par la tradition pour vider les querelles, et ils échangent indéfiniment des coups de feu. Il est exceptionnel qu'une alliance puissante réussisse à vaincre brusquement une république ennemie ; dans ce cas, un village est détruit, mais les femmes et les enfants sont toujours épargnés. Lorsque le succès couronne les efforts des assaillants, tout le monde se précipite au pillage. L'amour du butin a suffi, au temps des Almohades, pour entraîner toutes les tribus du Haut-Atlas à la conquête du Maroc ; à voir s'exercer cette passion du Berbère pour le pillage, on comprend la violence des efforts qu'il peut fournir pour la satisfaire, et le parti qu'en peut tirer un chef habile.

IX. *Les fêtes et les danses.* — Sans cesse amenées à réagir contre les divisions intérieures en faisant appel aux liens de fraternité,

(1) Compar. *Sitte und Recht*, Todgha, p. 149.
(2) Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie*, t. II, p. 64.

les familles associées pour former une « taqbilt » indépendante cherchent en toutes circonstances, à leur insu sans doute, à recréer l'unité au moyen de cérémonies collectives : « tinoubga », danses, fêtes religieuses et traditionnelles, mousem annuel. L'utilité sociale de ces réjouissances apparaît d'autant mieux que l'on pénètre davantage dans la vie sociale de ces petits groupes menacés perpétuellement de scission, et l'on conçoit que l'assistance à ces fêtes prenne souvent un caractère obligatoire et rituel (1). A l'intérieur du « mouda' », chaque fête de l'année, « 'Aïd es Seghir », « 'Aïd el Kebir », « 'Achoura », ainsi que les mariages ou les circoncisions, sont l'occasion de réjouissances qui se tiennent chaque fois pendant plusieurs jours, et dans lesquelles la première place est donnée aux danses nocturnes (2). L' « ahwach », la « tahwacht », l' « assega », telles sont les danses qui, dans toute la montagne, mettent en présence, sur deux rangs opposés les jeunes gens et les femmes et jeunes filles.

Le spectacle de ces fêtes est l'un des plus attachants du pays berbère. Au milieu de chacun des rangs, se trouvent les poètes, les « reis en ndam » qui improvisent. Les danseurs, étroitement serrés, épaules contre épaules, commencent par une invocation à Dieu, puis chantent en chœur, sur une petite phrase musicale indéfiniment répétée, les vers du poète. Chaque vers est repris et redit par les deux rangs jusqu'au moment où sa réponse est trouvée; le rythme est donné par deux tambourins, par les battements des mains, un balancement régulier du corps et le bruit des talons qui frappent la terre en cadence. Aussi longtemps que le veulent les poètes, le chant se prolonge, repris par les deux chœurs. Peu à peu le rythme s'accélère, les battements de mains se précipitent sur le thème du dernier vers ; pendant quelques minutes, les corps s'agitent en une danse frénétique, mais parfaitement cadencée; puis brusquement, sans un signal, l' « ahwach » s'arrête dans le plus grand silence.

Chaque poème se chante et se danse pendant un quart d'heure environ ; quelques minutes de repos, le jeu reprend et se poursuit pendant de longues heures.

Le plus souvent, l' « ahwach » et surtout l' « assega » commencent

(1) Dans certaines fractions, les notables tiennent la liste des jeunes filles qui dansent et peuvent être convoquées lors des fêtes de tribus.
(2) *Sitte und Recht*, p. 10-15.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

après le coucher du soleil, sur les aires de pierre, à la lumière des grands feux au-dessus desquels les « reis » viennent tendre les peaux de leurs tambourins. La place du village, entourée de noyers séculaires, prête son cadre à la fête. Autour des deux rangs de danseurs, toute la « taqbilt » est réunie, les yeux fixés sur les guerriers les plus forts, sur les jeunes filles les plus belles. Derrière les spectateurs, les ombres fantastiques des grands arbres s'agitent à la lueur des brasiers. Puis, dans la nuit calme de la montagne, la lune se lève et vient éclairer cette scène, à la fois barbare et gracieuse. La mélodie nostalgique des chœurs entraîne la danse et les visages, parfois si rudes et si fermés, se transfigurent ; au milieu du rang des femmes, vêtues de blanc, parées de leurs bijoux grossiers d'argent, brillent les jeunes filles les plus décidées qui conduisent le chant, la tête couronnée de fleurs. Les jeunes hommes, les notables eux-mêmes, s'animent à répondre à leurs vers. Enfin, les « reis » improvisent, célèbrent les combats d'autrefois, la gloire des saints patrons du Sous, la fidélité aux alliances, le prix de la liberté.

C'est toute la vie de la « taqbilt » qui se trouve pour une nuit concentrée autour des feux ranimés jusqu'à l'aube, et dont l'éclat donne à tous, en même temps que l'illusion de la beauté, la confiance dans la force des familles réconciliées. Pour quelques heures, s'endorment ainsi les passions et les vengeances, dont la menace constante peut briser le petit état berbère, et qui se réveillent au matin, dans l'existence médiocre du jour.

A côté de ces réjouissances de village qui font partie de la vie de la « taqbilt », il existe, nous l'avons dit, d'autres fêtes plus guerrières, ce sont celles des « tinoubga » où figurent les « Aït Tskawin ». C'est là que se resserrent les alliances des leffs. Les grands « mousem » maraboutiques, comme ceux de Lalla 'Aziza des Seksawa, de Sidi Brahim Ou 'Ali des Ida Ou Tanan, et de Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa du Tazerwalt, sont l'occasion de réunions plus vastes encore, dans lesquelles toutes les tribus et les fractions divisées peuvent se rencontrer en paix. Les leffs adverses arrivent ainsi à régler à l'amiable leurs querelles, au milieu des fêtes, des danses et des festins sous la protection des grands saints du Sous.

X. *Les républiques berbères du Haut-Guir, des Djbala, des Branès.* — La vie des communautés berbères, indépendantes ou

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

imparfaitement soumises au Makhzen, n'a pas été étudiée jusqu'ici chez les sédentaires du Maroc dans des conditions qui nous permettent d'établir avec le Sous et le Haut-Atlas occidental des comparaisons assez précises. Du moins, pouvons-nous ici, en rappelant ce qui nous est connu des institutions des tribus de l'Atlas central et du nord du Maroc, montrer comment les mêmes principes d'organisation politique s'imposent en tous lieux avec une surprenante uniformité.

Dans les qsour du Haut-Guir, dont la vie intérieure n'a pas fait jusqu'ici l'objet de monographies détaillées, nous retrouvons en lisant les recueils de droit coutumier (1), des règles familières. Chaque famille est représentée au sein du conseil par des notables qui sous les noms divers de « mzarig », « reffad », « oukkal », « hamil », correspondent aux Aït Arba'in et aux Inflas du Sud-Marocain. Ils s'engagent tout d'abord à imposer à leurs frères les décisions du conseil. Un président, qui prend le titre de « chikh », est désigné par ces « mzarig »; souvent, nous le voyons ne prendre cette charge que si les notables lui conviennent, acceptent son intervention et vouent avec lui à la colère de Dieu ceux qui refuseront d'exécuter les jugements qu'il prononcera. Comme le « moqaddem » des Masmouda, le chikh du Haut-Guir est, en principe, étroitement surveillé par l'assemblée. Il doit tenir un compte exact des dépenses et des recettes ; il inflige les amendes conformément à la règle, et s'il diminue la peine sans l'autorisation des « reffad », on le punit à son tour ; il ne peut voyager sans l'assentiment du conseil, ni quitter la séance au cours des délibérations. On n'accepte son départ que s'il a été remplacé régulièrement par un nouveau chikh. Comme le moqaddem enfin, il a le pouvoir de recouvrer les amendes, d'ordonner et de défendre et, en raison des fonctions supérieures qui lui sont confiées par le conseil, l' « 'orf » punit d'amendes élevées ceux qui le menacent ou le contredisent. Parfois il existe un chikh supérieur au-dessus des chikhs des divers qsour, qui considère les présidents des petites cités comme ses « répondants ».

Chez les Jbala, les « jema'a » de village, identiques, semble-t-il, à celles des « mouda' » du Haut-Atlas, réunissent tous les hommes

(1) Nehlil. Azrefs des tribus et Qsour du Haut-Guir, *Archives berbères*, t. I, fasc. 2, p. 77 et sqq.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

en état de porter les armes ; ce ne sont pas des assemblées politiques, elles administrent seulement le patrimoine commun et veillent à ce que le bon ordre de la vie courante ne soit pas troublé. Quant au conseil du « khoms », formé de deux notables par village, présidé par un « chikh », il paraît bien avoir toutes les attributions de nos conseils d'« Aït Arba'in » et d'« inflas » des fractions du Sud du Maroc. Lorsque la tribu tout entière s'assemble, elle ne constitue pas de conseil analogue à celui qui représente le « khoms ». Cette réunion se tient d'ailleurs seulement dans les cas les plus graves pour décider de la guerre ou de la paix, de la résistance au Makhzen, de la révolte ou de la soumission; elle ressemble davantage à une mobilisation de toutes les forces du pays qu'à une consultation politique.

Dans la région du Habt, les caisses des « jema'a » de villages, constituent des réserves importantes administrées en commun, non seulement pour l'entretien des mosquées comme dans les tribus du Sud, mais encore pour l'achat des munitions destinées à la guerre et l'assistance des habitants réduits à la pauvreté. Cette institution paraît avoir pris dans la vie locale un développement analogue à celui des agadirs chez les populations de l'Anti-Atlas et du Sirwa. D'autre part, la gestion de cette caisse devient, comme celle du trésor de la « taqbilt » en Haut-Atlas, la préoccupation essentielle et permanente des assemblées de notables (1). Ainsi voyons-nous la tribu d'Wadras, révoltée contre l'autorité du Makhzen, et revenue pour quelques années aux anciennes coutumes, nommer un chikh, contrôlé par les notables; ce chikh est chargé spécialement d'administrer le trésor commun, grossi par les amendes, les impôts et le revenu des biens collectifs. Les notables, par contre, conservent jalousement leurs prérogatives pour l'administration des fondations pieuses (2).

Lorsque les tribus du nord de Taza parviennent, dans une période de révolte, à ressusciter un instant leur ancienne organisation traditionnelle, elles adoptent un régime politique, semblable à celui du Sud-Marocain. Chez les Branès (3), le conseil des notables,

(1) M. Michaux-Bellaire, *Quelques tribus de montagnes*, p. 43-44, 174-178.
(2) Biarnay, Un cas de régression vers la coutume berbère chez une tribu arabisée, *Archives berbères*, vol. I, fasc. 4, p. 220.
(3) Trenga, Les Branès, *Archives berbères*, t. I, fasc. 4, p. 319.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

désigné par la « jema'a » est chargé de veiller à la sécurité du territoire, à la bonne administration et à l'exécution des décisions prises en commun. Ce conseil, connu sous le nom de « Bou 'larba », élit un moqaddem. Les réunions du « Bou 'larba » sont presque toujours publiques; les hommes présents peuvent prendre part aux discussions, s'ils sont connus comme des gens de bon conseil, et quelquefois, leurs avis sont retenus (1).

XI. *L'anarchie rifaine.* — Nous avons dit l'état de dissolution politique dans lequel vivent les tribus du Rif occidental, en particulier celles dont le territoire borde la mer entre l'oued Ouringa et l'Ighzer Moqorn, au point que les fractions de tribus elles-mêmes n'apparaissent plus que comme une poussière de familles rivales et hostiles ; on ne s'attendra donc pas à trouver dans les montagnes qui bordent la Méditerranée une organisation comparable à celle du Sud du Maroc. Dans cette région, où les maisons sont dispersées, établies sur le sommet de chaque colline, et forment autant de petites forteresses séparées, les unités habituelles, telles que le hameau, le « mouda' », le khoms même, ont des limites difficiles à discerner. Le « mouda' » subsiste encore, grâce à l'existence d'une mosquée du vendredi, commune à un grand nombre de foyers et l'on arrive, en cherchant à établir la liste des feux qui concourent à l'entretien du taleb, à retrouver dans l'enchevêtrement général des familles ce petit groupe élémentaire qui subsiste dans les régions les plus anarchiques. Parfois, lorsque les maisons se rapprochent pour former comme une sorte de village étendu sur une

(1) On trouverait encore chez les Berbères du Moyen-Atlas, établis sous la tente, des institutions analogues. Chez les Izayan d'Oulmès, chaque fraction possède un amghar président de la jema'a, assisté de répondants, « Imasain », qui représentent chacun des groupements et veillent à l'exécution des ordres donnés. L'amghar a des fonctions purement honorifiques ; il perçoit les amendes et bénéficie des corvées pour labourer ses terres (Abès, Izayan d'Oulmès, *Arch. berbères*, t. I, fasc. 4, p. 270-271).

Chez les Igerwan, Aït Ndir, Aït Mgild, c'est la tribu et non la fraction qui possède un chef, l' « amghar n touga ». Il est assisté de répondants responsables de tout ce qui se passe dans chacun des ikhs. L' « amassai » de l' « ikhs » place à la tête de chacun des « douar » ou « tigomma » de son « ikhs » un autre répondant qui désigne à son tour des « imasain » placés à la tête de chaque « rif ».

L' « amghar n touga », « le chef à la poignée d'herbe », mérite ce nom parce que chacun des assistants jette lors de l'élection une poignée d'herbe sur l'élu(Bruno, Statut coutumier des Berbères Marocains, *Archives berbères*, t. I, fasc. 3, p. 136). Ce terme correspond exactement à celui de « chikh errbi'a » par lequel on désigne, chez les tribus arabes du Gharb, les chefs de guerre nommés pour lutter contre le Makhzen en temps de siba.

Rapprochons l'habitude de jeter sur l'élu une poignée d'herbe, de la pratique signalée dans le Todgha (*Sitte und Recht*, p. 125) de mettre sur la tête de l'amghar une touffe de basilic pour le choisir et le désigner au peuple. Cette coutume paraît être commune à la plus grande partie des tribus semi-nomades du Moyen-Atlas, de l'Atlas central et du Saghro.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

croupe de deux ou trois kilomètres, au milieu des jardins et des figuiers de barbarie, le lien social se resserre quelque peu. Le groupe familial auquel nous avons donné dans le Sous le nom d'« ikhs » est désigné ici par « tarfiq » (1); il comprend une dizaine de maisons — trente à quarante feux en tout — et devient un groupe assez fort pour se défendre lui-même. Les chefs de « tarfiq », volontiers parés du titre d' « amghar », sont craints et respectés parce qu'ils peuvent alors rassembler quarante ou cinquante « frères » décidés à tout. Pour le motif le plus insignifiant, ils prennent les armes et engagent avec les hameaux voisins, pendant de longues années, des luttes sanglantes. Ce sont alors de véritables guerres d'extermination, qui prennent fin seulement par la disparition ou l'exil des vaincus. L'exemple suivant, choisi dans la fraction des Aït 'Abdallah, de la tribu des Beni Ouriaghel, pays d'élection des luttes de soff, donnera la mesure de la violence de ces rivalités capables de briser la plupart des liens sociaux.

La discorde éclata naguère entre deux villages peuplés chacun d'une « tarfiq » les Aït Qasem et les Ibouncharen, à la suite du meurtre d'un chien qui appartenait à l'hôte d'un amghar. Les Aït Qasem ayant refusé de payer le prix du sang du chien, soit cinquante douros, réclamé par l'amghar, on en vint aux coups et à la guerre. Douze hommes furent tués le premier jour. Dans les années suivantes, quarante hommes moururent d'un côté, soixante-deux de l'autre, en combat régulier, sans compter ceux qui furent assassinés par vengeance. Enfin, le parti vaincu se décida à quitter le pays. On vit alors des vieillards se réfugier avec les femmes et les enfants dans la montagne sacrée du Zerhoun, après avoir vendu leurs biens pour pouvoir, dans un dernier effort, acheter un meurtrier qui vengerait leurs morts. Les conditions dans lesquelles ce dernier devait faire disparaître l'ennemi désigné étaient soigneusement précisées et les stipulations passées devant les 'adoul ; si le coup de feu tuait l'adversaire, la récompense était

(1) Peut-être de l'arabe « refaqa », groupe de personnes, à moins que ce soit une déformation de « ferqa », division.

Il semble qu'il soit permis de donner à la « tarfiq » des Beni Ouriaghel le nom de « clan ». C'est un groupe familial plus nombreux et plus durable que l' « ikhs » du Haut-Atlas, en même temps qu'une sorte d'unité politique. Doutté donne, à tort selon nous, le nom de « clan » à l'ensemble des familles qui constituent une jema'a dans le Nord des Haha (*Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha*, p. 10-11). Or, c'est là une association d' « ikhs » de provenances diverses. Au contraire, le lien du sang existe entre les foyers d'une même jema'a rifaine.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de dix mille réaux ; cinq mille, s'il le blessait seulement ; si la balle manquait son but, deux mille cinq cents. Le tireur, heureux ou maladroit, périssait d'ailleurs le lendemain, frappé parfois par un enfant caché avec un fusil dans un buisson de lentisque.

On conçoit que, dans ces conditions, la notion de « khoms » s'obscurcisse souvent ; le seul groupe qui puisse subsister est alors la famille, autour de laquelle se rassemblent par des liens d'adoption et de mariage, les groupes les plus faibles et les étrangers afin de former la « tarfiq ».

Les discordes deviennent parfois si violentes que la vie matérielle s'en trouve fréquemment arrêtée; les femmes seules osent alors sortir dans les champs ; les hommes viennent prier à la mosquée sans abandonner leur fusil. Dans ces circonstances, les chefs de famille de tout le pays se réunissent pour décider un « ribat » qu'on respecte pendant quelques mois. On donne ce nom à une convention solennelle qui lie tous les membres des tribus voisines pour réprimer, au moyen d'amendes très élevées, les meurtres, les viols, les vols importants, les agressions sur les marchés ou sur les chemins qui y conduisent. Les sommes versées par les coupables, qui peuvent s'élever à plusieurs milliers de douros, sont partagées entre les tribus contractantes. Les « amghars », chefs des familles les plus puissantes, n'ont que la petite part personnelle qui leur revient, comme aux simples particuliers.

Chez les tribus moins turbulentes du Rif, comme à Targist, à Zerqet, chez les Beni Gmil, les guerres privées n'ont pas atteint un aussi grand développement, puisque les habitants parviennent encore à vivre groupés en hameaux. Les « mouda' » ou sous-fractions et même les « khoms » convoquent parfois tous les guerriers pour délibérer des affaires communes. Cette réunion à laquelle chacun vient en armes, prend, comme dans le Haut-Atlas et le Moyen-Atlas, le nom d' « agrao ». Parfois, les chefs de chacune des familles importantes placent à la tête du khoms un amghar dont le rôle est de veiller à l'application du droit coutumier, de faire verser les amendes, ou « insaf », dont les crimes sont frappés selon des règles connues de tous, mais non écrites. Comme le moqaddem dans l'Atlas occidental, cet amghar, perçoit un tiers des « insaf » ; les deux autres parties reviennent à la tribu.

Mais dans ces régions moins sauvages, les périodes de calme sont cependant brèves et ne laissent pas à ces institutions rudi-

mentaires le temps de se perfectionner. L'anarchie et les luttes de familles exaspérées par les vengeances, n'ont jamais permis aux Rifains de connaître le gouvernement de chefs régulièrement élus, changés à leur tour, ni l'usage d'une caisse commune. Seuls subsistent en tout temps les trésors de guerre sainte, constitués par des fondations pieuses. La haine du chrétien sait dominer, en effet, les sentiments les plus forts ; quelle que soit la violence des querelles qui les divisent, les notables s'entendent toujours assez pour partager de menues sommes d'argent destinées à l'achat de balles pour s'en aller tirer sur les soldats détestés des « Peñon » d'Alhucemas ou de Badès (1).

XII. *Les républiques de la Kabylie.* — C'est surtout entre l'organisation sociale de la Kabylie avant la conquête française et celle du Haut-Atlas occidental qu'il est possible de multiplier les comparaisons pour retrouver sous les différences apparentes, de profondes analogies. Il est facile, en effet, de voir que les petites républiques du Tichka ou du Jbel Kest, perdues dans les hautes vallées du Sud du Maroc et celles qui ont grandi et prospéré sur les sommets du Djurjura vivent d'institutions semblables, partagent le même idéal positif et limité, souffrent de maux identiques et sont soumises aux mêmes règles d'existence, aux mêmes lois de développement.

Le territoire de l' « 'arch » est, nous l'avons vu, équivalent à celui d'une petite « taqbilt » du Sous ; tous deux forment, à l'état libre, des unités politiques autonomes et souvent même indépendantes. Mais, dans l'une des régions la faible densité de la population d'un pays où la vie humaine est difficile, dans l'autre la surpopulation d'un pays relativement fertile, établissent une grande différence dans l'importance numérique des forces. Par le nombre de feux qui les composent, la « taqbilt » des Masmouda, comme le « khoms » des Igezzoulen se placent à mi-distance entre la « taddart » et l' « 'arch » des Zwawa de Kabylie. Il en résulte naturellement que nous trouvons dans l'Atlas, confondus au sein du conseil des inflas et des Ait Arba'in, des pouvoirs séparés dans le Djurjura entre les « jema'a » des gros villages et l'assemblée de l' « 'arch ».

La « jema'a » des villages kabyles est, on le sait, dirigée par un

(1) Compar. A. Bernard. *Les Confins algéro-marocains*, p. 89 et sqq.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

amin, qui désigne ou reconnaît les « temman », les représentants de chacune des grandes familles dont le village est formé (1). Auprès des « temman », siègent le plus souvent des vieillards respectés, connus par leur sagesse, les « oqqal ». Les autres guerriers se tiennent près du conseil auquel ils appartiennent en droit, sinon en fait. L'assemblée se tient en public, et ses décisions qui portent sur tout ce qui intéresse la vie locale en matière économique, civile, criminelle, sont annoncées aussitôt. Mais la forme démocratique de la constitution est plus apparente que réelle : les notables seuls ont la parole et les réunions générales ont souvent pour but « d'instruire le peuple d'une décision plutôt que de la lui soumettre » ; les actes de la « jema'a » législative aboutissent « plutôt à une promulgation qu'à un plébiscite » (2).

Les « inflas » et les « Aït Arba'in » du Sud-Marocain, représentants de chacune des familles du « khoms » ou de la « taqbilt » constituent peut-être un conseil plus fermé, de composition mieux déterminée, une oligarchie plus jalouse de ses droits que l'assemblée des « temman » kabyles. Mais les différences sont souvent de pure forme, et d'ailleurs ici ou là l'esprit des petites constitutions des « taqbilt » varie selon les régions et aussi peut-être selon les époques. Quoi qu'il en soit, aux « oqqal » du Djurjura correspondent exactement les « imeslain », les « ifqiren » de bon augure et de bon conseil du versant sud de l'Atlas ; l'amin a des fonctions analogues à celles du moqaddem et la seule différence est que le premier exerce sa magistrature sans limite de temps, alors que le second est nommé pour une année. Encore voyons-nous dans certains villages de Kabylie le choix de l'amin se faire à tour de rôle dans chacune des « kharrouba » ; le plus souvent il est désigné par consultation des chefs de famille et par concessions mutuelles ; il en va d'ailleurs parfois de même chez les Masmouda, dans les vallées du Tichka.

On peut observer que l'activité de la jema'a kabyle de village est souvent plus grande que celle des Aït arba'in des cantons de l'Atlas marocain ; le développement d'un droit coutumier resté plus vivant, la densité plus grande de la population suffisent sans doute à expliquer ces différences. Mais le conseil de la « taqbilt » des Masmouda reprend son importance en dirigeant, conformé-

(1) On donne en Kabylie le nom de « kharrouba » à la famille patriarcale et agnatique que les Chleuhs appellent « ikhs ».
(2) Masqueray. *Formation des cités*, p. 82 ; Hanoteau et Letourneux, t. II, p. 33.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ment aux obligations des alliances, la politique extérieure du pays. Il devient alors semblable à ce qu'était jadis le conseil de l'« 'arch », formé lui aussi de deux ou trois notables par village, qui décidait dans des réunions particulières, des destinées du petit état berbère.

Par son organisation intérieure et sa puissance numérique, l'« 'arch » kabyle représente peut-être un effort de synthèse sociale supérieure à celle de la « taqbilt » ou du « khoms » du Sud du Maroc de la même manière que la « taddart » est déjà plus qu'un « mouda' » du Haut-Atlas (1). La formation des confédérations dirigées par un amin, établi au-dessus des « amin » des « 'arch », comme ceux-ci l'étaient au-dessus des chefs de villages, témoigne d'un degré plus élevé encore de perfectionnement des constitutions politiques, bien que ces édifices supérieurs n'aient jamais eu dans le Djurjura l'importance et la stabilité des organismes élémentaires.

Malgré ces différences, qui tiennent sans doute surtout à l'accroissement du volume des sociétés les plus simples, sur une terre plus fertile, le même esprit anime les constitutions politiques de ces deux régions si éloignées l'une de l'autre. Ici, comme là-bas, c'est la même vie intérieure dans les tribus et les fractions. Mille traits cités par les observateurs de la Kabylie se retrouvent chez les Masmouda : les riches notables sont les véritables maîtres du canton ou du village, en dépit des constitutions démocratiques ; leur influence s'exerce secrètement sur le moqaddem ou l'amin de condition modeste qu'ils ont eu l'habileté de faire accepter au peuple. Des politiques adroits savent refaire l'union lorsque la discorde se prolonge dangereusement, en provoquant secrètement une guerre extérieure contre les ennemis de leff. Dans ces petites républiques, égalitaires en apparence, en réalité livrées souvent aux hommes les plus riches, nous voyons apparaître dans le Sous comme dans le Djurjura le goût des honneurs, le souci du cérémonial, cependant que des ambitions et des passions identiques agitent les familles et les opposent entre elles.

Un trait commun à ces constitutions de villages est qu'elles suffisent à absorber toute l'activité politique des hommes. Par elles, l'équilibre se trouve naturellement établi entre tous les notables, grâce à la surveillance qu'ils exercent les uns sur les

(1) Cf. plus haut, chap. II, p. 178.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

autres avec une jalousie inquiète. Les membres de ces petits sénats ainsi obsédés par le souci de partager également entre eux les profits et les charges et de déjouer les projets menaçants des ambitieux, ne peuvent s'élever à l'idée du bien public, ni concevoir les principes qui leur permettraient de fonder de véritables états.

Lors même que des alliances parviennent à unir un instant plusieurs cantons dans la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts et la protection de leur paix intérieure, les délibérations soupçonneuses des assemblées suffisent à chasser de l'esprit des chefs de famille toute grande pensée ; elles les maintiennent dans le cercle étroit des lois patriarcales qui sont la force et la faiblesse de la Berbérie.

[P. 245]

CHAPITRE V

L'organisation républicaine *(suite)* ; les institutions économiques

I. L'hospitalité. — II. L'entr'aide et les contributions. — III. Absence de propriétés collectives. — IV. Les marchés et les foires. — V. Les magasins collectifs du Sous. — VI. Développement de l'institution des agadirs dans le passé.
VII. Décadence des républiques berbères du Sous.

Les analogies que nous avons trouvées entre l'organisation politique des petites républiques du Haut-Atlas, de la plaine du Sous et de l'Anti-Atlas, et celles des autres régions de la Berbérie sédentaire, apparaissent dans la plupart des institutions économiques. Hospitalité, protection des étrangers, organisation des repas en commun, entr'aide pour les labours et les moissons, réglementation des marchés, donnent en particulier aux populations du Sud du Maroc l'occasion d'exercer, comme leurs frères kabyles, leur esprit d'association et leurs aptitudes naturelles à la juste répartition des charges et des profits de la vie sociale.

Sans doute, il ne faut pas s'attendre à observer dans la région du Sous, en raison de la faible densité de la population, une activité aussi intense que dans les villages du Djurjura, nous verrons du moins comment l'institution des « agadirs », magasins qu'utilisent à la fois tous les habitants d'un hameau, d'un « mouda' » ou d'un « canton », témoigne d'un sens aigu des nécessités de l'existence en commun, et d'une habileté dans l'organisation collective qui n'a peut-être pas été dépassée dans le reste de l'Afrique du Nord.

I. *L'hospitalité.* — Il n'existe pas, dans les hautes vallées de l'Atlas, de maison de la tribu destinée aux réunions de l'assemblée et à l'hébergement des hôtes de passage, telles que celles qui ont été observées par de Foucauld à la limite du désert. Les étrangers,

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

peu nombreux d'ailleurs, ne sauraient rester dans le pays plus d'une journée ou deux ; s'ils voulaient s'y attarder, ils devraient s'établir dans la fraction en qualité d'habitants, « soukkan ». Ceux qui désirent se fixer de la sorte pour quelque temps dans les villages, se placent sous la protection d'un homme riche et s'abritent modestement dans un petit enclos qu'ils construisent sur un côté de la maison du maître. Le plus souvent, celui-ci est personnellement responsable des crimes ou des délits dont peuvent se rendre coupables les « soukkan » sur lesquels il a accepté d'exercer son patronage. Pris à gages pour leur travail, ils restent des étrangers. Même après une année de séjour, ils ne sont pas toujours astreints aux obligations de guerre ou d'impôts qui pèsent sur les habitants du pays. Au contraire, dans les fractions de la plaine, là où le renouvellement de la population est beaucoup plus actif, l'étranger peut acquérir le droit de cité après un court séjour.

Lorsqu'il arrive que des étrangers se présentent en nombre à la frontière d'une « taqbilt », chassés par les guerres intérieures ou les vengeances qui s'exercent contre eux dans leur canton d'origine, une consultation de la jema'a des « inflas » est nécessaire pour leur permettre de s'établir. S'ils sont agréés et que leur présence puisse fortifier le groupe qui leur donne asile, ils se fixent à demeure avec leurs troupeaux dans une partie de la vallée et construisent un hameau, mais ils ne participent nullement au gouvernement de la fraction qui les accepte. Il faut de longues années pour qu'ils arrivent à trouver leur place au conseil.

Il est sans exemple dans le Sous que de nouveaux arrivés aient dû acheter à prix d'argent le droit de cité. Dans les périodes critiques, des fractions faibles font volontiers appel aux étrangers pour se renforcer, et leur donnent même de l'argent, des grains ou des noix pour faciliter leur établissement; mais souvent la situation de ceux-ci reste précaire et un changement de politique extérieure peut avoir pour conséquence leur expulsion (1). D'autres fois aussi, un groupe qui craint de se trouver diminué par l'exode des familles, édicte des pénalités contre ceux qui cherchent à passer dans les fractions voisines. Il n'est pas, en ce domaine, de règle générale et chaque « taqbilt », chaque « khoms » ou tribu, s'inspire de ses propres intérêts.

(1) Cf. plus haut, livre II, chap. III, p. 190.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

II. *L'entr'aide et les contributions.* — Sous le nom d' « ouzia », on retrouve dans tout le Sud du Maroc, l'habitude kabyle de la « timecheret », achat en commun d'un animal dont la chair doit être partagée entre tous les habitants du village ; mais l' « ouzia » conserve ici le plus souvent un caractère religieux et cette pratique ne devient pas, comme dans le Djurjura, l'occasion d'obliger les habitants coupables d'infractions aux lois de la cité, à offrir à tout le village un bon repas.

Ici, c'est aux seuls Aït Arba'in, aux inflas du sénat du canton, qu'est réservé le profit de l' « imensi n tqbilt », repas solennel que donne le criminel ou le délinquant pour réparer le tort moral qu'il a fait à la communauté. L' « imensi ntqbilt », le « souper de la tribu » est d'ailleurs une bonne aubaine pour les notables eux-mêmes qui se contentent dans la vie courante d'une pauvre nourriture. Le désir de faire gratuitement un bon souper incline volontiers les Aït Arba'in à faire preuve d'une grande sévérité dans la répression des délits.

Les corvées de labours, de récoltes et de transport du fumier sont l'occasion de manifestations d'entr'aide désintéressée auxquelles on donne le nom de « touiza ». La « touiza » est accordée à tous ceux qui la demandent. Celui qui ne peut labourer son champ en raison de sa pauvreté fait un « 'ar » à la jema'a sous forme d'un pain de sucre ; le lendemain les travailleurs s'assemblent et viennent en aide au malheureux ou à la veuve sans appui.

La « touiza » est obligatoire à l'égard du taleb, du moqaddem ou de l'amghar ; sauf dans le cas où le bénéficiaire est sans ressources, la nourriture est offerte aux travailleurs par celui qui les utilise. A l'inverse, on voit à présent dans les mêmes régions soumises à l'autorité du Makhzen, les habitants du village fournir aux caïds un nombre de jours de « touiza » réglé par la coutume ou fixé par le chef lui-même selon ses besoins. Chacun apporte sa nourriture et doit souvent aussi contribuer à l'entretien des esclaves du caïd préposés à la surveillance du travail. Cette institution, qui était primitivement une œuvre d'entr'aide, est devenue de la sorte une source d'abus, et son nom se trouve associé dans les plaintes des montagnards à celui de la « frida », contribution extraordinaire qu'un représentant du Sultan, caïd ou khalifat, lève aussi souvent qu'il le peut en pays berbère.

Dans les fractions indépendantes, il est exceptionnel que la

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

caisse de « taqbilt » soit reconstituée par le moyen d'impôts extraordinaires ou « frida », versés par chaque foyer. Le tiers des amendes payées par les coupables, réservé à cette destination, suffit le plus souvent et les Berbères répugnent profondément à verser des contributions dont le « Bled el Makhzen » est accablé. Par contre, ils s'acquittent volontiers, soit par l'intermédiaire de la caisse commune, soit directement, de nombreuses dîmes traditionnelles versées aux marabouts et aux pauvres. Dans l'Anti-Atlas, où toutes les transactions et le mesurage des récoltes se font à l' « agadir », la part des saints du pays et de leurs descendants, les « igourramen », ainsi que le salaire du petit fonctionnaire chargé de la surveillance des récoltes ou du magasin collectif, sont pris sur place par le mesureur officiel. La réglementation coranique de l'impôt est de la sorte observée dans son esprit, sinon dans sa forme, mais au profit exclusif des saints locaux et des zaouias qui font, comme on l'a dit souvent, partie intégrante de la société berbère (1).

On voit de même, chez les tribus des Jbala du Habt, les chorfa et les pauvres bénéficier du montant de l'aumône légale. Les montagnards du nord du Maroc « acquittent strictement tous les devoirs qui leur incombent comme membres de la communauté musulmane, mais la communauté, pour eux, est restreinte à la tribu — ou même à la fraction — et ils ne conçoivent pas l'idée de la réunion entre les mains du Makhzen, des ressources de toute la communauté musulmane (2).

III. *Absence de propriétés collectives.* — On chercherait en vain dans les territoires du Sous peuplés de Berbères sédentaires des terres collectives, appartenant dans l'indivision à des tribus ou à des fractions.

Dans les régions du Maroc où des tribus ou des confédérations entières se sont récemment disputées la possession du sol, comme les plaines du Gharb septentrional et le Moyen-Atlas, on comprend que la propriété individuelle n'ait pu encore s'affirmer, au cours d'un état de guerre qui opposait entre eux des groupes

(1) E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, p. 400.

(2) Michaux-Bellaire. *Quelques tribus de montagnes*, p. 51-52. Il en va de même pour la gestion des habous de mosquées confiés par les « jema'a » des Jbala à des Nadirs de la tribu ou de la fraction, ou aux descendants d'un Marabout, *ibid.*, p. 175. Compar. aux gérants des biens habous chez les Djbala, l'oukil de la mosquée kabyle. Hanotesu et Letourneux, *Kabylie*, t. II, p. 35.

constitués pour défendre ou conquérir un territoire. Au contraire, dans un pays où le Berbère doit faire lui-même ses champs en roulant des pierres sur le flanc des torrents pour constituer des terrasses, ou bien travailler avec acharnement dans les minuscules jardins des oasis, chacun est maître de ses biens et en dispose comme il lui plaît. A peine dans la région des sommets reste-t-il quelques pâturages communs à toute une tribu (1).

Dans les villages, les biens collectifs ou les « habous » constitués au profit des sanctuaires sont rares ; par exception, le fumier déposé au voisinage des hameaux est souvent vendu aux enchères pour servir à l'entretien des mosquées.

Les fractions de tribus revendiquent souvent les cols et les voies de passage comme leur appartenant en propre et c'est à ce titre, semble-t-il, qu'elles se considèrent comme chargées d'entretenir la sécurité aux points où se réunissent d'habitude les voleurs pour détrousser les voyageurs. Ainsi la « zettata », droit de passage qu'acquittent aux tribus tous ceux qui traversent le pays, et qu'on a si souvent regardé comme un abus, apparaîtrait aux yeux des montagnards, comme une juste redevance aux gardiens du col (2).

IV. *Les marchés et les foires.* — La réglementation des marchés présente une importance particulière en pays berbère. Le montagnard ne se rend pas au « souq » uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencontrer ses amis, régler des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour.

Il existe deux sortes de marchés. Les uns se tiennent sur le

(1) Les Berbères indépendants ne sauraient s'intéresser aux distinctions juridiques établies par les Sultans au cours de l'histoire, sur les terres de capitulation, soumises seulement à la zekkat, et les terres de « naiba » qui devaient en outre acquitter la contribution du « kharaj » et dont le sol appartenait en principe à la communauté musulmane. On sait que les Mérinides et les Saadiens avaient considéré le Haut-Atlas comme terre de « naiba », pour pouvoir plus aisément charger d'impôts les tribus masmoudiennes. De nos jours, le terme de « nouaib » est appliqué indistinctement à toutes les tribus arabes ou berbères qui sont soumises au Makhzen ou même à un chef. Les « nouaib » sont les sujets, par opposition aux berbères restés libres. Il va sans dire que l'état de soumission au Sultan n'entraîne, dans l'esprit des populations de la montagne, aucune diminution de leur droit de propriété sur la terre. Comparer : Michaux-Bellaire, *Quelques tribus de montagnes*, p 161 et sqq.

(2) « Les Irohalen des Demsira prétendent, dit F. de La Chapelle (*Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga*), « que le Tizi Macho et l'Oussoud sont entièrement à eux puisqu'ils paient pour les vols qui s'y commettent ». De même, les Aït Tigouga de la tribu des Aït Semmeg, au sud du Tizi n Test, ont acheté aux fractions voisines leurs droits de garde du col et établi des actes de propriété individuelle ayant pour objet le droit à la perception de la « zettata ». Cf. notre article « l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas », *Hespéris*, 1927, 1er tr. p. 7.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

territoire d'un canton de montagne ou à la limite de deux ou trois « taqbilt » ; quelques abris en pierre sèche formant des boutiques (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffisent pour abriter les marchands et délimiter une petite place où se groupent, une fois par semaine, une centaine de personnes tout au plus. Ce sont alors les notables du lieu qui, sans percevoir aucune redevance, sont chargés d'assurer la police et la sécurité.

D'autres souqs plus importants existent sur les grandes voies de passage — tels que le « Jema'a » des Aït Daoud chez les Ida ou Bouzia dans la tribu des Haha, le « Had » des Aït Mzal, dans l'Anti-Atlas, ou plus souvent encore au pied de la montagne, comme par exemple les marchés d'Amismiz et de Tisgin des Gedmiwa. Parfois entourés d'un mur contigu, ces marchés possèdent plusieurs centaines de boutiques formées d'alvéoles de terre et de pierre sèche, couvertes de branchages, divisées en quartier ou « rahba ». On trouve dans leur enceinte des cafés, qui sont souvent de mauvais lieux, parfois des magasins permanents pour entreposer les denrées, toujours une mosquée dans laquelle on va prêter serment s'il se produit quelque contestation. Ces marchés, fréquentés par toutes les tribus du voisinage, parfois à deux jours de distance, réunissent souvent plusieurs milliers de Berbères. Il devient alors nécessaire de veiller particulièrement à protéger les transactions par des réglementations spéciales.

C'est une grande honte pour les habitants d'un pays de ne pouvoir réprimer énergiquement les vols qui peuvent se commettre sur leur souq ou sur les chemins qui y mènent ; aussi sous les petits codes de droit coutumier des tribus du Sud du Maroc consacrent-ils de longs paragraphes à énumérer les amendes considérables qui frappent les voleurs et les coupeurs de route dont l'industrie tenterait de s'exercer sur le marché ou ses abords. Une surveillance incessante est exercée par les autorités de la tribu, pour que les coupables soient immédiatement appréhendés et condamnés. Il y a lieu de craindre, en effet, qu'il n'éclate sur le souq une discorde dont l'apparition pourrait être le signal d'une panique. Parfois, de semblables incidents sont créés à dessein par les voleurs pour « briser » le souq et leur permettre, à la faveur du désordre, le pillage des marchandises précieuses.

Pour toutes ces raisons, il est rare qu'une assemblée de notables suffise à faire respecter la « horma », le bon renom du marché.

Certaines tribus parviennent cependant à protéger leurs souqs, et en retirent alors de gros profits (1). Dans ce cas, les inflas siègent en permanence dans une grande boutique et jugent tous les délits qui arrivent à leur connaissance. Mais, le plus souvent, même lorsque les fractions vivent en observant des constitutions républicaines, c'est un homme riche et puissant qui est seul capable d'imposer le respect des décisions prises à l'égard des coupables et d'agir sans délai contre les voleurs de grands chemins. L'existence du marché favorise ainsi le développement du pouvoir personnel et c'est en « commandant sur le souq » qu'un chef montre le mieux son prestige et sa valeur.

Il arrive aussi que l'autorité des assemblées d'inflas parvienne à s'exercer plus aisément sur les souqs en faisant appel à une autorité maraboutique. Les marchés de Lalla 'Aziza chez les Seksawa, du « Jema'a » des Aït Daoud près du tombeau de Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im chez les Haha, sont protégés non seulement par les tribus, mais aussi par les saints du pays, dont la « tagat », la malédiction, frapperait impitoyablement les profanateurs. Dans tout le Sud, comme d'ailleurs dans le reste du Maroc, c'est aussi au voisinage des sanctuaires les plus vénérés, tels que Lalla 'Aziza des Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen des Haha, Sidi Bihi des Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben 'Abd en Na'im des Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa du Tazerwalt et bien d'autres encore que se tiennent les grandes foires du printemps ou de l'automne, connues sous le nom de « mouggar » (2). Ces fêtes annuelles attirent les habitants de toutes les tribus situées à plusieurs journées de distance. On comprend que dans ce cas, aucun chef, aucune réunion de notables ne puisse avoir un prestige suffisant pour imposer le respect à une telle foule divisée par le souvenir de tant de querelles. Il faut, pour faire régner la paix et la sécurité pendant les jours sacrés du « mouggar », la crainte des châtiments d'un saint dont la puissance redoutable est connue de tous.

Dans les souqs et les « mouggar », hommes et femmes occupent toujours des « rahba » séparés, des quartiers différents. Dans certaines tribus, où la coutume veille avec plus de soin à ce que les

(1) Cf. *Sitte und Recht*, p. 128-134 : le développement du marché de Tinghir (Todgha) permet d'affermer les droits payés par acheteurs ou vendeurs et d'alimenter la « caisse de tribu ». Le cas est exceptionnel dans les tribus vivant sous une constitution démocratique.

(2) Du verbe « miggir » *rencontrer* (Destaing, *Vocabulaire français berbère*, dialecte des Ida ou Semlal. Paris, 1920, p. 246). *Foire* : « anmuggar » (*ibid.*, p. 131).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

deux sexes conservent dans la vie extérieure une activité distincte, on trouve des marchés spéciaux réservés aux femmes. Doutté en a observé l'existence dans le nord des Haha ; on en trouve d'autres dans le Sud de cette confédération et dans la plaine du Sous chez les Chtouka.

L'explication de cette institution des marchés, spécialement réservés aux femmes est peut-être assez simple. La femme berbère est, en effet exclusivement chargée de l'achat et de la vente de certains produits, laine, henné, fruits, œufs, et l'on comprend qu'elle ait ainsi ses souqs particuliers ; il se peut, d'autre part, que cette institution soit conforme à la tendance habituelle à la division des deux sexes dans la vie domestique qu'on observe chez les Berbères. Il y a lieu de noter cependant que dans le Sud du Maroc, les souqs de femmes apparaissent dans les régions les plus islamisées. Ils sont, au contraire, inconnus en montagne, dans les régions où les traditions les plus anciennes se sont le mieux conservées. Ajoutons que certains marchés de femmes sont de création récente, et qu'on invoque en tribu, pour justifier leur existence, l'observance des prescriptions de l'Islam, sur la séparation rigoureuse des sexes dans la vie sociale (1).

Dans le Rif, où l'anarchie se développe spontanément et prend une extension beaucoup plus grande que dans le Sud du Maroc, la protection des marchés est l'occasion choisie par les tribus du voisinage pour conclure une alliance, un « ribat ». Mais dans ces réunions, apparaissent ici encore des chefs chargés de juger les différents qui peuvent se produire dans cette assemblée turbulente d'hommes armés.

Par exemple, le marché de Targist qui a une importance particulière, puisqu'il se trouve au croisement des principales voies de passage de la région du Haut-Ghis, est sous la surveillance d' « amghars » spécialement désignés par trois tribus voisines, les Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. Ces chefs tiennent leurs assises dans une « tahanout » isolée, et sur leur initiative, le crieur public annonce à tous la règle établie : « O Musulmans! Sachez qu'il

(1) Cf. Doutté, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, et notre article « Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère », *Hespéris*, 1924, 1er trimestre, p. 104-105. Doutté pense au contraire qu'il s'agit là d'une institution purement berbère et qui s'explique par le caractère sacré et redoutable de la femme.

Il existe quelques marchés réservés aux femmes chez les Beni Ouriaghel du Rif dans une région très islamisée.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

existe entre nous une convention concernant le souq de l'Oued, valable pour trois jours, le mardi, le mercredi et le jeudi. Celui qui tue quelqu'un doit payer 2.000 douros espagnols ; s'il ne fait que le blesser, il donne 1.000 douros. Celui qui arrête un conducteur de bêtes pendant ces trois jours doit rendre le bien d'autrui et verser 500 douros d'amendes ; car notre marché est un marché où règne la paix, o Musulmans! et chacun peut le constater de ses yeux. Que Dieu aveugle celui qui ne veut pas voir ! » Malgré ces précautions d'ailleurs, les coups de feu éclatent parfois et le souq est brisé ; lorsque les incidents se renouvellent, le marché disparaît au grand dommage des habitants du pays (1).

V. *Les magasins collectifs du Sous.* — C'est surtout dans la construction et l'usage des magasins collectifs que les tribus de l'Atlas occidental et de l'Anti-Atlas donnent la mesure de leurs aptitudes à l'organisation de la vie en commun. Bien que les enquêtes faites jusqu'à ce jour ne suffisent pas pour permettre d'étudier complètement cette institution économique dans tout le développement qu'elle semble avoir eu en Afrique du Nord, nous pouvons du moins montrer l'importance qu'elle a prise dans le Sous.

Chez la plupart des « taqbilt » indépendantes du Haut-Atlas ou dans les hautes vallées soumises au Makhzen depuis moins d'une génération, il existe des magasins collectifs qui prennent le nom d'*agadir* (2).

(1) On sait que de même, en Kabylie, la surveillance et la police des marchés ne sont point confiées, comme il serait naturel de le penser, aux notables de la tribu. On fait appel aussi à des hommes appartenant à des familles puissantes, appuyés sur un soff assez fort pour faire respecter leurs décisions sur les souqs. Comme dans le Rif, on les nomme les « amghars » du souq. [Hanoteau et Letourneux, *Kabylie*, t. II, p. 81-82]. La tradition de ces marchés placés sous la surveillance d'un chef est fort ancienne ; ainsi en allait-il dans l'Afrique du Nord romaine. De riches propriétaires fondaient même souvent à leur profit un marché. Boissier, *Afrique romaine*, p. 149.

(2) Le mot « agadir » plur. « igoudar », « igidar », a le sens de forteresse ou magasin collectif dans la montagne de l'Anti-Atlas, le Haut-Atlas occidental entre la piste des Bibaoun et celle de Telwet ; de village placé en un lieu facile à défendre chez les Haha et les Ida Ou Tanan ; de kasba du Makhzen ou du caïd dans la plaine du Sous et sur le Dir de l'Atlas. Sur le versant saharien de l'Anti-Atlas, il désigne une petite chambre à provisions placée dans une tour d'angle de la maison (tribu d'Amanouz). On l'emploie aussi généralement dans tout le Sous avec le sens de mur solidement construit.

Le même mot reparaît comme toponyme dans le Rif occidental, sous la forme « Ajdir », près d'Alhucémas et dans le nord des Gzennaya ; on trouve aussi Agadir, quartier de la ville d'Ouezzan, Agadir, quartier de Tlemcen (Marçais, *Les Monuments de Tlemcen*, p. 132) ; en Kabylie il signifie rocher, muraille à pic, lieu inaccessible (Huyghe, *Dict. Kabyle-fr.*, 2e éd., p. 17). Ce mot paraît être d'origine punique (Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, 319).

Chez les Aït Waouzgit, les Souktana du Sous, les Glawa, le magasin collectif prend le nom d'igherm (pl. igherman) ; « tighremt » (pl. tighermatin) est une maison fortifiée. « Igherm » désigne dans l'Atlas occidental (Aghbar) une terrasse cultivée soutenue par un mur de pierre sèche, et chez les Haha une murette en pierre sèche pour protéger les tireurs au combat.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Ce sont de grandes maisons carrées, pourvues à l'extérieur d'une seule porte, qui mène à une cour centrale sur laquelle s'ouvrent quatre ou cinq étages de petites chambres. On accède à chacune d'elles par une échelle grossière, taillée dans un tronc d'arbre en forme d' « y » et par des chemins suspendus — « isfoula » — qui courent d'une chambre à l'autre. Parfois même, un chemin complet d' « isfoula » tourne comme en spirale le long des quatre façades intérieures, de manière à desservir tous les étages de l'agadir.

Chaque foyer possède dans le magasin collectif un nombre variable de chambres, deux ou trois en moyenne, utilisées surtout pour la conservation des grains. La porte de l'agadir reste ouverte habituellement pendant le jour ; la clef est conservée indifféremment par celui des habitants qui vient le premier s'en servir le matin, car il n'y a pas de gardien désigné par la communauté. L' « agadir » de hameau n'a rien d'une forteresse ; utilisé par un petit groupe de foyers, il a l'aspect d'un magasin familial. Le plus souvent la construction en est ancienne et les murs tombent en ruines ; depuis longtemps, semble-t-il, on ne bâtit plus de nouveaux agadirs. Dans de nombreux hameaux du Deren, ils sont entièrement ruinés et on ne les relève pas. L'usage de ces petits magasins tend ainsi à se perdre et chacun s'habitue de plus en plus à conserver chez soi ses récoltes et ses provisions.

Mais il existe aussi dans les mêmes régions d'autres agadirs plus vastes dans lesquels un « mouda' » tout entier ou parfois même une « taqbilt » vient mettre ses grains à l'abri. Cette institution est encore très vivante chez les Ida Ou Mhamoud, quelques cantons des Seksawa et les Aït Gaïr et Aït Tigidar des Gedmiwa de la montagne. Dans la région des sommets du Sirwa, ces grands magasins, demeurés plus nombreux, prennent souvent l'aspect de forteresses. Ce sont alors de vastes constructions rectangulaires qui renferment trois ou quatre étages de chambres à provisions ; elles sont flanquées pour la défense de deux ou quatre tours d'angle disposées avec soin. Les agadirs des Aït Waouzgit établis sur des positions faciles à défendre, entourés d'un rempart derrière lequel se trouve la mosquée, le magasin de la jema'a, celui des marabouts,

Enfin, chez la plupart des populations berbères transhumantes du Maroc central, le nom d'Ighrem est donné à l'habitation permanente, à la maison servant de magasin à provisions et d'enclos pour le gros bétail.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les chambres de repos pour la garde et une maison réservée aux délibérations des notables, concentrent vraiment toute l'activité sociale des petites républiques berbères pendant la paix. De plus, si la guerre éclate, chacun vient y chercher asile avec sa famille en cas de péril; une vaste citerne qui demeure toujours pleine permet d'y soutenir un long siège.

Ces forteresses sont particulièrement nombreuses dans l'Anti-Atlas. Chaque tribu ou chaque grande fraction a la sienne. Elles sont alors souvent intérieurement disposées en forme de rues étroites sur lesquelles s'ouvrent deux rangées de chambres édifiées sur trois ou quatre étages (1). Des pierres débordantes permettent d'accéder en grimpant jusqu'aux portes les plus élevées. Une clôture d'épines de jujubiers amoncelées sur plusieurs mètres de hauteur, plusieurs borjs crénelés, munis de machicoulis, assurent la défense. La veille est faite par un groupe de guerriers de la tribu désignés à tour de rôle dans chaque « mouda' » ou chaque hameau ; le portier habite en permanence dans l'enclos.

Dans ces tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, l'usage de l'agadir est si général que l'on en arrive à conserver dans chaque maison les provisions d'une seule journée. Chaque matin, le chef de famille s'en va chercher au magasin du canton les vivres nécessaires afin, dit-il, « que les femmes ne gaspillent pas le bien de Dieu ».

Le rôle que jouent les agadirs de l'Anti-Atlas et la région du Sirwa s'explique aisément par les conditions de la vie dans un pays où les hommes ne peuvent subsister qu'en amassant des provisions dans les années d'abondance, plus rares que celles de sécheresse et de famine (2). Aussi voyons-nous le magasin du canton prendre, sans rien perdre de son caractère défensif, une importance économique croissante ; le nombre des chambres se multiplie ; un marché s'établit à la porte ; des fonctionnaires spéciaux : un portier, des amins, un conseil de notables qui se donnent orgueilleusement le titre de « 'Ommal » — « gouverneurs » de l'agadir — veillent au bon fonctionnement, à l'entretien et à la sécurité du magasin. Cette organisation devient le

(1) Cette disposition est identique à celle des magasins des Berbères nomades du Sud-Tunisien dans la région de Foum Tatahouine.

(2) M. l'officier interprète Ben Daoud a bien voulu nous communiquer un travail en préparation sur l'orf de l'agadir de la tribu de Tamellokt. Ce document comprend plus de 350 articles, qui jettent le jour le plus curieux sur la psychologie du conseil des chefs de l'agadir. Nous le remercions d'avoir bien voulu nous autoriser à citer quelques traits les plus suggestifs de cette traduction.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

point de départ d'une réglementation juridique compliquée qui fixe minutieusement les droits et les charges des usagers; enfin apparaissent des coutumiers qui sont parmi les monuments les plus étonnants et les plus parfaits de la législation des Berbères. Ces recueils auxquels on donne le nom de « louh », planchette, sans doute parce qu'ils étaient à l'origine écrits sur une planchette suspendue au mur, ont parfois plus de deux cents ou trois cents articles. La réparation des chambres et de leur toiture, l'usage des instruments de mesure, la vente des denrées, le nantissement, l'usage des prêts sur récoltes, sont prévus et étudiés dans ces codes avec une précision dans le détail et un bon sens qui ne nous paraît avoir été dépassé dans aucune organisation collective des autochtones de l'Afrique du Nord (1).

Le conseil de l'agadir de l'Anti-Atlas est, comme celui de la « taqbilt » des Masmouda, constitué par les chefs des familles les plus importantes du « khoms » ou de la tribu. Son autorité s'accroît sans cesse à mesure que se développe et s'agrandit le magasin. Non seulement les notables réglementent l'utilisation de l'agadir duquel il est interdit de retirer plus que le « double de ce qui est nécessaire comme provisions courantes », mais encore ils prétendent surveiller les transactions faites à l'extérieur. Les « 'ommal » en arrivent à constituer un petit groupe privilégié qui exploite à son profit tous les usagers. Sans doute dans leurs réunions, ils s'injurient parfois et s'accusent mutuellement « de dévorer les biens de la veuve et de l'orphelin, ou de pratiquer l'injustice ». Mais si de telles accusations sont lancées contre eux par un homme de la tribu, tout le conseil décide d'infliger à l'audacieux une forte amende, même si sa réclamation se trouve quelque peu fondée, car les « 'ommal » doivent être unis en toute circonstance et il ne faut pas que leurs discordes puissent apparaître au petit peuple. « Ce sont des hommes de confiance, dit un de ces codes, l'agadir leur appartient, et de ce fait, ils doivent justifier devant Dieu de la confiance qui est mise en eux par les gens pour l'administration de leurs biens ». Quant à ceux qui osent dire : « Tous les principes dont vous vous servez pour juger ne me plaisent pas, j'irai me faire rendre justice dans un agadir autre que le vôtre », ou bien « vous n'avez rien fait de bon dans cette forteresse, si ce n'est

(1) Cf. notre étude : *Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas*, Hespéris, 1929.

d'opprimer les gens au détriment du droit », on les condamne à des peines élevées et à l'hébergement des maîtres de la forteresse. De même tous ceux qui donnent aux « 'ommal » par dérision le titre de Sultan, ou de chef — hakem — ou les appellent « fils d'âne » ou « menteurs », sont aussi condamnés à payer de fortes amendes.

Au cours de leurs délibérations tumultueuses, les « 'ommal », devenus de véritables chefs de la fraction, gardent le souci de rester unis et de prendre des décisions positives ; il est en effet indispensable que toute délibération aboutisse à un accord, puisque de l'administration du magasin dépend chaque jour la vie matérielle des usagers. Devant une nécessité si pressante, l'ingéniosité des « 'ommal » leur fait découvrir la règle de la majorité, presque inconnue dans les républiques berbères : « En toutes circonstances, lisons-nous, les 'ommal, lorsqu'ils ont pris une décision à la majorité des deux tiers, ne peuvent voir contester leur autorité ».

Il importe, d'autre part, de défendre les sentences des « 'ommal » contre toute ingérence étrangère. La justice du chra' n'a rien à voir dans leurs affaires et celui qui dit que le « louh » n'est qu'enfantillage et ne peut servir à juger les gens, ment et accuse les notables de mensonges ; et cela est aussi grave que d'accuser Dieu lui-même de mentir, car les notables sont aussi sacrés que le « louh » et toute question non prévue au « louh » est consignée dans leur esprit. Le « louh » et les notables ne font qu'un. Celui qui ne l'admet pas devra payer cinquante dinars!

On conçoit, dans ces conditions, que les chefs de la forteresse en viennent à regarder naturellement le « louh » et la forteresse elle-même comme leur bien propre. Il faut leur offrir un repas pour avoir le droit de prendre connaissance du recueil de droit coutumier, dont ils sont les seuls détenteurs. Ils prétendent étendre leur compétence à toutes les circonstances de la vie commune, et il n'y a guère que la répression du meurtre, sans doute réservée à l'orf commun des fractions, qui leur échappe. De toutes les amendes qu'ils perçoivent, ils gardent la meilleure part et la caisse de l'agadir n'en reçoit une partie que s'il s'agit de dispute ou de vol.

Les « 'ommal », par l'esprit de leurs délibérations, constituent ainsi un petit sénat privilégié, formé d'hommes riches, qui exploitent à leur gré le capital déposé par la tribu dans l'agadir. En revanche, ils assurent la sécurité des dépôts et facilitent toutes

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les transactions compliquées qu'une législation savante, dont ils ont le secret, permet de réaliser.

De tels monuments juridiques donnent aux Berbères l'orgueil de ces créations spontanées du génie de leur race. De même qu'on cite les agadirs les mieux construits et qu'on prend exemple sur leur disposition lorsqu'il devient nécessaire d'édifier, par corvée générale, une nouvelle forteresse, de même on recopie en les adaptant les « louh » les plus réputés. Ceux de Tammellokt au sud de Tiout, de Tamalout des Id Nouh dans le Sirwa, d'Ajarif ou de Tasgent des Ilalen, sont parmi les plus célèbres.

VI. *Développement de l'institution des agadirs dans le passé.* — L'institution des agadirs, sous la forme que nous avons décrite, qu'il s'agisse de simples magasins de hameau ou de « mouda' » comme ceux du Deren, ou de grandes forteresses dans l'Anti-Atlas ou le Sirwa, présente de nos jours dans le Sous les signes d'une décadence profonde. Dans l'Atlas, les agadirs n'apparaissent que dans les régions des sommets : au pays des Seksawa de la haute montagne, chez les Ida Ou Mhamoud, les Gedmiwa de l'Aghbar et des vallées supérieures de l'Asif el Mal ; chez les Glawa, au voisinage de Telwet et dans quelques cantons des Imeghran et des Imegoun. Dans le Sirwa, ils subsistent seulement dans la partie la plus élevée du grand massif volcanique, chez les Aït Tadrart, les Aït Qalla, les Aït Maghlif et Ikhozamen. Enfin, dans l'Anti-Atlas, où ils ont pris une plus grande importance que partout ailleurs, on ne les trouve cependant que dans les tribus comprises entre le pays des Ida Ou Gnidif et les Aït Mzal à l'Ouest, celui des Isouktan à l'Est, et, d'autre part, entre le Dir du versant Nord et la région voisine des crêtes.

On voit ainsi que la zone dans laquelle subsistent les magasins collectifs se trouve plus réduite encore que celle des tribus restées indépendantes jusqu'à notre arrivée dans le Sud-Marocain, puisque cette institution ne peut être observée chez les Ida Ou Tanan, les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental et sur tous les confins sahariens du Dra.

Les agadirs sont d'ailleurs assez peu nombreux pour qu'un observateur aussi attentif que Ch. de Foucauld, en traversant deux fois l'Anti-Atlas en 1883 — sans s'écarter, il est vrai, des

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

chemins principaux — ait pu négliger de les signaler ou se soit entièrement mépris sur leur véritable usage (1).

Mais si l'aire dans laquelle on peut aujourd'hui trouver des magasins collectifs encore utilisés par les Berbères est fort réduite dans le Sous, il est facile de voir qu'elle s'est trouvée jadis beaucoup plus étendue.

Dans tout l'Atlas occidental, entre le Tizi n Telwet et le Tizi Ma'cho, il existe en effet jusqu'au pied des Dirs un très grand nombre de ruines de constructions sur les pitons qui avoisinent les hameaux et les villages, et dont l'aspect ne laisse aucun doute sur leur destination passée. Il est rare que les habitants se souviennent encore d'avoir vu ces magasins intacts, mais dans les vallées du Nefis, de l'Anougal, de l'Asif el Mal, l'Asif n Qahira, on leur donne encore le nom d' agadir.

Dans tout le territoire des Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa, il suffit d'interroger les jeunes gens eux-mêmes pour qu'ils vous montrent les restes de tous les « ighrem » ou agadirs que les conquérants Glawa ont détruits en 1913.

Chez les Haha, le nom d'agadir est donné de nos jours à des villages situés dans une position facile à défendre — en des points qui convenaient à l'édification de forteresses dont les traces ne sont plus visibles. Au pays des Ida Ou Tanan, l'institution est moins oubliée, puisqu'on indique encore les lieux où se trouvaient autrefois les magasins que les vieillards les plus anciens ont eux-mêmes trouvés ruinés (2), et qui appartenaient, si l'on en juge par leurs noms, à des villages ou à des cantons.

Dans l'Anti-Atlas même, les grands agadirs étaient autrefois plus nombreux, surtout au voisinage du Dir, de telle sorte qu'on

(1) Ch. de Foucauld, après avoir décrit « les châteaux magasins » du Moyen-Atlas et de l'Atlas central, qui sont semblables aux magasins collectifs du Sous dit en effet :

« A l'Ouest de Tizi n Glaoui et du Draa règne une autre méthode, en vigueur dans la portion occidentale de l'Atlas et du Sahara de l'oued Draa à l'Océan : celle des Agadirs. Là, ce n'est plus le village qui réunit ses grains en un ou plusieurs châteaux, c'est la tribu qui emmagasine ses récoltes dans un ou plusieurs villages. Ces villages portent le nom d'Agadir. Vers Tazenakht, je les verrai sur ma route remplacer les tirremts. » (*Reconnaissance*, p. 62). Cette confusion entre le village et le magasin et cette erreur sur le rôle de l'agadir s'expliquent par les conditions difficiles dans lesquelles voyageait Ch. de Foucauld et par le choix de son itinéraire au long duquel les agadirs très visibles sont rares.

(2) Tels sont les agadirs du sommet du Jebel Aouljad, celui d'Ima'izen (agadir n Tafoukt), d'Assaka (agadir n Aït 'Ali), de Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikherdiden), de Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela'id).

Ajoutons que les instructions nautiques portugaises du XVIe siècle (R. Ricard. La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle, *Hespéris*, 1927, p. 251) nous signalent sur la côte des Ida ou Tanan, les châteaux de Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht) qui sont probablement des agadirs.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

peut affirmer, en invoquant l'aspect des ruines ou les indications de la toponymie, que toutes les tribus berbères de montagne — à l'exception peut-être de celles des Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, encore mal connues — possédaient autrefois des forteresses construites par les villages ou les cantons, dans l'intérieur desquelles toutes les familles gardaient leurs provisions et venaient chercher refuge au cours des guerres ou des discordes intérieures.

Les causes de la décadence de cette institution sont sans doute nombreuses ; la plus agissante est certainement la conquête du pays par le Makhzen.

En effet, les magasins fortifiés dans lesquels les habitants des cantons placent non seulement leurs récoltes, mais encore des provisions de poudre et de balles pour leur défense, constituent des centres naturels de résistance contre la domination des grands chefs du voisinage. Pour châtier une tribu et la réduire à l'impuissance, le meilleur moyen est de raser ses agadirs. Ainsi ont disparu, tout d'abord, les magasins du Dir du versant nord de l'Atlas, puis ceux des grandes vallées du Nefis, de l'Ogdemt, de l'Asif el Mal, dont les ruines sont encore visibles. La dernière forteresse de canton qui subsistait dans le commandement du caïd Gontafi, a été jetée à bas, en 1925, chez les Aït Tidigar, et le rêve que font de nos jours les montagnards indociles de cette petite tribu est d'en relever au plus tôt les murs.

Il en a été de même sur le Dir de l'Anti-Atlas au XIXe siècle. Aghennaj, le grand chef des Haha, dont les conquêtes ont laissé un souvenir si vif dans le Sous, est encore représenté par les poètes comme un destructeur d'agadirs :

> Aghennaj a passé ! Sa puissance est morte, on nous l'a décrite,
> Il a laissé des agadirs ruinés qui jamais plus n'ont été remplis.

Ses successeurs, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi et Moulay Idris, en ont fait autant autour de Taroudant.

C'est surtout dans la région du Sirwa, là où l'institution des forteresses-magasins avait conservé jusqu'à ces dernières années une grande vitalité, que la disparition a été la plus rapide. En effet, la conquête des chefs des Glawa a eu pour conséquence immédiate, dans les vallées, la destruction des agadirs de hameaux, faite par

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ordre, exécutée en corvée par les habitants des villages eux-mêmes commandés par les mokhaznis des conquérants et l'on trouverait avec peine, dans tout le pays ainsi parcouru par les harkas des Glawa, un petit magasin échappé à leur vigilance. Quant aux forteresses plus redoutables, situées en haute montagne, les khalifats du caïd de Telwet qui ont réussi à pénétrer sur le territoire des petites républiques des sommets, ont profité de toutes les occasions pour les faire disparaître. L'un d'eux nous déclarait avec satisfaction avoir eu la chance d'en ruiner douze en sept années de commandement (1).

Mais l'état politique du pays n'est pas seul à entraîner la disparition des magasins collectifs ; il semble bien que des causes économiques, ou peut-être simplement l'affaiblissement d'une longue tradition, aient suffi pour précipiter leur ruine, même dans les régions où le Makhzen n'a jamais pénétré. C'est ainsi que dans les hautes vallées de l'Atlas, on ne construit plus d'agadirs ; un certain nombre de fractions ou de villages n'en possèdent pas ; chacun prend de plus en plus l'habitude de garder dans sa maison toutes ses réserves de grains et de noix. Si l'on rapproche cette lente disparition de celle qui est plus marquée encore dans le pays des Ida Ou Tanan, situé hors d'atteinte des harkas du Sultan, il est sans doute permis de penser que nous sommes en présence, dans tout l'Atlas, de la décadence progressive d'une institution qui n'a gardé de nos jours sa complète vitalité que dans une partie de l'Anti-Atlas central.

On pourrait sans doute aller plus loin et chercher à suivre dans le passé et dans d'autres régions de la Berbérie sédentaire quelle a pu être l'évolution des magasins collectifs. Peut-être est-il permis de penser que l'habitude de construire ces forteresses et d'y laisser

(1) Il est intéressant de signaler que la décadence générale de l'institution a été interrompue au milieu du siècle dans certaines régions. La « siba » qui marqua la mort de Moulay Abd er Rahman, en 1859, eut des conséquences si désastreuses pour toutes les tribus établies entre Imi n Tanout et Amismiz, par suite des incursions des arabes pillards de la plaine, que certains villages s'entourèrent de remparts et édifièrent rapidement des enclos fortifiés, au milieu desquels ils creusèrent des silos.

Ces petites forteresses furent d'ailleurs le plus souvent habitées par des petits chefs qui surgirent au milieu des luttes de siba, et se chargèrent d'assurer eux-mêmes la défense des biens communs. Elles étaient entièrement différentes par leur nature et leur disposition, des petits agadirs de hameaux, dont les ruines existent encore.

Il faut encore distinguer des magasins collectifs des fractions ou des villages, d'autres agadirs construits par le Makhzen, à Amismiz par exemple et dans lesquels les tribus venaient verser l'« achour ». Par une extension naturelle, le même nom d'agadir désigne à présent toutes les kasbas construites par ordre des sultans ou par les chefs du Haut-Atlas.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les provisions qui ne sont pas nécessaires à l'existence journalière, est un legs des périodes les plus anciennes venu du temps où la population aujourd'hui sédentaire était encore adonnée au nomadisme (1).

Quoiqu'il en soit des origines, il n'est sans doute pas d'institution dont la décadence, si apparente à présent, ne permette de juger de l'état d'affaiblissement dans lequel sont tombées dans le Sous la plupart des traditions des républiques berbères.

VII. *Décadence des républiques berbères du Sous.* — Avant de chercher à comprendre comment naissent et grandissent les chefs qui feront disparaître les traditions séculaires, préparant ainsi la soumission au Sultan, nous pouvons jeter les yeux une fois encore sur la province du Sous, dans laquelle nous avons trouvé les meilleurs exemples de l'organisation des tribus indépendantes ; nous y verrons sans peine l'état de ruine des institutions que nous avons décrites.

Jusqu'au milieu du siècle dernier, les petits états indépendants sont restés presque intacts chez les tribus de montagne du Haut-Atlas occidental. Mais, dans cette « Kabylie » des Masmouda, les petites unités sociales étaient moins fortes et moins vigoureuses que celles du Djurjura. Sous l'action du Makhzen, nous l'avons dit (2), leurs cadres ont peu à peu cédé ; même dans les hautes vallées du Tichka, l'organisation oligarchique est frappée partout de nos jours d'une décadence qui peut sembler définitive.

Dans la plus grande partie du pays, sauf dans les cantons les plus reculés, au voisinage même des sommets des Seksawa, le souvenir même des moqaddems a souvent disparu; on sait encore ce qu'étaient les Aït Arba'in qui ressuscitaient à chaque siba les anciennes institutions, mais les agadirs, les « inflas » porte-bonheur, la politique de leffs font définitivement partie du passé. Cette disparition a été précipitée par l'établissement du Protectorat et par la transformation économique survenue depuis vingt ans, lors de l'ouverture du Maroc au commerce européen. Les traditions anciennes ne trouvent plus leur utilité dans la vie nouvelle. Sans doute, les vieillards évoquent encore entre eux le temps où

(1) Cf. Notre étude sur *Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas*. Hespéris, 1929.
(2) Cf. plus haut, l. II, chap. I, p. 140.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les rivalités des « Indghertit » et des « Imsifern » étaient le sujet de discussions passionnées dans les chambres basses des hameaux perdus de la montagne, où l'on se couchait le soir sur un tapis d'herbe sèche, à la lumière de brindilles de bois résineux. Mais les jeunes gens, qui ont été élevés dans les temps nouveaux, avec « du sucre, des bougies, de la toile de coton », ignorent tout de la vie d'autrefois. De même, les chants et les danses des « Aït Tskawin » à la corne d'argent, ne sont plus à leurs yeux qu'une survivance, un amusement auquel se livrent des montagnards attardés et dont les anciens comprennent seuls l'importance.

Plus à l'Est, en suivant la crête de la montagne, dans la région du Nefis et des Glawa, la substitution du despotisme sans limite des grands chefs au vieux gouvernement des assemblées est plus générale encore et prend l'aspect d'une véritable révolution sociale. Il en va de même dans le Sirwa, sur les confins sahariens du Haut-Dra, dans toute la région où subsistaient jadis des imgharen plus respectueux des vieilles coutumes et que la conquête des Glawa a balayés.

La résistance offerte par l'Anti-Atlas est plus énergique. Si le Makhzen a réussi à y faire naître et grandir de petits chefs, surtout au sud de Taroudant, il a fallu cependant plus d'efforts pour détruire l'organisation démocratique ou oligarchique des cantons dominés par leurs grands agadirs, et pour ruiner cette œuvre de longs siècles d'existence indépendante, si parfaitement adaptée aux conditions de la vie. Mais là encore, dans les grandes vallées, sur les voies de pénétration utilisées par le Makhzen, et sur toute la bordure du Dir, le recul des anciennes institutions est partout sensible.

En même temps que disparaissent les républiques berbères et que les ruines des agadirs se font plus nombreuses sur le sommet des collines, l'individualité des cantons tend à disparaître dans toutes les régions soumises ; les leffs brisés par l'action politique des amghars et des caïds, troublés dans leur unité par des renversements d'alliances, perdent leur signification et leur utilité. Aux magasins collectifs des tribus font place de nouvelles maisons de chikhs ; les kasbas sortent de terre, et leur aspect nous fait croire maintenant à l'existence d'une puissante organisation féodale. Partout la domination des chefs du Makhzen s'établit à la hâte comme pour consolider sa fragile conquête.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Nul spectacle n'est plus instructif que celui des villages berbères, dans les régions si brusquement passées du gouvernement patriarcal des assemblées à l'autorité despotique des chefs. Le seul aspect des maisons et des forteresses suffit, pour qui sait voir, à montrer la violence avec laquelle s'opposent les deux formes d'organisation politique.

A l'entrée d'une haute vallée, à Assarag du Tifnout, c'est une kasba de khalifat, imposante par sa masse et ses tours crénelées qui barre l'une des routes de l'Atlas et donne au voyageur l'illusion d'une ancienne demeure des maîtres du pays. Mais les murs qui soutiennent les borjs couronnés de merlons abritaient, il y dix ans encore, un magasin collectif du canton. Les conquérants sont venus, ont pris possession de l'agadir et de ses provisions ; puis la tribu rassemblée par leurs soins a construit une enceinte à l'entour, élevé des tours et blanchi les murs, aménagé des chambres et des salles ; en quelques mois est ainsi apparue, sur la base d'une forteresse de canton , une vraie kasba féodale. Quelques années écoulées ont d'ailleurs suffi pour fendre les remparts de terre et donner à cette orgueilleuse maison la patine du temps.

D'autres fois, la transformation des villages est spontanée et le contraste est plus saisissant encore. Il existe, autour des sommets du Sirwa, de petites républiques égalitaires qui, dans la solitude du plateau, demeurent obstinément attachées à leur rêve d'autrefois. On chercherait en vain, par exemple dans le village d'Amassin des Ikhozzamen, quelque trait qui distingue la demeure du riche de celle du pauvre. Au-dessus des deux cents maisons dont la ligne s'étend indéfiniment et suggère l'idée d'un gigantesque clapier, s'élève une belle forteresse collective, où l'on conserve avec soin un coutumier célèbre, tandis que le petit sénat, les « Aït ed-diwan », réuni dans l'enceinte, délibère longuement pour réglementer la vie commune.

Mais si l'on quitte le haut plateau pour gagner, à quelques heures de marche vers le sud, la vallée des Aït Atman, un surprenant spectacle nous attend. Jadis, l'agadir de Tinider, un des magasins les plus parfaits et les plus célèbres par sa disposition intérieure et sa loi, dominait un village semblable à celui d'Amassin. Au cours d'un siège glorieux, les Aït Atman avaient, il y a vingt ans, résisté dans ce grand magasin fortifié aux guerriers de dix

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

cantons assemblés et nul n'avait pu les réduire. Lorsque les Glawa sont venus, le chikh qu'ils ont choisi dans le pays, a reçu l'ordre de faire disparaître à coups de pioche, la vieille forteresse dont les murs en ruine sont encore visibles aujourd'hui. Puis, très vite, l'aspect du village est devenu méconnaissable. Au milieu des maisons, toutes semblables les unes aux autres, des habitants de cette ancienne république égalitaire, se dressent à présent les demeures des notables, ornées de tours d'angle et parées à la manière berbère de dessins géométriques à la chaux. Le nouveau chikh du Makhzen a peu à peu surélevé ses murs, ajouté des borjs, crénelé les sommets des tours, et donné à son modeste logis d'autrefois, un aspect plus « féodal ». Son jeune fils, un beau jeune homme, devenu le favori du maître de Telwet, a dès à présent recueilli l'autorité paternelle. Monté sur un beau cheval noir, c'est lui qui vient, avec une parfaite aisance, accueillir les hôtes. Il rêve d'une place élevée au Makhzen, et cependant que les « imzwarn », les notables du village, jadis tout-puissants se réunissent humblement autour de lui pour recevoir ses ordres, les murs s'élèvent d'une belle kasba que son père lui destine et que tout le canton construit en « touiza ». Lorsqu'on connaît le passé de cette vallée, on croit rêver en embrassant sur quelques centaines de mètres, d'un seul coup d'œil, tout d'abord les ruines de l'agadir d'autrefois, puis la kasba du chikh fièrement plantée au bord du village, avec ses borjs blancs, ainsi que les maisons neuves des notables, ses parents, enfin la vaste demeure construite comme celle d'un grand chef qui, l'an prochain, abritera le petit amghar. Ses tours orgueilleuses, que les habitants du pays rassemblés par ordre achèvent devant nous, domineront les restes d'un village démocratique dont les enfants eux-mêmes gardent le souvenir.

[P 266 is blank]

[p. 267]

LIVRE III

La naissance et le développement du pouvoir personnel

[p. 268 is blank]

[P. 269]

CHAPITRE PREMIER

La naissance du pouvoir personnel ; l'amghar chef de canton

I. Conditions générales de la naissance du pouvoir personnel. — II. La lutte des soffs et l'apparition de l'amghar. — III. Les premières ressources financières du chef. — IV. Les débuts de l'amghar de Tagontaft (1850-1860). — V. L'amghar El Hajj Hafid des Idma (1905-1925). — VI. Les amghars des Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). — VII. Le gouvernement du canton par l'amghar. — VIII. Les amghars et la politique des leffs. — IX. Les amghars grandissent à l'écart du Makhzen. — X. Les petits chefs des Ida ou Tanan. — XI. Les petits chefs des oasis du Sud. — XII. Les amghars du Rif. — XIII. Les chefs de la Kabylie.

I. *Conditions générales de la naissance du pouvoir personnel.* — Partager équitablement les profits du pouvoir entre les chefs de famille, et pour y parvenir, exercer sur les ambitieux une surveillance inquiète, tel est le souci constant qui domine toute la politique intérieure des petites républiques berbères. Mais quelle que soit la vigilance des conseils de notables, on voit toujours apparaître des hommes à qui le goût des honneurs, de l'argent ou de la puissance fait trouver trop étroit le cadre dans lequel la tradition prétend les enfermer. Dans toutes les tribus, même là où les institutions oligarchiques ou démocratiques sont le plus complètement acceptées, des chefs s'élèvent par instant au-dessus des assemblées, s'emparent de l'autorité, et cherchent en prenant le titre d'amghar à fonder par la violence ce que de Foucauld a justement appelé le pouvoir despotique.

Le plus souvent, les résultats de ces tentatives sont éphémères. Le régime de tyrannie instauré par l'amghar ne lui survit pas, et aussitôt après sa mort, la réaction des petites oligarchies ou des masses emporte son œuvre. D'autres fois aussi, les circonstances locales se trouvent favorables à l'apparition du pouvoir personnel ; dans une haute vallée, une famille parvient à consolider l'organisation

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

précaire qu'a créée à son profit un chef heureux ; on voit alors, pour deux ou trois générations, l'activité des conseils d' « inflas » s'affaiblir ou disparaître et la lutte des « ikhs » rivaux s'arrêter ; la vie sociale elle-même se modifie et la distance s'accroît rapidement entre les riches et les pauvres, les forts et les humbles. Un peu à l'écart de ce village, où tous vivaient naguère dans une apparente égalité, s'élève bientôt la maison fortifiée de l'amghar et de ses frères. Enfin, la politique extérieure du petit état se transforme elle aussi et devient plus belliqueuse. L'ardeur combative des « ikhs » opposés, sans emploi à l'intérieur, trouve dans les querelles de leffs le moyen de dépenser le surplus des forces de la « taqbilt ».

Si des causes générales s'exercent à distance pour faciliter le développement du pouvoir despotique, né spontanément dans un canton, plusieurs petites révolutions éclatent en même temps dans diverses parties de la montagne. On voit bientôt s'établir un nouveau régime de gouvernement qui gagne de proche en proche. Tel est le spectacle qui a été offert par le Haut-Atlas occidental à deux reprises depuis cinquante années : tout d'abord, au milieu du XIXe siècle, dans les régions actuellement soumises aux grands caïds, pendant la période qui a précédé et préparé leur domination ; ensuite, au début du XXe siècle, dans les parties de la montagne restées libres, lorsque s'est accentuée, sur les républiques des hautes vallées, la pression politique des maîtres des kasbas de Bouaboud, de Tagontaft et de Telwet.

Parvenu à ce point de notre enquête, il nous faut chercher à bien voir les conditions dans lesquelles naît et se développe l'autorité des amghars, et quelles institutions — précaires, sans doute, et imparfaites comme leur pouvoir même — ils substituent à celles des petites républiques qu'ils ont détruites.

Cette recherche ne va pas sans présenter de nombreuses difficultés. Pour la mener à bien, au risque de s'égarer dans les mille détails de la vie berbère, et sans craindre de lasser la patience du lecteur, il est nécessaire d'attirer souvent son attention sur les petites révolutions survenues dans des cantons obscurs, d'observer leurs conséquences locales, et les comparer les unes aux autres. On ne peut, en effet, sans s'attacher à des exemples précis, arriver à saisir les aspects essentiels de cette forme de transition éminemment instable et éphémère entre le gouvernement des assemblées et

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

celui des caïds. En revanche, l'histoire des trois dernières générations est assez riche, dans l'Atlas des Masmouda, pour nous offrir le choix entre un grand nombre d'amghars — une quarantaine environ — dont les origines semblables et le mode identique de croissance indiquent assez bien qu'ils apparaissent et se développent en obéissant aux mêmes règles. Il nous suffira, pour montrer quelles sont ces conditions de la naissance du pouvoir personnel de choisir et d'étudier ici les exemples les plus clairs et les plus simples.

II. *La lutte des soffs et l'apparition de l'amghar.* — Les guerres privées, qui troublent si souvent la vie des républiques indépendantes, ont surtout pour cause, nous l'avons vu, l'existence de plusieurs « ikhs » rivaux, toujours prêts à en appeler à la force dès que leurs intérêts leur paraissent menacés. Chaque « taqbilt » possède toujours, en effet, parmi les dix ou quinze familles qui la forment, deux ou trois groupes plus forts, plus riches et plus guerriers, auprès desquels les autres viennent chercher appui. Ce sont là des soffs naturellement constitués et qui existent au moins *en puissance.*

Les chefs de ces familles les plus importantes du canton conduisent à leur gré les délibérations du conseil, au sein duquel l'égalité des « Aït Arba'in » est purement apparente. La tentation est grande pour les membres influents du petit sénat de confier la charge de moqaddem à un candidat qui défende exclusivement leurs intérêts ; la lutte éclate fréquemment au cours de cette désignation, et dans la mêlée un homme ambitieux triomphe avec l'appui de l' « ikhs » le plus fort. Il arrive souvent à exercer, pendant plusieurs années, la magistrature et abandonne bientôt le titre de moqaddem pour prendre celui d'amghar (1).

Nous avons dit l'existence des actes rédigés lors de la nomination du moqaddem, qui fixent pour un an le tarif de composition de quelques délits, dont la répression est laissée à la libre disposition du président de l'assemblée. Écrits en fort mauvais arabe, ces documents sont cependant intéressants à examiner, parce

(1) « Amghar » pl. « imgharen ». Nom verbal provenant de la racine Mghr, être grand par la taille, l'âge, la situation sociale (de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-fr.*, II, p. 164).

Le mot arabe « chikh » traduit très exactement le mot berbère « amghar ». Dans certaines régions de l'Atlas occidental (Mzouda, par exemple) on désigne les notables sous le nom d'« Inmoghorn », tiré de la même racine.

qu'ils nous indiquent bien la situation respective du président du conseil des notables, des inflas et de la tribu, au moment où l'amghar fait son apparition.

Lorsque la tradition est respectée et qu'un moqaddem est choisi selon les règles habituelles, nous voyons figurer sur l'acte, qui est comme l' « édit du prêteur » du petit magistrat berbère, les noms de tous les chefs des familles de la « taqbilt ». Au nombre de douze ou quinze, ils témoignaient par leur présence du consentement général donné par le canton au nouveau tarif d'amendes. La règle habituelle est de diviser en trois parts égales les sommes versées par les coupables en application de cette convention : un tiers revient au moqaddem, un tiers à la « taqbilt » en la personne de ses inflas, un tiers à la caisse commune, qui pourvoit aux frais d'hospitalité et aux dépenses collectives.

Or il arrive parfois qu'aux noms de tous les notables de la fraction se substituent, sur les tarifs de composition ainsi établis, ceux de trois ou quatre personnages importants qui donnent leur approbation au nom de tous. En même temps, la règle primitive de partage des amendes se trouve altérée. Un tiers est attribué au moqaddem, un tiers à ces hommes influents, qui se donnent le titre d' « 'ayan » (1), un tiers à la « taqbilt », représentée par des inflas effacés et faméliques. Du même coup disparaît la caisse commune.

Un pas décisif est franchi lorsque nous voyons disparaître dans les actes le nom traditionnel de « moqaddem » pour faire place à celui d'un personnage que l'on appelle désormais « l'amghar respecté un tel ». Près du nom de l'amghar se trouvent seulement ceux des notables, les « 'ayan ». Une clause additionnelle stipule que le nouveau maître du canton percevra, en plus du tiers des amendes, le tiers de l' 'achour, impôt coranique que les républiques berbères versaient jusque là en totalité aux personnages religieux ou aux pauvres. Souvent même, on consent au bénéfice de l'amghar une mesure d'orge par foyer. Le pouvoir personnel est désormais fondé.

Ces débuts n'ont pas été sans exiger du nouveau chef de longs et patients efforts. Avant de prendre l'autorité, l'amghar s'est ménagé l'appui des chefs des « ikhs » les plus importants, et par

(1) Arabe « 'ayân », *notables*.

d'habiles intrigues, il a réussi à écarter ou à faire disparaître ceux qui lui étaient hostiles. Mais, presque toujours, cette révolution intérieure ne se fait pas sans combat. Un autre notable, également riche et courageux, s'oppose de toutes ses forces, avec son « ikhs », à l'amghar ambitieux ; la guerre éclate et on la conduit avec acharnement, jusqu'à ce que le vaincu soit tué, ou banni avec tous les siens ; son village tombe en ruines et le chef victorieux conserve le pouvoir aussi longtemps qu'il en a la force et qu'il échappe à la vengeance des exilés. C'est parfois au cours de ces combats qu'on voit la « taqbilt » se fractionner en deux groupes ayant chacun leur chef, qui se disputent les armes à la main la possession des foyers limitrophes. Dans ces circonstances interviennent, d'habitude, les marabouts et les moqaddems du leff ami, pour rétablir tant bien que mal l'unité.

Malheur à l'amghar qui fonde son pouvoir sans avoir tout d'abord fait reconnaître par tous son autorité, au besoin en assassinant traîtreusement ses rivaux ! Sa carrière est bien vite arrêtée par le retour à la fortune d'un ennemi des premières heures. C'est ce qui advint à un petit amghar des Seksawa, au milieu du siècle dernier, Hammo Ou Bella du canton des Aït Lahsen, père de Si Mokhtar Seksawi, celui-là même qui devait par la suite soumettre une partie de la montagne, lutter victorieusement contre le Mtouggi et devenir le plus grand chef de sa tribu. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem d'Awines, avait réussi à s'imposer aux notables de sa « taqbilt ». Pour consolider son pouvoir et faire l'unité autour de lui, il s'était lancé, avec le leff des « Imsifern », à la conquête de deux fractions du leff adverse les Aït Mousa et les Sekrat, ces deux petits groupes que son fils devait, de longues années plus tard, annexer sans coup férir, après une minutieuse préparation. Mais, au cours de ces entreprises, sa propre « taqbilt » l'abandonna, à la suite des intrigues d'un chef d' « ikhs » rival, El Hajj 'Ali Hammo, qu'il avait négligé de faire disparaître ; Hammo Ou Bella périt abandonné de ses frères, sous les coups des guerriers des fractions conquises.

Si Mokhtar, fils du Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retint la leçon ; lorsqu'il eut à son tour pris le pouvoir et éprouvé toutes les difficultés que peut causer à un nouvel amghar la présence des « ikhs » hostiles, il profita d'un retour heureux à la fortune pour inviter tous ses ennemis dans une fête magnifique, afin de célébrer la

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

réconciliation des partis; puis, à la nuit, tandis que le bruit des chants et des danses remplissait la vallée, il fit discrètement assassiner tous ses ennemis. La suite de sa politique se trouva ainsi simplifiée et cet heureux début lui ouvrit la brillante carrière dont nous connaîtrons bientôt les étapes (1).

III. *Les premières ressources financières du chef.* — La situation toujours difficile du nouvel amghar se trouve plus rapidement améliorée lorsqu'à la force redoutable d'un clan nombreux il joint la puissance irrésistible de l'argent. L'argent est, en effet, selon la parole du poète berbère (2) :

« Un diplomate qui ne laisse pas de non à la parole ».

En achetant le concours des ennemis de ses ennemis, l'amghar parviendra à vaincre plus aisément que par la force de ses armes.

Mais les ressources du chef de canton à ses débuts sont fort limitées. La richesse foncière dans ces rudes vallées ne s'acquiert que bien lentement, au gré d'un homme ambitieux ; elle ne peut excéder, d'autre part, la possession de quelques champs et d'un millier de moutons et demeure toujours insuffisante pour servir de grands desseins. Le produit des amendes, il est vrai, ne cesse de s'accroître parce que les tarifs de composition s'élèvent en même temps que s'affermit l'autorité de l'amghar ; le chef confisque à son profit les biens des criminels et réduit de plus en plus la part laissée aux notables du conseil. On peut même dire qu'il n'y a pas de plus sûr moyen de juger de l'autorité prise par l'amghar que de connaître de quelle manière se sont modifiées à son avantage les règles primitives de partage des amendes en trois parties égales.

On peut encore joindre à ces maigres bénéfices les cadeaux reçus lors de l'arbitrage des conflits, les amendes perçues sur les petits souqs de montagne, en y rendant la justice, et enfin les contributions que consentent à verser annuellement toutes les familles de la « taqbilt ». Mais tout cela ne peut permettre de tenter de vastes entreprises. Chercher dans ce petit territoire à accroître par des abus les profits du commandement risquerait, d'autre part d'affaiblir l'appui à présent donné à l'amghar par les « ikhs » jadis hostiles. Le chef se trouve ainsi contraint à

(1) Notes de F. de La Chapelle.
(2) Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère du Sous*, p. 67.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

demander à l'extérieur la fortune qu'il ne peut acquérir dans son propre canton.

Il y a bien, certes, les bénéfices de la « zettata » que l'on fait payer au passage des cols à tous les étrangers. Mais c'est un gain laissé habituellement aux pauvres gens et aux coupeurs de route ; bien qu'il ne soit pas illicite, aux yeux des Berbères, un amghar ne saurait sans déchoir le garder pour lui-même — du moins publiquement. — Une seule voie reste ouverte, plus glorieuse et conforme aux traditions de la « taqbilt » : la guerre menée contre les ennemis de leff. On y trouvera en même temps l'avantage d'entretenir l'accord des nouveaux sujets et de consolider, par les liens du combat, l'union des « ikhs » naturellement divisés, autour d'un chef unique.

Aussi les débuts d'un amghar ambitieux sont-ils partout semblables dans les hautes vallées. Avec ses premières ressources, il construit une solide maison, pourvue d'une vaste pièce de réception pour accueillir dignement des hôtes, se créer des amitiés, augmenter sa clientèle dans les cantons alliés. Il est généreux, traite avec libéralité, accueille favorablement tous ceux qui viennent chercher sa protection et se réfugier auprès de lui. Les amghars et les moqaddems du voisinage font appel à lui lorsqu'ils sont dans l'embarras. Dès lors, toutes les occasions qui se présentent pour soutenir les cantons défaillants de son leff et leur apporter l'appui de ses guerriers servent sa politique. Sa force est mise au service de son leff et déjà, par les intrigues qu'il noue dans les « taqbilt » du parti adverse, à la faveur des luttes de soff, il intervient pour désunir l'ennemi commun et préparer sa défaite.

Il nous reste à montrer par quelques exemples comment cette habile politique extérieure permet aux amghars d'asseoir et de conserver leur pouvoir. L'histoire des origines des chefs de Tagontaft, apparus vers 1860, celle d'un petit amghar des Seksawa, El Hajj Hafid du canton des Idma, grandi au moment de la rivalité des caïds des Mtougga et du Nefis, au début du siècle présent, enfin, le spectacle des rivalités des amghars de la tribu des Aït Semmeg depuis quatre-vingts ans, nous feront mieux comprendre quel secours apporte aux ambitieux l'opposition des leffs berbères.

IV. *Les débuts de l'amghar de Tagontaft* (1850-1860). — Au début du XIXe siècle, lorsque le pays du Nefis était encore placé sous l'autorité lointaine des caïds d'Agergour, de la tribu des

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Ouzgita du Jbel Kik, les villages qui s'élèvent en montagne sur les deux bords de la vallée appartenaient, selon les cantons, aux deux leffs des « Aït Atman » et des « Aït Iraten ». De l'Aghbar jusqu'à l'entrée de l'oued en plaine, ces cantons des deux partis alternaient régulièrement entre eux et nulle part le « damier » des rivalités berbères ne réalisait un équilibre aussi parfait entre les deux alliances. Chaque groupe obéissait à un petit amghar qui tenait à la fois son pouvoir du Makhzen et des notables, et parvenait à établir une juste balance entre les tendances opposées des deux formes de gouvernement.

Vers 1850, la guerre des deux leffs, les « Aït Atman » et les « Aït Iraten » prit, entre Tinmel et Agergour une violence extrême, et le petit chef du canton de Toug el Khir l'emporta sur son ennemi des Targa n Aït Iraten, qui périt dans le combat. Les « Aït Iraten» de Targa et de l'Asif Amezghouni vaincus firent alors appel à leurs frères de leffs des cantons d''Alla, de Tagontaft et de Mouldiert, dans le Haut-Atlas, qui vinrent en grand nombre, sous le commandement de leurs amghars, les secourir au nom des liens anciens.

L'un de ces amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descendant d'un taleb de l'Anti-Atlas, venu jadis dans la vallée du Nefis en qualité de fqih de village, commandait le groupe des quatre petits hameaux de Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, auxquels on donne le nom de Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, qui était en même temps qu'amghar, un fqih respecté, enseignait les sciences religieuses à de nombreux élèves; il partageait, selon la coutume, les profits du pouvoir avec les «Aït Arba'in» de son «mouda'». C'était un homme simple et sans ambition que rien ne poussait à sortir de la voie tracée par la double tradition du Makhzen et du gouvernement berbère.

Son fils, Mohammed, qui avait alors une trentaine d'années, était à la fois doué d'un grand courage et d'un esprit d'entreprise étonnant. A la fois cupide et généreux, noble et rusé, c'était aussi un adversaire redoutable dans les combats, où il se précipitait sur l'ennemi, reconnaissable à sa haute taille et à sa barbe noire. Sa force physique était peu commune et sa vue faisait naître dans l'esprit de ses adversaires une terreur inexprimable, que l'on attribuait parfois à une sorte de puissance magique.

A la suite d'une discorde avec son père, Mohammed se rendit

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

à Agergour au Jbel Kik, auprès du caïd El Hajj Ahmed des Ouzgita et parvint à obtenir pour lui-même le commandement des quatre petits hameaux de Tagontaft. Il commença aussitôt de se construire une véritable maison d'amghar à Wigit, en coupant largement dans les beaux oliviers qui ornent les pentes des collines. Comme son père lui reprochait alors de détruire les cultures et les arbres dans un pays où la terre productive est rare et précieuse, Mohammed répondit que « des cultures et des arbres, il en existait d'autres dans l'Asif Nefis, chez ses ennemis de leff, les « Aït Atman ».

Plus tard, les rapides conquêtes de l'amghar Mohammed ont paru si surprenantes que les indigènes ont parfois répandu le bruit que la famille des Aït Lahsen, Mohammed ou son père le fqih, avait découvert une mine d'argent par des procédés secrets, qu'ils tenaient de leurs ancêtres du Sous, habiles, comme on le sait, à découvrir les trésors cachés. Mais tous ceux qui ont vécu la petite épopée des chefs de Tagontaft savent bien que l'amghar Mohammed n'eut, au début, que la force de son « ikhs » et « d'autre mine que la tribu ». En effet, nous voyons l'amghar Mohammed, à peine en possession du pouvoir, commencer par conquérir le village voisin de Tamerwout, qui formait comme un îlot d' « Aït Atman » dans le leff des « Aït Iraten »; puis, après avoir absorbé ce groupe hostile, engager résolument la lutte contre les chefs voisins du leff adverse. C'étaient les amghars de Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt et Arghen, entre Tagontaft et Tinmel. Les forces du jeune amghar de Tagontaft étaient constituées par tous les guerriers de son canton, entièrement dévoués à sa personne et par ceux des fractions de son leff : 'Alla et l'Asif Amezghouni.

Dès que ses premiers succès lui permirent d'accroître ses ressources, l'amghar Mohammed engagea une troupe de mercenaires, formée d'aventuriers venus de toutes les directions : des Chtouka, des Inda ou Zal, et de la plaine de Marrakech. Tenant toute la montagne, il communiquait alors avec ses alliés d''Alla par un sentier de chèvres de l'Adrar n Tasaft. Des hauteurs d''Alla, de Tagontaft et de Mouldiert descendaient par son ordre contre les villages du Nefis d'incessantes expéditions. Bientôt, grâce à ses excitations, la guerre s'alluma entre les deux leffs dans toute la vallée du Nefis jusqu'au Jbel Kik. Enfin, l'intervention du caïd d'Agergour devint nécessaire pour

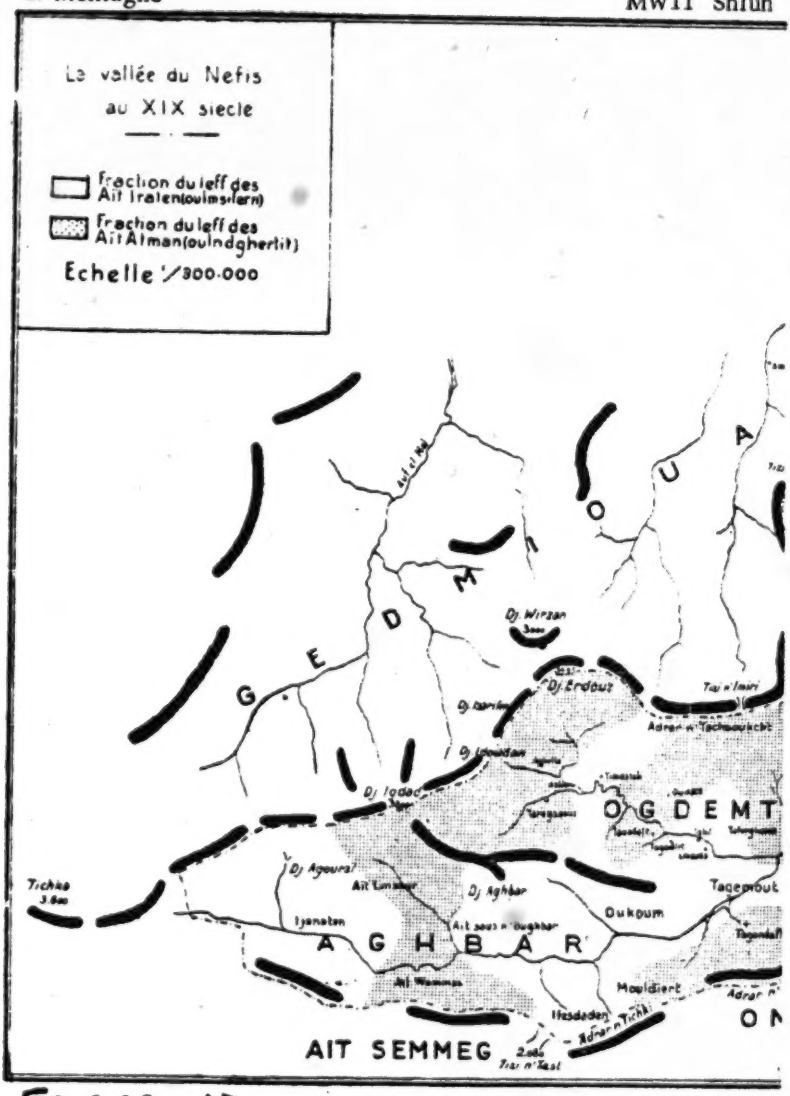
rétablir l'ordre et Si Brahim, frère et successeur du caïd Ahmed, parti au pélerinage de la Mekke où il devait mourir, convoqua dans sa kasba le jeune amghar de Tagontaft, qui refusa prudemment de se présenter. Mohammed décida alors de poursuivre dans l'indépendance la conquête des hautes vallées qui avaient jadis formé le premier royaume des Almohades.

Pendant dix années, il continua d'agiter la montagne par la lutte des leffs, d'accroître ses forces patiemment, et de se préparer par l'organisation de ses conquêtes à franchir l'étape difficile qui devait faire de lui un chef de tribu (1).

V. *L'amghar El Hajj Hafid des Idma* (1905-1925). — A la fin du dernier siècle, les cantons des Seksawa de la montagne, comme tous ceux de la région du Tichka, étaient encore fermement attachés au régime traditionnel des moqaddems ; seules, les « taqbilt » voisines du Dir avaient des amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi chez les Aït 'Abdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi chez les Aït Mousa. Peu après le moment où Si Mokhtar, fils du moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, eut pris le pouvoir chez les Aït Lhasen, après avoir habilement supprimé ses ennemis comme nous l'avons dit, le fils d'un moqaddem des Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, obtint aussi des Aït Arba'in de sa fraction, grâce à son habileté, son prestige et ses victoires sur la fraction voisine des Intedan, le titre d'amghar (1898). Il eut, comme il est naturel, à livrer une longue lutte contre ses rivaux dans son propre village, puis il les tua et prit leurs biens.

Des circonstances favorables se présentèrent alors au nouveau chef des Idma qui sut les utiliser pleinement. Vers 1905, la lutte d'influence des deux grands caïds Mtouggi et Gontafi, battait son plein ; ils se disputaient les riches tribus du Dir et bientôt toute la montagne fut gagnée par leurs intrigues. Si Mokhtar des Aït Lhasen, du leff des « Imsifern » déjà fortement organisé dans son commandement, épousa, non sans quelques réticences, la cause du Mtouggi ; les deux amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi et Mbarek Chtittihi, voisins du pied de la montagne, du leff des « Indghertit », balancèrent sur le parti à prendre, cependant que l'amghar Hafid des Idma se ralliait sans hésitation au Gontafi. Après une lutte confuse, au cours de laquelle Si Mokhtar fit assas-

(1) Cf. plus loin, p. 301.


La vallée du Nefis
au XIX siecle
fraction du leff des Ait Iraten (oulmsifern)
fraction du leff des Ait Atman (oulndghertit)
Echelle 1/300.000
G E D M I O U A
Dj Wirzan
Dj Erdouz
Dj Iqadar
Dj Agoura
Ait Limsar
Dj Aghbar
Ait sous n'Aghbar
Iyanaten
A G H B A R
Oukoum
Tagemout
Mouldient
Ait Wamma
Ifesdaden
Adrar n'Tichki
Tizi n'Tasl
Adrar n'Tachaukcht
Tizi n'Imsri
O G D E M T
Tichka
AIT SEMMEG

[P. 278-A]

Plateau de KIK
OUZGITA
Imaghiren
Azladen
Dj. Wanou Krim
Wirgan
Ait Hassin
Tikent
Adrar n'Gourza
Dj Erdouz
Aorer n'Tachaouakcht
Ait Zitoun
Aghrar
OGDEMT
Taghorist
Tagemout
Aoundis
Oukoum
Mouidiert
Adrar n'Wisheddan
ONEIN
TIFNOUT
ASIFNES

[P. 278 – B]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

siner le Chtittihi et conquit la fraction des Aït 'Abdallah en chassant Ahmed Ou Bihi, l'amghar des Idma devint seul chef du leff des « Indghertit ». En montagne, la lutte des deux grands caïds se poursuivait en utilisant la rivalité des deux alliances berbères. Si Mokhtar fut le champion de Bouaboud avec les « Imsifern » dans la mesure où son intérêt personnel le commandait. De son côté, Hafid rassembla aisément les forces des « Indghertit ». C'est chez lui que les amghars des Aït Gaïr et toutes les fractions de la haute montagne des Seksawa vinrent demander conseil et appui. Pendant vingt ans, le vieil amghar des Idma put bénéficier des avantages de ce rôle de chef de leff ; sans rien perdre de son indépendance à l'égard du grand caïd du Nefis, il garda intacte une autorité aisément acceptée dont tout le secret était dans la force des alliances berbères (1).

VI. *Les amghars des Ida Ou Zeddagh* (1840-1925). — C'est dans des conditions analogues à celles qui ont favorisé l'amghar Hafid des Idma, que deux familles d'amghars ont gardé le pouvoir sans difficulté, sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, pendant plusieurs générations. Bien que ces petits chikhs — les Aït Bazzi de Talekjont et les Id Mansour de Talemt — aient vu leur liberté restreinte par l'étroite surveillance qu'exerçait sur eux le Makhzen de Taroudant, il est facile de voir que toute leur puissance a tenu, comme celle de leurs émules de la haute montagne, à leur rôle de chefs de leff.

Les circonstances politiques dans lesquelles les amghars de Talekjont et de Talemt ont exercé leur commandement ont été particulièrement stables pendant le XIXe siècle. Jusqu'au moment de la conquête du pays par les grands caïds, sur tout le versant sud de l'Atlas, de l'Onein aux Ida Ou Zal, l'organisation des tribus n'a pas changé. Le régime des petits cantons berbères variait selon la distance à laquelle ils se trouvaient de la vallée du Sous, soumise au khalifat du sultan à Taroudant. En haute montagne, c'étaient de petites républiques, dirigées par une assemblée, que présidait un moqaddem, chez les Aït Waggonsan, les Tigouga, les Ida Ou Msattog, ou par un simple conseil d'inflas sans moqaddem à Adebdi, chez les Aït Soual, les Ihengirn ; sur les pentes, se trouvaient de minuscules cantons gouvernés par un sénat de

(1) Notes de F. de La Chapelle.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

trois ou quatre notables; enfin, au bord même de la plaine, existaient de gros bourgs soumis à des amghars, en relation avec le Makhzen. Entre ces diverses unités territoriales, le lien de deux leffs, les « Ida ou Zeddagh » (1) et les « Aït Zolit », était assez fort pour que l'autorité des petits chefs s'étendît, par une chaîne d'alliances, de leur kasba voisine du Sous jusqu'aux villages les plus élevés des crêtes.

A l'origine, vers 1850, l'amghar 'Ali n Aït Bazzi et son rival Ahmed Ou Mansour n'étaient que de petits chikhs semblables à ceux qui existaient, nous l'avons vu, à la même époque dans la haute vallée du Nefis, attentifs à satisfaire à la fois le Makhzen et la tradition berbère. Lorsque El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, grand caïd des Haha, eut confié à son khalifat, le chérif Moulay Idris, le commandement de Taroudant, ce dernier s'attacha à nouer de plus étroites relations avec les deux amghars dans l'espoir d'amener peu à peu les montagnards de leur leff respectif au Makhzen. Mais l'opposition des deux alliances sans cesse aux prises était telle qu'il dut bientôt y renoncer ; dans son impuissance, on rapporte qu'il dit un jour en désignant les deux maisons blanches des chikhs ennemis, si rapprochées l'une de l'autre et cependant irréductiblement hostiles :

« Satan — le père de la discorde — a pondu au pied de l'Atlas deux œufs. En les cassant, j'ai trouvé dans le premier 'Ali Ou Mansour. Quant au second, celui des Bazzi, il n'y avait à l'intérieur que du vent ! »

'Ali Ou Mansour avait, en effet, amené son leff au chef du Makhzen, tandis qu''Ali de Talekjont s'enfuit plus tard dans la montagne et prit le parti des Mtougga contre les Haha. Mais ni l'un ni l'autre ne fut capable d'apporter au khalifat du sultan la soumission de ses tribus parce qu'ils étaient impuissants à faire vivre en paix les deux leffs. Leur autorité n'était fondée que sur la rivalité des alliances, et ils ne pouvaient la conserver qu'en avivant les querelles. Par la suite, les Aït Bazzi soutinrent la « siba » contre le Makhzen, le pacha de Taroudant contre le Gontafi, tandis que leurs adversaires — les fils d''Ali Ou Mansour — gardaient constamment le parti opposé, celui des Haha, celui du Makhzen de Taroudant avec Haida Ou Mwis, celui du Gontafi contre Haida.

(1) Le nom d'Ida ou Zeddagh désigne à la fois une tribu, et un leff de cette tribu et des régions voisines.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Deux familles, avec des alternatives de succès et de revers ont ainsi gardé leurs positions ; aux yeux des montagnards de leur leff, leur prestige a survécu à toutes leurs défaites. Sans doute, par la suite, l'intervention des grands caïds et plus tard notre présence ont altéré le jeu simple des alliances, mais à présent encore, on voit descendre les Aït arba'in de la haute montagne chez les fils des amghars d'autrefois devenus caïds, et leur demander des conseils sur la meilleure manière de lutter contre les « taqbilt » voisines du leff ennemi. En utilisant les vieilles institutions berbères, ces petits caïds font aisément accepter à distance une sorte de protectorat sur les fractions encore libres.

VII. *Le gouvernement du canton par l'amghar.* — Que deviennent sous le commandement d'un amghar victorieux, les institutions des républiques berbères dont le but est d'assurer à toutes les familles une parfaite égalité à l'intérieur de la « taqbilt » ?

Lorsque le nouveau chef s'empare de l'autorité, jusqu'alors reconnue au seul conseil des Aït arba'in, la tradition qui fixe la nature des fonctions du moqaddem vient heureusement guider ses premiers actes. Il se donne, à l'imitation de son prédécesseur, comme l'arbitre des conflits et s'attache, au moins en apparence, à tenir la balance entre les « ikhs » rivaux. Souvent il conserve les formes extérieures du gouvernement oligarchique d'autrefois.

Nous voyons ainsi le petit chef des Seksawa, qui a fait sa fortune grâce au leff des « Indghertit », El Hajj Hafid des Idma, garder les moqaddems dans son canton d'origine. Mais il les nomme directement, sans consulter le conseil, de même qu'il choisit les Aït arba'in parmi les familles qui lui sont personnellement dévouées. Les réunions ne se tiennent plus que dans sa maison et c'est lui qui règle l'application du droit coutumier, d'accord avec les représentants des « mouda' » désignés par lui. Les moqaddems deviennent surtout les agents d'exécution de ses ordres et il se réserve l'initiative politique et le droit de décider de la guerre.

Les Intedan et Aït Mhand, deux « taqbilt » voisines, chez lesquelles El Hajj Hafid exerce son influence prépondérante, ont gardé leurs conseils et leurs magistrats. Mais chez les premiers, deux personnages seulement, amis de l'amghar, assument à leur tour, la fonction de moqaddem. Chez les seconds, les Aït arba'in, dont le nombre a été réduit, et le moqaddem subsistent encore,

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

mais ils ne sont plus changés chaque année comme le veut la tradition ancienne.

Un autre amghar du voisinage, Aqqai, qui s'est emparé du pouvoir chez les Ichkajen, dans la tribu des Ida Ou Mhamoud, il y a quelques années seulement, a supprimé dans son commandement le moqaddem, mais gardé les Aït arba'in, qui sont devenus ses agents d'exécution et de renseignements. Ce sont eux qui perçoivent pour lui l' « a'chour » et les impôts supplémentaires avec lesquels il envoie des présents à son protecteur, l'amghar Ahmed ou Moulid de la « taqbilt » des Aït Haddiyous au sommet de la montagne des Seksawa.

Le canton voisin des Aït Tounert, placé sous l'influence du chef des Aït Haddiyous a gardé, en apparence du moins, l'ancien gouvernement ; mais ici, l'amghar protecteur doit sanctionner l'élection du moqaddem désigné chaque année par le conseil. Les Aït arba'in eux-mêmes changent fréquemment et sont choisis par Ahmed ou Moulid, d'accord avec le moqaddem (1).

On voit de la sorte, par une transformation assez lente de l'organisation berbère ancienne, le régime oligarchique des hautes vallées s'adapter peu à peu au gouvernement des amghars indépendants. Les plus puissants parmi ces chefs imposent leur protectorat à d'autres amghars plus récents, qui cherchent, en raison de leur faiblesse même, à ménager les traditions. Le souci de conserver intacte la force des liens d'alliance incite aussi l'amghar protecteur à respecter les coutumes à l'intérieur de son leff ; il évite surtout de créer par une action trop énergique, les luttes de soffs qui entraîneraient des scissions.

Lorsque le pouvoir des chefs se développe dans une région déjà soumise à l'influence du Makhzen. où l'institution des conseils d'inflas et des moqaddems a déjà disparu, la politique de l'amghar se trouve évidemment simplifiée ; il lui suffit de protéger les petits chikhs qui appartiennent à son leff sans intervenir à l'intérieur des cantons déjà habitués au pouvoir despotique. Ainsi faisait l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft chez les Aït Iraten, au temps où il avait entrepris de chasser les « Aït Atman » de la vallée du Nefis. Les amghars de Talemt, chefs du leff des « Aït Zolit », dont nous avons vu le rôle sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, dominaient

(1) Notes de F. de La Chapelle.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

aussi, sans les supprimer, les petits chikhs de Taberbourt, des Aït Oumzal et de l'Onein qui étaient à la fois leurs alliés et leurs sujets. Le sentiment de la solidarité de leff l'emportait ici sur l'ambition personnelle de l'amghar, dont le premier désir est habituellement d'accroître son commandement direct pour augmenter ses ressources. Mais toute modération disparaît lorsque le chef parvient à conquérir un canton du leff adverse. Il place alors à sa tête un amghar, sans autorité locale, à qui il confie une seule mission : veiller à la rentrée des impôts sans cesse plus lourds, et faire disparaître rapidement les ennemis vaincus.

On chercherait en vain à cette première étape du pouvoir de l'amghar un trait original dans l'organisation de son commandement, qui puisse être regardé comme l'ébauche d'une institution politique nouvelle. C'est que l'autorité du nouveau chef, qui s'exerce encore dans un domaine très réduit, n'a pas besoin d'intermédiaires ; pour s'affermir, elle emprunte les formes traditionnelles toutes préparées, et s'adapte avec souplesse, comme nous l'avons vu, aux traditions existantes.

A peine voyons-nous apparaître parfois près de l'amghar des compagnons de guerre, venus de l'extérieur, et qui forment une sorte de garde personnelle. Le plus souvent, d'ailleurs, son « ikhs » lui suffit pour constituer cette force ; les étrangers sont souvent acceptés avec difficulté, leur présence donne trop à l'amghar qu s'en entoure l'allure d'un chef de bande et la tribu supporterait mal leurs excès.

Nous ne connaissons pas d'amghar qui possède une prison. C'est qu'en toutes circonstances, le chef s'inspire encore, pour réprimer les crimes et les délits, du vieux droit de la « taqbilt » où les seules peines envisagées sont la mort, l'exil et l'amende.

Cette absence d'institutions propres suffit à montrer comment le régime des amghars représente, aussi longtemps du moins qu'ils restent de simples chefs de leff, une forme transitoire et précaire d'organisation politique. Trop près de leurs frères pour s'en séparer, ils demeurent asservis aux règles traditionnelles qu'ils ont violées en s'emparant du pouvoir. Il leur faudra briser les liens des leffs pour réussir à s'affranchir.

VIII. *Les amghars et la politique des leffs.* — Pour les raisons que nous avons indiquées, la première conséquence de l'établisse-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ment du pouvoir personnel est une recrudescence des guerres extérieures. La haine des leffs s'exacerbe et l'on voit souvent se produire, au cours de ces luttes, de véritables massacres des vaincus. Nous dirons bientôt comment, vers 1870, l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft fit égorger soixante notables du leff des « Aït Atman », réunis en armes dans la maison de son ennemi l'amghar Achefar de Tagemout. Il y a quelques années seulement, avant la conquête des Souktana par les chefs de Telwet, plus de cent hommes furent de même tués comme des moutons, après avoir été réduits par la soif dans l'agadir d'Ighri. Les guerres intérieures se trouvaient alors causées dans cette tribu, par les discordes des amghars qui devaient faciliter l'arrivée des Glawa.

Pendant cette période de l'évolution politique, l'esprit de solidarité de chacun des deux partis opposés se trouve ainsi renforcé, les « taqbilt » se trouvent unies dans la guerre comme si elles formaient vraiment une seule famille. Lorsque l'amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, de la fraction des Aït Lhasen, eut fait assassiner son bienfaiteur le caïd Chtittihi, chef des Aït Mousa, il confisqua tous ses biens et laboura ses champs. Mais quand il voulut payer le prix du sang, c'est aux frères de leff de sa victime qu'il versa l'argent.

Cependant, bientôt un prompt affaiblissement suit la fièvre des premières années. Dès que les ressources de l'amghar se trouvent accrues par le pillage, il cherche à semer la division à l'intérieur du leff ennemi ; c'est ainsi que sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, les petits chefs de la tribu des Aït Semmeg, qui luttaient entre eux avec l'acharnement que nous avons dit, avant la conquête du Gontafi, avaient auprès d'eux des guerriers appelés en vertu des liens d'alliance, qui ne recevaient aucun gage et restaient sur place tant que la paix n'était pas conclue ; mais, en même temps, apparaissaient déjà, autour des amghars, des combattants à gage qui faisaient la guerre « à la journée » et rentraient dans leurs foyers dès que le service demandé avait été rendu ; ces mercenaires venaient de fractions du leff adverse qui n'étaient pas directement engagées dans la bataille.

Un autre exemple plus net encore de la décadence des leffs peut être trouvé dans les querelles des amghars des Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa avant la conquête des Glawa, au temps de Moulay el Hasan. Tandis que les fractions des sommets et celles des hautes vallées du Tifnout et du Tidili, gardaient encore leurs assemblées de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

notables, on avait vu se développer dans le Zagmouzen et l'Azilal plusieurs amghars indépendants. Parmi eux les Id Mhammed de Tamjerjt et les Aït Ammo de Takharbant avaient alors entrepris de se partager, les armes à la main, la vallée du Tifnout. Cette région apparaissait, en effet, aux habitants déshérités du plateau comme une vallée d'abondance, peuplée de riches tributaires. Chacun des deux chefs s'empara bientôt des cantons les plus voisins de son village, sans tenir un compte exact des leffs d'origine. Mais des difficultés ne tardèrent pas à apparaître. En effet, lorsqu'il s'agissait de prélever des impôts sur ces terres de conquête, des discordes éclataient entre les amghars au sujet de quelques foyers contestés. Chacun faisait alors appel à ses alliés et l'on voyait alors une étrange confusion se produire sur les terres disputées. Les chefs de foyer soumis à un amghar lui payaient régulièrement tribut aussi longtemps que la guerre n'avait pas éclaté ; mais, dès les premiers coups de feu, ils prenaient les armes contre leur maître de la veille au nom des alliances traditionnelles. Les leffs anciens ne pouvaient longtemps résister à ces bouleversements ; des associations de cantons et de familles se formèrent qui ne tinrent plus compte des règles anciennes de composition du leff. A ces alliances, les Aït Waouzgit donnent parfois le nom caractéristique d' « amqon n mokohelt » — ce qui peut être traduit par « leff de combat » (1). Ce ne sont plus en réalité que des partis qui se réclament d'un chef, et non plus comme autrefois d'une tradition vénérable d'entr'aide pour la guerre et la paix.

Malgré ces altérations, il s'en faut cependant qu'à cette période de la transformation politique du pays, la décadence des leffs soit devenue irrémédiable. Quelles que soient leurs ambitions, leurs rivalités dans les diverses tribus du voisinage, leurs intérêts nouveaux, les amghars restent encore étroitement attachés à leurs cantons d'origine dont les amitiés et les alliances tiennent à un long passé politique. La lente dissociation que nous observons des liens d'alliance ne peut produire encore des changements comparables à ceux qu'amènera plus tard l'intervention des caïds berbères de la montagne, tels que le Mtouggi ou le Gontafi, capables d'inverser brusquement la correspondance des leffs dans des tribus entières, grâce à la puissance de l'argent et à la compli-

(1) Littéralement : « leff de fusil ».

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

cité intéressée des amghars dont ils deviennent les protecteurs.

IX. *Les amghars grandissent à l'écart du Makhzen.* — Avant de quitter cette région du Haut-Atlas, dans laquelle sont apparus, depuis le milieu du siècle dernier, un si grand nombre d'amghars indépendants, il est bon d'indiquer une circonstance qui a rendu possible la formation de leur pouvoir : l'éloignement du Makhzen et la liberté d'action que peut offrir la montagne aux efforts d'un ambitieux, lorsque les tribus qui l'habitent échappent encore à l'autorité des caïds du Sultan. Deux exemples différents vont nous montrer combien cette liberté est nécessaire lors des premières années de la fortune des petits chefs berbères.

En 1865, au temps où l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft achevait, dans la haute vallée du Nefis, de conquérir les cantons hostiles à son leff, dans cette partie du pays qui était soustraite à l'influence du caïd d'Agergour par l'éloignement et la difficulté des chemins de la montagne, un notable du Dir septentrional de l'Atlas, établi à Tisgin des Gedmiwa, avait aussi cherché à s'emparer du pouvoir. La mort du sultan Moulay 'Abd er-Rahman avait été le signal d'une siba de cinq années qui avait désolé toute la plaine ; les petites cités du Dir s'étaient vues contraintes à édifier à la hâte des remparts et des agadirs pour mettre les familles, les troupeaux et les récoltes à l'abri des attaques des tribus arabes. A la faveur de ces guerres s'était distingué le fils enrichi d'un fellah, Mohammed Ou ben 'Ali. Depuis longtemps déjà, à la tête de son « ikhs » il avait réussi à s'imposer à chacun des petits chikhs dont le conseil assurait le gouvernement des hameaux de l'oliveraie de Tisgin. Bientôt, dans un agadir édifié par ses soins afin de recevoir les provisions des habitants en cas de péril, il avait construit une solide maison ornée d'une porte monumentale, encore visible de nos jours au milieu des ruines. Afin de faire régner la sécurité dans la plaine et de réaliser ses ambitieux projets, Ou ben 'Ali, à l'instar du chef de Tagontaft, réunit alors autour de lui une petite troupe de mercenaires et son nom commença d'être connu à grande distance et sa protection respectée.

Le pacha de la kasba de Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, gouverneur des tribus du Dir — le même qui devait laisser grandir l'amghar de Tagontaft faute de pouvoir l'arrêter — commença de s'inquiéter des agissements d'Ou ben 'Ali et nomma alors au commandement

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de Tisgin un petit caïd, Bou Houch, dont la mission fut d'arrêter les progrès de cet amghar trop actif. Certain d'être assassiné à bref délai, Ou ben 'Ali prit les devants ; il surprit le chef makhzen dans sa maison et le tua. Dès lors, en lutte ouverte avec le pacha de la kasba, l'amghar dut s'enfuir en montagne, dans les cantons de son leff, celui des « Imsifern ». La lutte fut brève. Quel que fût le prestige de l'amghar et son courage, il ne pouvait espérer rallier autour de lui la population des villages du Dir dont les oliveraies sans défense étaient à la merci des cavaliers envoyés de Marrakech. Après un an d'escarmouches inutiles, le Grawi réussit à faire entrer dans la bande du rebelle deux esclaves sûrs qui l'assassinèrent à Wadaker, avec la complicité du chikh Jorran. Les deux traîtres reçurent 1.400 douros et la tête d'Ou ben 'Ali fut exposée à Marrakech.

On a conservé à Tisgin un souvenir vivant de ce petit chef, remarquable par son courage et son énergie, égal peut-être à son émule heureux de Tagontaft, mais dont l'entreprise était vouée d'avance à l'insuccès, parce que son village se trouvait trop exposé aux coups du Makhzen.

L'exemple inverse de l'amghar 'Ali Ou Hammo des Ida ou Zal sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, au nord-ouest de Taroudant, n'est pas moins suggestif.

Jadis cette tribu se trouvait, comme celles du voisinage, sous le double régime des amghars et des assemblées. Les cantons de montagne étaient gouvernés par des conseils d'Aït arba'in et des moqaddems, tandis qu'au pied du Dir, à Tamda et Mneizla, deux petits chefs, en relations intermittentes avec le Makhzen de Taroudant, exerçaient sur leurs frères indépendants une action comparable à celle des amghars de Talemt et de Talekjont.

Mais, tandis que la plupart des tribus du voisinage se sont trouvées depuis vingt ans mêlées à la politique des grands caïds ou soumises à l'action du Makhzen de Taroudant, les Ida Ou Zal ont, grâce à leur situation géographique, échappé à cette pression et sont restés libres de s'organiser à leur gré. Les dix dernières années d'indépendance ont été aussitôt utilisées par un jeune chef sans scrupules. 'Ali Ou Hammo, du village de Lemmwé, n'était, il y a quinze ans, qu'un coupeur de route et son premier succès fut de parvenir à détrousser, en 1913, les conseillers allemands du caïd Kabba de Taroudant, aventurier au service d'El Hiba. Peu à peu, en pillant les voisins, en protégeant ses amis et

ses frères, il réussit à accroître ses ressources et à se former un parti. De nos jours, dans les cantons qu'il tient sous sa dépendance étroite, 'Ali Ou Hammo a conservé les Aït arba'in et les moqaddems, mais en a fait ses créatures. Bon gré, mal gré, la plaine a dû accepter son autorité. Cet ancien voleur est respecté parce qu'il a fait fortune et qu'il est homme de parole. Il tient le col de Ferqelma et le Tizi n Tgodicht et s'acquiert de la sorte, dans une région où le passage des caravanes est la principale source de richesse, une autorité sans cesse grandissante. Tous les regards se tournent vers lui pour chercher à échapper à la conquête redoutée des Mtougga. Il aspire maintenant à devenir un chef makhzen, à condition de faire reconnaître sa situation d'amghar. Placé par rapport à Taroudant dans une situation géographique analogue à celle qu'avait l'amghar Ou ben 'Ali à l'égard de Marrakech, parti de plus bas encore, 'Ali Ou Hammo a pu exceptionnellement réussir parce qu'il a eu la chance, pendant dix années de liberté, d'agir à son gré dans un pays encore soustrait à l'autorité directe du Sultan.

X. *Les petits chefs des Ida Ou Tanan.* — L'apparition des amghars n'est pas limitée à l'étroite région de l'Atlas comprise entre le Tizi Ma'cho et le Tizi n Telwet, ou au pays du Sirwa, dans cette partie de la montagne où les alliances de leffs entre de petites « taqbilt » autonomes existaient naguère sous une forme particulièrement stable. On l'observe également dans les autres tribus du sud du Maroc, de même que dans le Rif et en Kabylie. Bien que ces autres petits chefs ne soient pas appelés à une carrière aussi brillante que celle de leurs émules des hautes vallées du Tichka, du Nefis ou de Telwet, les conditions dans lesquelles naît leur pouvoir sont identiques à celles que nous venons d'étudier ; il nous sera facile de montrer qu'eux aussi sortent de la querelle des soffs, grandissent par la guerre des cantons et suivent en tous points, dans le développement de leur politique, les mêmes règles qui s'imposent aux amghars du pays des Masmouda.

Les exemples qui nous sont offerts par les petits chefs des Ida Ou Tanan sont d'autant plus intéressants à examiner que ce pays a vécu au XIXe siècle dans l'isolement, à l'écart de toute influence perturbatrice du Makhzen ou des grands caïds (1).

(1) Cf. notre étude sur les Ida Ou Tanan, *Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, p. 223-247.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Bien qu'elles aient conservé leur liberté à l'égard du Sultan et gardé les lois de leur confédération, que la tradition attribue à Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, les trois tribus des Ida ou Tanan ont cependant vécu, nous l'avons dit, sous des régimes politiques différents. Les Aït Ou 'Azzoun, dirigés de nos jours par leurs notables de cantons ou leur conseil de chefs de famille, ont obéi au milieu du XIXe siècle à l'amghar Akherraz qui a dominé la partie septentrionale du pays ; les Ifesfasen possèdent encore un amghar à Tassedremt, qui partage l'autorité avec les Aït arba'in ; enfin, les Aït Tinkert sont peu à peu tombés sous la domination des petits amghars alliés entre eux et ils sont soumis de nos jours à un seul chef, Si Lhasen, fils de l'amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. L'apparition ou l'effacement de ces petits chefs n'a résulté d'aucune influence extérieure ; aussi l'étude de leur pouvoir est-elle particulièrement instructive.

Nous voyons tout d'abord, lorsque la tribu vit sous le régime républicain, se développer par le jeu naturel des institutions, toute une hiérarchie de petits notables : les chefs des familles patriarcales, puis des personnages plus importants qui forment comme le sénat de chaque « afous », ou canton ; enfin, les « imzran », auxquels on confie les affaires de la tribu. Ainsi se multiplient les ambitions personnelles ; les chances de conflits intérieurs s'accroissent. Quand la discorde éclate, chacun fait appel à ses frères. Par le courage ou par la ruse, des chefs d' « ikhs » ou des chefs de bande grandissent, s'imposent à leurs voisins et parlent de plus en plus haut dans les conseils des « imzran ». Ici, comme ailleurs, ils en arrivent un jour à confisquer à leur profit le pouvoir d'une assemblée, qui se réunit dans leur maison seulement, et dont les avis ne gardent plus, dès lors, qu'une valeur consultative. C'est à ce moment qu'on les salue du titre d' « amghar ».

Cet « amghar » n'a qu'une maison semblable à celle des autres notables, à peine ornée de deux borjs blanchis de chaux. Toute sa force est dans celle de ses « frères », des membres de son « ikhs » ou de son village. Ce sont eux qui l'aident à faire disparaître ses ennemis, car de même que l'amghar des hautes vallées des Seksawa, celui des Ida Ou Tanan ne possède pas de prison pour les conserver près de lui. Il tue donc ses adversaires dans des embuscades, ou bien parfois, comme l'amghar Akherraz des Aït Ou 'Azzoun, il se saisit d'eux, leur lie les pieds et les mains et les fait

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

précipiter dans le vide, du bord des montagnes dont la coupure abrupte domine le pays. En même temps qu'il affirme sa domination, son « ikhs » s'accroît sans cesse, et nous voyons à présent celui des amghars des Aït Tinkert, les Aït Ouazghi, former par son importance et sa richesse un véritable « afous » ou canton, grâce à la fortune acquise par ses chefs depuis un siècle.

Ici, il n'y a pas de leff qui puisse servir les ambitions de l'amghar. Mais il existe en tout pays berbère des discordes de cantons et de familles qu'on peut attiser pour en tirer parti. Avec de l'argent levé par « frida » ou gagné par le pillage, le parti du nouveau chef se recrute au hasard des circonstances ou des rivalités locales. L'amghar constitue lui-même son leff, écrase les vaincus, dompte les notables hostiles, et selon la forte expression berbère : « il les monte », comme on monte des chevaux ou des mulets, il les fait travailler à son profit. Lorsqu'il est devenu assez fort pour qu'on recherche à l'intérieur sa protection et son alliance à l'extérieur, sa fortune est faite. Son autorité est reconnue par tous ; il modifie à son gré les tarifs d'amendes, impose les sanctions qu'il lui plaît, sans consulter la coutume. On voit les assassins et les voleurs, menacés par les inflas des « afous » voisins, venir implorer son appui, sacrifier à sa porte et obtenir l'arrêt des poursuites, contre le versement d'une amende, qui ressemble à s'y méprendre à un cadeau et qui grossit son trésor de guerre.

Il semble que, dans cette région, l'absence de leffs stables et équilibrés qui forment une organisation de guerre toute préparée, oblige le chef qui veut s'imposer à intervenir plus activement qu'ailleurs pour faire naître les conflits nécessaires au développement de son pouvoir. De là un caractère de violence plus apparent dans l'exercice même de sa puissance.

Aussi lorsque l'amghar disparaît, victime de la haine d'un rival — rarement d'une vengeance, car les pires abus sont supportés avec une étonnante passivité — son œuvre périt avec lui. Lorsque Akherraz fut tombé sous la hache de l'esclave d'un chikh des Ida Ou Ziki, il y a trente ans, le régime républicain ressuscita d'un seul coup, les « imzran » reparurent et la tournée de justice annuelle s'exécuta de nouveau avec le cérémonial accoutumé, fidèlement conservé dans toutes les mémoires.

D'autres fois, à la mort du chef, il se trouve que ses fils manquent d'autorité ; on les dépose alors très simplement et ils viennent

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

seulement prendre une modeste place dans le conseil des Aït arba'in rétabli avec toutes ses attributions. Ces brusques changements traduisent assez bien la réaction des masses. Lassée de la dictature, qui a rétabli l'ordre à l'intérieur, mais usé les forces du pays dans les combats livrés au dehors, la tribu se repose un instant dans l'anarchie et bientôt la guerre des soffs succède à celle des cantons.

Il n'est pas sans exemple cependant qu'un compromis s'établisse entre les deux régimes opposés et que le chef parvienne, grâce à son habileté, à transmettre à son fils une autorité reconnue et acceptée. Les Aït Oumghar de Tassedremt, chez les Ifesfasen, ont ainsi réussi à garder le pouvoir depuis trois générations. Ils se contentent, il est vrai, de percevoir le tiers des amendes et de présider la réunion des notables ; la tournée de justice annuelle commence et se termine dans leur maison ; il semble toutefois que l'équilibre ainsi établi entre le chef et la tribu ne soit pas durable et que la balance penche lentement, mais sûrement, vers un régime oligarchique, par l'accroissement du pouvoir des notables les plus influents.

Les amghars des Aït Tinkert ont, au contraire, gardé la plupart des prérogatives du pouvoir despotique. Sans doute, ils respectent quelques-unes des formes anciennes du gouvernement berbère; il existe encore dans chacun des dix afous de leur commandement un notable chargé de représenter ses frères. Le conseil de tribu délibère même parfois en public ; mais la décision a été préparée dans la maison de l'amghar et la tribu s'y conforme exactement. La répartition des profits de justice, dont les notables ne perçoivent plus qu'une très faible part, montre que toute l'autorité est concentrée entre les mains de Bou Naga.

Mais, même dans ce cas, le souci de conserver l'apparence d'une assemblée, dont la présence même est obligatoire lorsque la confédération tout entière se réunit à Sidi Brahim Ou 'Ali ou au souq el Arba' d'Imouzzer, suffit à montrer comment le pouvoir personnel reste ici, malgré tout, limité par le souvenir des institutions fondamentales du pays des Ida Ou Tanan. Si, par un prodige de continuité, les petits amghars des Aït Tinkert ont pu, grâce à des alliances de famille, à l'existence d'un clan très puissant, réussir à obtenir et à garder le commandement de toute la tribu pendant un siècle, ils sont du moins restés enfermés dans le cadre naturel

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

que formait ce tiers de la grande confédération. Par là même, ils sont encore subordonnés à ce que les Berbères indépendants nomment plaisamment le « Makhzen de Sidi Brahim Ou 'Ali ». Ils demeurent ainsi, malgré leur puissance, soumis comme les amghars chefs de leff des Seksawa, aux lois des tribus (1).

XI. *Les petits chefs des oasis du Sud.* — On pourrait être tenté de regarder les petits chefs des oasis du désert qui existent sur le versant sud de l'Anti-Atlas, dans le Moyen-Dra et le Dadès, à la limite du pays habité par les Berbères sédentaires des montagnes du Sous, comme des amghars semblables à ceux dont nous venons d'étudier ici l'apparition et les premiers succès.

Il semble cependant que dans cette région d'autres influences s'exercent, d'une nature assez différente, qui favorisent l'établissement et la consolidation de ce « pouvoir despotique » si bien décrit par de Foucauld (2).

Le milieu social paraît être, en effet, plus propice à la persistance de grandes familles au voisinage du Sahara. Chez les Zenaga, les Ida Ou Blal, les 'Aït Amer, les Mesgita, là où des petites dynasties d'amghars sont solidement établies depuis de longues générations, les influences arabes sont nombreuses et la transmission héréditaire du commandement est un des caractères les plus constants de l'organisation sociale des groupes nomades (3).

Par ailleurs, il existe dans ces régions d'autres institutions dont le rôle explique aisément l'importance prise par les chefs des « ikhs », puissants et courageux : la protection individuelle et le vasselage. Au voisinage du désert, les nécessités du commerce et des voyages amènent, en effet, la conclusion de pactes avec des notables capables de faire respecter la vie et les biens des étrangers; ce sont là de véritables contrats, auxquels on donne le nom de « debiha », et la puissance d'un chikh se mesure au nombre de « debiha » qu'il possède, soit qu'il les ait directement acceptées, soit qu'il en ait recueilli l'héritage.

(1) Depuis quelques années, les progrès de l'action du Makhzen se sont manifestés chez les Ida Ou Tanan, par un nouveau développement du pouvoir personnel, grâce aux encouragements et aux appuis extérieurs donnés aux chefs de clans les plus hardis. 'Ali Ou Naser, amghar des Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi 'Achao, d'Isk n Tghazout et d'autres chefs de partis, ont soumis par la force les chefs des « afous » voisins. Le caractère artificiel de ce mouvement a sans doute encore accentué l'antagonisme latent entre le régime des Aït arba'in et celui des amghars indépendants.

(2) De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, p. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

(3) G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 704, 705.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Enfin, les droits de suzeraineté qu'acquièrent les tribus sédentaires ou nomades sur les qsars inquiétés par les pillards, viennent créer d'autres obligations et des causes de conflit. Ces circonstances sont favorables à l'établissement d'un pouvoir fort, dominant la poussière anarchique des familles. Leur étude sort des limites de notre travail, mais leur existence suffit à expliquer la différence que peuvent présenter l'organisation et l'évolution politiques des tribus berbères voisines du Sahara et celles des sédentaires de l'Atlas ou de l'Anti-Atlas.

XII. *Les amghars du Rif.* — A première vue, on pourrait s'attendre à trouver dans les régions montagneuses du nord du Maroc, chez les Jbala et dans le Rif, un développement du pouvoir personnel comparable à celui que nous avons observé dans le Sous. Ici, comme là-bas, en effet, l'action que le Makhzen exerçait au XIXe siècle sur les tribus restait lointaine et ne risquait pas de venir briser les efforts des petits chefs à leurs débuts. Des pachas établis dans les villes à Fès, Wezzan, Larache, Taza, gouvernaient à grande distance par l'intermédiaire de khalifats nommés en montagne, et comme l'autorité de ces derniers était faible, les populations berbères ou arabes vivaient dans une situation très voisine de l'indépendance. D'autre part, les institutions républicaines de village et de canton, la dimension des petits états autonomes, la division en leffs créaient, semble-t-il, pour l'apparition du pouvoir personnel, des circonstances favorables analogues à celles que nous avons trouvées dans l'Atlas des Masmouda.

Cependant des influences contraires devaient se faire sentir pour limiter étroitement l'autorité des chefs. Nous avons dit l'importance, dans le Rif occidental, de ces guerres privées qui amènent parfois la disparition de villages entiers en quelques années. La répétition de ces luttes pendant de longs siècles aboutit à la consolidation de véritables clans, familles patriarcales et agnatiques augmentées des clients et des alliés, dont la persistance devient nécessaire à la vie même de l'individu. Le khoms est ainsi formé d'un certain nombre de clans, « tarfiqt », tous indépendants les uns des autres, prêts à se séparer au moindre prétexte. De vieux amghars couverts de blessures commandent chaque « tarfiqt ». Incapables de s'entendre entre eux, le plus qu'ils puissent faire est de réussir à prendre l'engagement, au nom de leurs frères, de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

s'abstenir de tuer et de voler pendant quelques semaines. Encore, l' « agrao » — la réunion de tous les guerriers en armes —qui accompagne les entretiens des amghars, se termine-t-il souvent par une mêlée générale. Aucun chef ne peut sortir de cette anarchie.

Dans une grande partie du Jbel, plus à l'Ouest, là où ces querelles de clans sont moins fréquentes, de telle sorte que les habitants peuvent habiter côte à côte et former de véritables villages, apparaissent des chefs religieux, chorfa ou marabouts, aux origines souvent douteuses. Ils vivent à l'écart des gens du commun dans des hameaux séparés ; un peu moins ignorants que la masse qu'ils dominent, moins pauvres parce qu'ils reçoivent la dîme que ces tribus leur donnent volontiers, ils forment une petite aristocratie naturelle dont le métier est d'arbitrer les conflits. Au service du Makhzen quand le Sultan est puissant, ils jouent le rôle d'intermédiaires entre ces populations et les khalifats et les pachas. Mais ces marabouts se trouvent particulièrement à l'aise en temps de « siba »; ils savent alors empêcher les guerres privées d'éclater et ont l'art de laisser naître des querelles afin de pouvoir les apaiser. On les voit, pendant les périodes où ils agissent librement, fonder dans les vallées qui entourent la grande zaouia bâtie près du tombeau de leur ancêtre, d'innombrables succursales et jeter sur toutes les vallées de la haute montagne un véritable réseau dans lequel se trouvent enserrées les tribus. Telle est de nos jours, la puissante organisation des marabouts Khemalcha, qui exploitent la confédération des Senhaja de Srair ; plus à l'Ouest, ce sont les Oulad el Beqqal, moins centralisés et dont l'autorité est bien déchue, les marabouts affiliés aux confréries des Derqawa chez les Beni Zerwal, les chorfas d'Wezzan avec leurs zaouias de Snada, chez les Beni Itteft, d'Ichouken chez les Ghomara ; enfin, sur la montagne sacrée du Jbel ʿAlam, les innombrables chorfas Idrisiyn, dont le plus célèbre fut, au cours des dernières années, Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

Cette expansion des forces religieuses étouffe la libre vie politique des populations de la montagne, et lors même qu'un chef de famille parvient à dominer les villages voisins et à devenir amghar d'un khoms tout entier, il demeure le serviteur respectueux des saints personnages qui maintiennent en tribu la tradition de l'Islam, la haine du chrétien, et dirigent, sans jamais apparaître, les débats des petites assemblées.

C'est là seulement où l'étreinte des marabouts et des chorfa se relâche un instant et dans les régions qui ne sont pas entièrement livrées aux guerres privées, que l'ambition des petits amghars peut se donner libre cours pendant quelques années. Nous les voyons apparaître en effet sur le versant nord de la chaîne du Rif, hors de portée des zaouias établies sur les sommets, dans les tribus des Ghomara, chez les Beni Bou Frah, les Beni Gmil, les Mestasa, et au sud du Jbel Hammam, dans le pays des Gzennaya aux sources du Nkor, ou dans la tribu des Beni Amret.

Bien que la vie intérieure de ces tribus, à la fin du XIXe siècle, nous soit moins bien connue que celle du Haut-Atlas, il est cependant possible de retrouver les conditions dans lesquelles ont grandi les amghars du Rif occidental, jusqu'au moment où l'effort tenté par 'Abd el Kerim pour constituer un État rifain les a fait disparaître d'un seul coup.

L'anarchie du pays et des désordres survenus dans la tribu des Boqqoya, avaient rendu nécessaire, au début du règne de Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, l'envoi d'une forte harka du Makhzen, et l'organisation des tribus fut confiée au caïd Boucheta el Baghdadi, des guich du Sultan, devenu de nos jours Pacha de Fès. Les garnisons cantonnées dans les vieilles kasbas de Tafersit et de Snada, appuyées par un petit vapeur de la flotte chérifienne dans la baie d'Alhucémas, suffirent à cette époque pour rétablir l'ordre. Le commandement des « khoms » de tribu fut confié alors aux chefs des clans les plus puissants, nommés chikhs pour la circonstance. Les discordes des « khoms » de la montagne, qui avaient abouti précédemment à la création d'une sorte d'échiquier politique, analogue à celui que nous avons trouvé chez les Masmouda, s'assoupirent un instant.

Plusieurs années de paix — de 1898 à 1903 — furent suivies du passage du prétendant Bou Hamara et bientôt, de l'intervention de l'Espagne sur les côtes du Rif, à partir de 1909. L'anarchie éclata de nouveau ; d'autres leffs se constituèrent encore autour des deux fractions rivales de Targist, gagnant tout le pays de l'Ouest à l'Est depuis les Beni Gmil jusqu'aux Beni Amret. C'est au cours de ces combats qu'apparurent alors et grandirent des amghars tels qu'El Hajj Beqqich, dans le nord des Gzennaya, Mohammed 'Abdallah des Ija'ounen, dans la tribu des Beni Amret, Mesa'oud d'Aqqa chez les Beni Gmil.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Ces petits chefs sont alors, dans leurs tribus, maîtres plus absolus que les amghars de même importance des Masmouda ; ils ne se trouvent pas, en effet, gênés par la tradition des conseils oligarchiques d'inflas, ni par le souvenir du rôle du moqaddem. Cependant, comme les amghars du Haut-Atlas, ils partagent avec les notables les amendes versées par les coupables, en prenant le tiers lorsqu'ils sont encore faibles, et presque tout quand ils ont solidement assis leur puissance. Dans les cantons qu'ils dominent, ils établissent d'autres amghars choisis parmi les chefs de « tarfiqt » les plus forts, et se les attachent par des mariages. L'autorité qu'ils acquièrent de la sorte est telle qu'ils sont capables de conduire au loin, à travers les tribus voisines, des expéditions, à distance d'une journée de marche, pour aller faire respecter leur parole et punir leurs adversaires. Ainsi faisait El Hajj Beqqich qui, parti des sources du Nkor, allait avec ses cavaliers tirer vengeance de ses ennemis jusqu'à Ajdir.

Lors du grand mouvement de guerre sainte contre l'Espagne, en 1921, les amghars figurent à la tête des contingents rifains. Nous les voyons prendre part avec ardeur à la bataille d'Anoual. Mais quand 'Abd el Kerim, ses parents et ses compagnons du village d'Ajdir prennent, à la faveur du « Jihad », le commandement des Beni Ouriaghel, organisent un petit état, plient les tribus environnantes à leur volonté pour mieux diriger la lutte contre les chrétiens, les amghars, aidés des marabouts, tentent de reprendre le pouvoir qui leur échappe ; ce sont eux qui dirigeront la révolte de 1924 qui menacera un instant l'œuvre du chef rifain. Vaincus dans cette suprême tentative, ils périront la plupart par le poison ou dans les cachots d'Ajdir et de Tamassint.

Malgré la puissance réelle que peuvent arriver à conquérir les amghars du Rif, leur autorité reste cependant précaire. Entièrement fondée sur la force, née au milieu du conflit des leffs instables, privée de l'appui des traditions oligarchiques, elle ne subsiste que très rarement après la disparition de celui qui l'a créée. Les forces hostiles dirigées par les clans anarchiques et les marabouts arrêtent rapidement leur tentative. La matière sociale paraît trop rebelle ; aussi l'ébauche du pouvoir personnel reste-t-elle inachevée ; l'amghar ne parvient à s'affirmer que dans son canton d'origine ; nous ne le voyons nulle part réussir, par la seule force de son bras, à briser les frontières étroites de la fraction,

les limites d'un leff et à conquérir une véritable tribu. Seul, dans cette région, 'Abd el Kerim, porté par d'autres forces, parviendra, grâce à l'enthousiasme de la guerre sainte, à établir une domination puissante et à fonder un instant un véritable état berbère.

XIII. *Les chefs de la Kabylie.* — Masqueray a bien étudié les conditions difficiles dans lesquelles peut se développer en Kabylie l'autorité du chef de soff dont l'ambition est de conquérir le pouvoir suprême dans sa tribu. L'état politique des villages du Djurjura, divisés en deux partis ennemis, presque toujours équilibrés, mais qui se renouvellent sans cesse et n'ont pas la permanence des leffs des Masmouda, n'est pas plus que le Rif anarchique favorable à l'établissement d'un pouvoir personnel puissant et stable.

Cependant les analogies restent nombreuses entre la Kabylie et le Haut-Atlas. Riche et courageux, le futur amghar commence, dans le Djurjura, par n'être qu'un chef de famille ou de soff. Lorsque son parti l'emporte, il lui reste à faire accepter sa supériorité effective par les membres du parti opposé. S'il réussit à faire cette conquête dans laquelle son influence et son habileté ont plus d'importance que son esprit guerrier, il devient le chef de l' « 'arch » et l'égal des petits amghars du Sous. Il est bien rare cependant que l'amghar kabyle parvienne, grâce à des guerres heureuses, à des protections habilement données et des dépenses libéralement consenties pour accroître son prestige, au commandement d'une « qebila », d'une véritable tribu. C'est que la division organique de tout le village du Djurjura en deux soffs, dont les alliances s'étendent au loin jusque dans les « 'arch » des tribus voisines, crée au nouveau chef une résistance souvent insurmontable. La présence d'un amghar promu au commandement suprême est ici une faiblesse plutôt qu'une force, parce qu'il reste asservi à l'alliance tyrannique de son soff ; dans aucun village, il ne sera accepté sans réserves, et les « 'arch » confédérées placées sous son autorité risqueront d'être paralysées par des discordes intérieures lorsqu'elles devront livrer combat aux ennemis de l'extérieur. On comprendra sans peine qu'ici encore, le pouvoir maraboutique, soustrait par un heureux privilège à la lutte des soffs, puisse alors grandir et s'affirmer plus aisément que celui des chefs temporels (1).

(1) Comp. A. Bernard, *Les Confins algéro-marocains*, p. 93 et sqq., sur l'apparition des petits chefs berbères au sein des tribus.

Il se peut d'ailleurs que dans le passé, la Kabylie du Djurjura ait eu des institutions plus favorables au développement du pouvoir des chefs temporels.

La constitution de grands commandements, comme celui de la famille des 'Abd es Semed au XIVe siècle, celui des rois de Kouko au XVIe siècle, dans un pays si attaché aux institutions républicaines, au moment de la conquête française, peut s'expliquer peut-être plus aisément si nous acceptons l'hypothèse d'une situation jadis moins anarchique, d'un fractionnement en leffs territoriaux constitués par des fractions ou des petites tribus — qui auraient formé alors un échiquier politique, analogue à celui de l'Atlas des Masmouda (1).

Quoi qu'il en soit, en Kabylie, comme dans le nord du Maroc, deux causes viennent étroitement limiter les entreprises des amghars : l'une, d'ordre intérieur, est l'extension des guerres privées, la lutte acharnée des grandes familles, qui dissocie les tribus et les cantons ; l'autre est l'ambition des marabouts, des chefs religieux qui utilisent la crédulité des Berbères et dont le rôle est par ailleurs d'entretenir une anarchie profitable, grâce à laquelle ils jouent leur rôle d'arbitres naturels.

Il se trouve qu'à notre époque, dans le sud du Maroc, les républiques indépendantes de la montagne ont réussi à éviter au pays le développement de l'anarchie et à maintenir l'institution des leffs. En même temps les principautés maraboutiques, puissantes dans le Sous jusqu'au XVIIe siècle, ont presque entièrement disparu et les influences religieuses ne s'exercent plus que du fond des zaouias perdues à la limite du Sahara ; ce sont là des circonstances favorables au développement du pouvoir des chefs temporels, aussi voyons-nous les amghars les utiliser dans l'Atlas occidental et s'élever peu à peu au commandement de véritables états.

Que la situation du pays vienne favoriser ou réduire promptement à néant leurs ambitions, les chefs temporels apparaissent donc dans toutes les régions de la Berbérie sédentaire dans des conditions identiques. Beaucoup d'ambitieux souhaitent de conquérir le pouvoir dans les milliers de petites républiques des montagnes indépendantes. Un petit nombre seulement réussit à vaincre et à

(1) Masqueray, *Formation des Cités*, p. 117 et sqq.

dominer ; plus rares encore sont ceux qui parviendront à commander à une tribu et qui se placeront enfin d'une manière durable au-dessus de la masse des sujets. La route est longue et dure, par laquelle le chef de famille arrive au rang d'amghar puissant ou de caïd reconnu par le Makhzen, et l'étape la plus difficile est celle des débuts. Les plus habiles sont ceux qui savent l'éviter en faisant appel à la puissance des grands sentiments collectifs : l'amour de l'indépendance, la haine du chrétien, la foi religieuse. Ils parviennent alors d'un seul coup à conquérir la confiance des masses. Parés dès les premiers jours du titre de « Moujahid » — combattant de la guerre sainte — de la renommée de thaumaturge ou du nom prestigieux de Mahdi, ils échappent ainsi à la servitude des soffs et des leffs qui fixe impérieusement les premiers actes des amghars dans leur canton. Ceux-là seuls fondent leur pouvoir, comme jadis Ibn Toumert et 'Abd el Moumen, comme de nos jours 'Abd el Kerim, sans avoir à user leurs forces pour briser tout d'abord les cadres étroits dans lesquels se trouve enserrée la vie sociale des Berbères.

[P. 300]

CHAPITRE II

Le développement du pouvoir personnel ou la conquête de la tribu

I. L'amghar de Tagontaft conquiert l'Asif Nefis (1860-1876). — II. L'amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). — III. Un petit état des sommets (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). — IV. Les amghars des Ind Maghous (1840-1880). — V. Les petits chefs des Aït Waouzgit. — VI. Le chef de tribu s'élève au-dessus des leffs. — VII. Nouveaux aspects du pouvoir de l'amghar : la prison et la kasba. — VIII. La décadence des leffs. — IX. Les chefs de l'Atlas sont-ils les « seigneurs des cols » ? — X. L'amghar ne détient pas de pouvoir magique.

L'amghar du Haut-Atlas a réussi, grâce à la guerre des leffs, à exercer une influence prépondérante sur la politique des cantons alliés ; les amghars et les moqaddems du voisinage viennent prendre ses ordres, acceptent ses conseils et sa renommée s'étend au loin, bien au delà de la limite que peuvent atteindre ses expéditions guerrières. Les poètes commencent de célébrer ses exploits dans les « tinoubga » et font connaître à tous sa force et sa générosité ; s'il lui arrive d'entrer en lutte avec un amghar puissant du leff adverse, il voit arriver à la porte de sa maison des Berbères venus de tribus lointaines qu'il connaît à peine. Au nom des alliances traditionnelles ils viennent lui apporter spontanément leur concours. Cependant, sa puissance n'est vraiment pas fondée. Étroitement attaché encore aux traditions des républiques des hautes vallées par le lien du leff, il doit ménager ses alliés qui l'abandonneraient à la première défaite et surtout à la première « frida ». Aussi longtemps qu'il n'aura pas conquis et fait siennes les terres de ses ennemis, son autorité restera précaire et ses ressources seront réduites au butin journalier de ses expéditions de guerre.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

I. *L'amghar de Tagontaft conquiert l'Asif Nefis* (1860-1876). — Pour bien comprendre les circonstances dans lesquelles l'amghar de fraction peut arriver à consolider et étendre son autorité, il n'est pas de meilleur exemple à méditer que celui de Mohammed n Aït Lhasen de Tagontaft, dont la progression suit avec une régularité parfaite les étapes successives du pouvoir d'un chef berbère.

Nous avons laissé ce petit amghar au moment où il avait, dans son minuscule domaine du Haut-Nefis, pris la tête du leff des «Aït Iraten » pour vaincre les « Aït Atman » de la vallée, à l'instant où il venait d'affirmer son indépendance à l'égard du caïd des Ouzgita d'Agergour sur le Jbel Kik (1). Il va maintenant conquérir la tribu du Nefis, et nous le verrons plus tard, aidé par son fils, parvenir à constituer, sous l'égide du Makhzen, un des grands commandements de l'Atlas.

Par ses origines anciennes, le caïd d'Agergour dont Mohammed n Aït Lhasen rejetait l'autorité appartenait au leff des « Aït Atman » ; l'appel à la révolte, lancé par l'amghar de Tagontaft, devait donc certainement rallier tous les cantons de la grande vallée ennemis du leff du caïd. Pour faire rentrer dans l'obéissance les « Aït Iraten », le caïd Brahim Gergouri prit les dispositions habituelles en pareil cas ; il sollicita et obtint du pacha de la kasba de Marrakech l'autorisation de rassembler une « harka » avec le concours du vieux caïd 'Omar Touzzalti, gouverneur des Gedmiwa.

La colonne constituée par les combattants des Ouzgita, des Gedmiwa et par le leff des « Aït Atman » du cours inférieur du Nefis, s'engagea dans l'étroit passage qui mène au Tizi n Test par un mauvais sentier souvent confondu avec le fond même de la rivière. Après un arrêt à Imegdal, où les forces du Makhzen achevèrent de se rassembler et construisirent un camp dont les traces sont encore visibles, la harka remonta le cours de l'Oued et parvint dans la cuvette de Tinmel, où l'amghar Mohammed s'était déjà établi depuis quelques années. On commença aussitôt le pillage général de la vallée ; les hameaux des « Aït Iraten » furent « mangés », mais ceux des « Aït Atman », dans le désordre général de la harka, ne furent pas non plus épargnés.

Arrivés à Taferghoust, à l'entrée des gorges de l'Ogdemt, les

(1) Cf. plus haut, p. 278.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

caïds s'arrêtèrent un moment. Le Gontafi sut alors habilement traiter en secret avec 'Omar Touzzalti, caïd des Gedmiwa. L'ordre du Makhzen était d'avancer en montagne jusqu'à ce qu'on fût arrivé à détruire la maison du rebelle. L'amghar fit alors le simulacre de s'enfuir sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, chez les Aït Semmeg, et l'on fit aussi semblant de démolir sa demeure. Puis 'Omar Touzzalti commanda à ses contingents de se retirer.

Une grande discussion s'éleva alors entre les alliés. Les « Aït Atman » se plaignaient de ce que l'on eût détruit les villages de leurs frères de leff sans que la harka eût été autorisée à manger les « Aït Iraten » des villages de Tagontaft et de Mouldirt, demeurés intacts au milieu des oliviers. Les deux leffs « Imsifern » et « Indghertit » des Gedmiwa prirent alors parti les uns et les autres pour leurs alliés naturels, « Aït Iraten » et « Aït Atman », et bientôt la mêlée s'en suivit à l'intérieur de la harka du Makhzen. A ce spectacle honteux, le caïd 'Omar Touzzalti, qui était descendu dans une maison du village d'Anebdour et observait les événements, sauta sur sa mule et gravissant le rude chemin du Tizi n Imiri, il rentra au plus vite dans sa kasba d'Amismiz, en abandonnant ses administrés à leurs querelles. Les ennemis du Gontafi se dispersèrent en désordre, sans avoir réussi à diminuer son prestige.

L'amghar Mohammed s'attacha, dès lors, à poursuivre sa politique de conquête avec la plus grande énergie. L'amghar Bou Naser, du village d'Aghren, des « Aït Atman », était en fuite chez les Aït Tadrart du Sirwa ; il fut remplacé par des chikhs à la dévotion du Gontafi ; à Taferghoust, il nomma de même son ami Mohammed n Aït Hasein. Puis, son adversaire irréductible, Mohammed n Aït Ouchefar, de la fraction de Tagemout, toute voisine de Tagontaft, fut chassé dans l'Aghbar et son village occupé par des « Aït Iraten ». Grâce à ces victoires, la paix était assurée pour quelques années à l'intérieur de ce petit état, conquis par les armes, l'argent et les alliances. D'autre part, des présents adressés au pacha de la kasba de Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permettaient d'espérer que le Makhzen accorderait quelques années de tranquillité au chef du Nefis, qui ne cessait de protester de son dévouement au Sultan.

Nous voyons désormais l'amghar, libre d'organiser à son gré son domaine, se renforcer sans perdre de temps et construire des kasbas. Sur le sommet pointu d'une colline de Tagontaft, la tribu élève en

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

« touiza », pour le nouveau chef, la grande forteresse qui barre à présent la vallée et dont l'aspect, à la fois massif et orgueilleux, exprime si bien la volonté et l'énergie du chef qui l'a conçue.

A Tinmel, le frère aîné de l'amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, devient khalifat et s'empare des biens des « Aït Atman » qu'il chasse de leurs maisons, et poursuit jusque sur le territoire des Gedmiwa. La petite plaine de Tinmel, avec ses terres fertiles et ses oliveraies, si précieuses dans un pays de montagne où les cultures sont partout difficiles, fournit d'abondantes récoltes. Pour abriter les provisions, des maîtres maçons du Tifnout viennent construire un grand magasin que l'on voit encore : l'agadir n Waddar. Ils s'inspirent dans leurs plans de la disposition habituelle des « igherm » ou magasins collectifs de leur pays. Enfin, au milieu des champs des « Aït Atman » de Talat n Yaqoub, laissés libres par l'exode des vaincus, à l'entrée de la plaine de Tinmel, commence de sortir de terre une autre kasba, moins guerrière que celle de Tagontaft, qui sera plus tard la résidence favorite de Si Tayeb Gontafi.

Après ce succès, la prudence conseille à l'amghar Mohammed de ne pas rallumer la guerre dans les fractions du Nefis et de ne pas risquer de provoquer ainsi une nouvelle expédition du Makhzen. Il va donc chercher à s'étendre de préférence vers le sud, chez les Aït Semmeg, dont il tient les cols, et dans l'Onein. Cependant, ici, une difficulté sérieuse se présente. Les « Aït Iraten » qui forment dans le Nefis, le leff du Gontafi, sont les alliés traditionnels des « Ida ou Zeddagh » du versant sud de l'Atlas (1). Or, ce leff obéit surtout aux amghars de la famille Bazzi du Talekjont, qui sont, depuis quelques années déjà, au service des caïds Mtougga de Bouaboud. En outre, les Bazzi n'ont qu'une autorité fort limitée et sont incapables de diriger la politique des républiques de la montagne. Peut-être serait-il plus habile d'obtenir le concours du leff adverse des « Aït Zolit ». Sans doute, au cours de la guerre de l'oued Nefis, ces derniers sont déjà venus soutenir contre Tagontaft, l'amghar Achefar de Tagemout ; mais l'amghar Mohammed, enrichi par ses conquêtes, peut aisément trouver partout des alliés. On le sait aussi libéral et généreux qu'ardent au combat. Bientôt l'amghar Hajj Mbarek de l'Onein apporte tout son concours à l'amghar de

(1) Cf. plus haut, p 185.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Tagontaft, en échange d'une honnête rétribution. En même temps, le Gontafi soutient l'amghar Hijjo, une femme courageuse qui, chez les Aït Oumzal, a pris le commandement pour protéger ses fils en bas âge. Il acquiert aussi l'appui des amghars de Taberbourt des Aït Semmeg et de ceux de Talemt, ennemis des Bazzi de Talekjont.

Le leff des « Aït Zolit », ainsi entré avec ses chefs au service de l'amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen par le renversement des alliances anciennes, devint dès lors l'ennemi des « Aït Atman » de la montagne. Lorsque l'amghar Achefar de Tagemout, chassé de son pays par le maître de Tagontaft, vint se réfugier sur le territoire des « Aït Zolit », l'amghar Mbarek de l'Onein le trahit et le dépouilla. Le proscrit s'enfuit alors chez les Aït Oumzal, dans la fraction de l'amghar Hijjo, mais il y fut empoisonné. Jusqu'à nos jours, toutes les fractions ainsi ralliées devaient rester fidèles au Gontafi.

Un dernier événement allait grandir encore la puissance du chef du Nefis et faire de lui le maître incontesté de la montagne, jusqu'au jour où le Makhzen consentirait à reconnaître officiellement sa force en lui donnant le titre de caïd.

La mort de Brahim el Grawi, pacha de la kasba à Marrakech, survenue au même moment que celle du Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, noyé dans le bassin de l'Agdal (1874), venait de faire cesser la trêve qui avait permis à l'amghar Mohammed de conquérir l'asif Nefis par la force ou la politique. Ahmed ou Malek, nouveau pacha de la kasba, avait refusé d'ignorer plus longtemps la qualité de rebelle du Gontafi, parce qu'il trouvait, dit-on, insuffisants les présents qui lui étaient adressés. 'Ali Ben Lhasen d'Agergour, caïd des Ouzgita, trouva le moment favorable pour obtenir une nouvelle expédition contre son chikh révolté. Il faisait habilement répandre dans le pays le bruit que l'amghar Mohammed voulait se rendre indépendant, comme l'avaient été les Almohades dans les mêmes lieux, et ce souvenir suffisait encore à faire trembler Marrakech. Cette fois, des contingents considérables furent réunis ; un caïd des « gich », 'Abdallah Tamachot, qui représentait le Makhzen, remonta le Nefis, accompagné des Ouzgita et des tribus de la plaine et du Dir de Marrakech : les Oulad Dlim, les Ida Ou Blal, les Gheghaia, les Souktana. En même temps, par l'Ogdemt, arriva le caïd Cherradi d'Amismiz, avec les forces des Gedmiwa.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Par les cols de l'Onein, enfin, descendirent vers Tinmel les Aït Waouzgit et les Glawa, sous l'autorité de Mohammed Ibibat, chef de Telwet et père de Si el Madani Glawi.

Avant l'arrivée de cette formidable harka, l'amghar Mohammed avait incendié de sa main ses approvisionnements de Talat n Yaqoub et s'était réfugié dans l'agadir imprenable qu'il avait fait construire par la tribu à Tagontaft. Les contingents alliés se rassemblaient en désordre dans la cuvette de Tinmel, lorsque l'on vit, des terrasses de la kasba de l'amghar Mohammed, s'avancer par le Tizi n Tgontaft, la harka du Glawi qui s'arrêta à petite distance de la forteresse. Que se passa-t-il alors exactement? Les richesses du Gontafi, déjà célèbres, surent-elles jouer leur rôle habituel ? Si Mohammed Ibibat, homme ambitieux et prudent, comprit-il qu'il risquait, plus tard, d'être victime du même sort dans ses montagnes et qu'il vallait mieux sans doute se ménager un allié ? On dit aussi que l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft invoqua auprès du chef de Telwet la fraternité des Aït Waouzgit, auxquels se rattachent par des alliances anciennes la tribu de l'Asif Nefis, ainsi que celle des Glawa. Quoi qu'il en soit, après un simulacre de combat, à Aman n Iniris, les cavaliers de Mohammed Ibibat prirent la fuite et déterminèrent la panique dans toute l'armée du Makhzen, campée dans la plaine de Tinmel. En même temps, soixante-quinze hommes, enfermés dans la maison de Tayeb n Ouchefar à Tagemout, furent cernés et contraints par la soif à se rendre à la discrétion des « Aït Iraten ». Tous les chefs des Ouzgita du Kik, et les « Aït Atman » de l'oued Nefis qui s'y trouvaient, furent égorgés comme des moutons, cependant que, par une attention habile, les soldats du Makhzen capturés furent au contraire renvoyés après avoir reçu des vêtements neufs.

La déroute de la grande harka établit définitivement dans le sud la réputation des Aït Lhasen de Tagontaft. On ne savait trop comment s'expliquer, si ce n'est par l'effet de la baraka magique de l'amghar Mohammed et de sa famille, comment « deux d'entre eux pouvaient arriver à mettre en fuite mille hommes de la plaine ». En même temps, cette lutte contre les forces du Sultan avait fait de l'amghar Mohammed une sorte de champion de l'indépendance berbère. Il avait obtenu, sans le solliciter, le concours des montagnards des deux leffs des sommets du Tichka et du versant sud de la montagne ; de l'Anti-Atlas même, des volontaires étaient

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

arrivés en grand nombre qui purent rapporter dans leurs tribus la nouvelle du merveilleux succès remporté à Tagontaft, presque sans combat. Enfin, les fuyards poursuivis dans toute la vallée du Nefis jusqu'à la plaine de Marrakech, manifestèrent assez bien sur le versant nord de l'Atlas, par leur terreur, de la force redoutable du nouveau chef.

Restait à faire reconnaître ce triomphe par le nouveau sultan Moulay el Hasan. C'était une nouvelle victoire à remporter, plus difficile encore que la précédente. L'habileté diplomatique de Si Tayeb, troisième fils de l'amghar Mohammed, assura le succès. Le jeune homme, envoyé par son père comme émissaire à Marrakech, fut d'abord chargé de chaînes par Ahmed ou Malek, caïd de la kasba, furieux d'avoir été vaincu. Grâce à l'intervention du caïd 'Abderrahman des Mesfiwa et à la protection du marabout Abou 'Ali el Hasan de Timigilcht des Nasiria du Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, envoyé à Fez, réussit à se concilier les bonnes grâces du souverain ; il obtint pour lui le titre de caïd, et peu après, son père, l'amghar Mohammed, reçut aussi l'investiture du Makhzen (1).

La naissance et le développement du pouvoir du chef de Tagontaft nous offre l'exemple le plus complet que nous puissions trouver d'un chef grandi à la faveur de la lutte des deux leffs et qui réussit à conquérir un fief dont il devient le maître absolu. Nous ne trouverons pas, dans l'histoire du Haut-Atlas au XIXe siècle, d'autres amghars qui aient remporté de tels succès par le seul jeu de la politique des leffs. Deux autres chefs, nés dans le pays des Seksawa, dont nous allons étudier le rôle politique, n'ont pas atteint le même degré de puissance que le Gontafi et sont restés jusqu'à nos jours à l'écart du Makhzen. Mais nous les verrons cependant s'élever comme lui, par des voies un peu différentes, au-dessus des institutions du petit canton berbère qui limitent leurs premiers efforts et s'affranchir peu à peu de la servitude des leffs (2).

II. *L'amghar Mokhtar Seksawi* (1880-1925). — Nous avons déjà dit comment le père de Mokhtar Seksawi, le moqaddem d'Awines,

(1) Cf. Notre étude sur « Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft » (*Mémorial, H. Basset*, t. II, p. 169) et *Istiqsa*, trad. Fumey, *Archives marocaines*, t. X, p. 302.

(2) Nous empruntons cette étude des petits chefs des Seksawa aux travaux de F. de la Chapelle, en reproduisant parfois les termes mêmes qu'il emploie (*Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi*, 1926; *Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain*, Af. française, oct. 1927 ; renseignements coloniaux ; *La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental*, Hespéris, 1928, p. 263-285).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Hammo ou Bella, du canton des Aït Lhasen du leff « Imsifern », avait, sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, tenté imprudemment de prendre le pouvoir sans avoir auparavant fait disparaître ses ennemis. Alors qu'il était engagé dans la conquête des cantons ennemis, il fut trahi par les siens et périt victime de la haine des soffs dans son propre village. C'est à ce moment qu'un notable du canton des Aït Mousa, voisin des Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, fils d'un ancien caïd du Makhzen, prit le titre d'amghar et vint au secours du fils du moqaddem d'Awines. Le jeune Mokhtar, déjà remarquable par la précocité de son esprit politique, parvint très vite avec cet appui à chasser ses ennemis. Son succès fut tel que son bienfaiteur, le Chtittihi et un autre amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, chikh des Aït 'Abdallah, ne tardèrent pas à s'en alarmer. L'amghar des Aït Mousa caressait, en effet, d'ambitieux projets ; il venait de réussir à se faire nommer caïd et étendait alors son influence sur les fractions des Seksawa de la haute montagne ; il importait à son succès que le jeune chef des Aït Lhasen restât docilement sous sa protection.

Si Mokhtar eut alors, nous l'avons dit, le bonheur de parvenir à assassiner ses adversaires irréductibles au cours d'un grand repas de réconciliation, qu'il avait offert à toute la fraction dans sa demeure reconstruite. Après cette victoire, il entreprit aussitôt la conquête de la tribu.

Nous allons le voir désormais poursuivre son œuvre avec son inlassable ténacité.

Il réduit tout d'abord la petite « taqbilt » voisine des Sekrat, du leff des « Indghertit », opposé au sien ; puis comme les Aït 'Abdallah, du même leff, ont reçu un nouveau chef, le caïd Baddoh, dont la mission est de faire disparaître Si Mokhtar, à l'instigation du caïd de Bouaboud, l'amghar prévient les dessins de cet émissaire et le fait assassiner. Il apparaît, dès lors, comme un chef de leff et rallie autour de lui tous les « Imsifern ».

Menacé par le Chtittihi de plus en plus inquiet, Si Mokhtar ne craint pas d'entrer en lutte contre son bienfaiteur d'autrefois. Il conquiert deux villages de sa « taqbilt » et construit même une maison dans l'un d'eux. Mais ses adversaires emploient contre lui des moyens dont il n'hésite pas à se servir lui-même. Un jour, il échappe par bonheur à la mort, dans l'explosion d'une énorme charge de poudre déposée sous la chambre supérieure de la maison

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

où il se trouve avec les siens. Cet attentat est l'œuvre d'un notable du pays, allié secrètement au Chtittihi et soudoyé par le Mtouggi.

Si Mokhtar se constitue dès lors une garde sûre, fournie par des familles alliées à la sienne ; pour éviter les embuscades, il se déplace sans cesse, sans jamais dire où il se rend. Dans sa kasba de Bou Taradin, il inspecte à toute heure les sentinelles. Il change sans cesse ses habitudes de vie et ses femmes elles-mêmes ne savent pas à l'avance dans laquelle de ses maisons il viendra se coucher. Il n'habite plus qu'au premier étage, et la chambre inférieure est comblée de pierre et de terre, et fermée d'un cadenas (1).

Au milieu de cette vie fiévreuse, dominée par la crainte de la trahison, l'amghar ne garde pas moins une ambition inassouvie. Grâce aux discordes incessantes dans le leff des « Indghertit » de l'asif des Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervient de plus en plus comme arbitre en s'appuyant sur les « Imsifern » qui lui sont fidèles. Les circonstances troublées dans lesquelles se trouve la montagne favorisent ses projets. La situation politique devient à ce moment très compliquée dans l'Atlas, par la lutte du caïd Mtouggi contre Si Tayeb Gontafi, qui a conquis les vallées de l'Ogdemt, de l'Aghbar et de l'Asif el Mal (1904). Au cours de la rivalité des deux grands caïds, qui cherchent à se concilier des appuis en haute montagne chez les fractions indépendantes, les leffs sont parfois brisés. Mais le plus souvent, le chef de Tagontaft s'appuie sur les « Indghertit », tandis que le Mtouggi cherche de préférence le concours des « Imsifern ». Ainsi le Chtittihi devient-il l'allié du Gontafi, Si Mokhtar celui du Mtouggi.

En 1907, lorsque le parti du Gontafi succombe devant la coalition des Mtougga et des Glawa, la lutte devient plus ardente. Chacun des deux amghars cherche à faire assassiner son rival. Le Chtittihi envoie un de ses amis, Mohammed ou Hammo, chez Si Mokhtar en lui donnant la mission de le tuer par trahison ; mais l'amghar des Aït Lhasen parvient à séduire l'émissaire et, dans la nuit, lorsque le Chtittihi s'approche pour entendre la nouvelle du meurtre de son ennemi, c'est lui-même qui tombe sous le poignard de Mohammed ou Hammo. Pour ce coup de maître, l'assassin est comblé de bienfaits et il recevra plus tard en mariage la petite-fille de Si Mokhtar. Le drame vient à peine de s'accomplir

(1) F. de La Chapelle, *Hespéris*, 1928, 3e-4e tr.

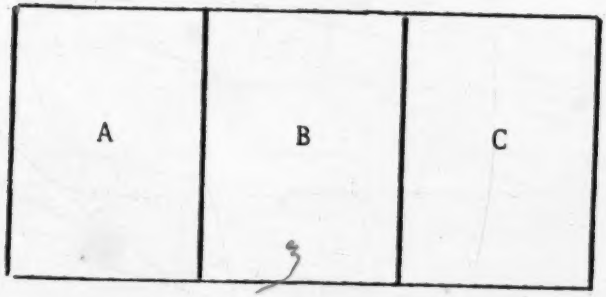
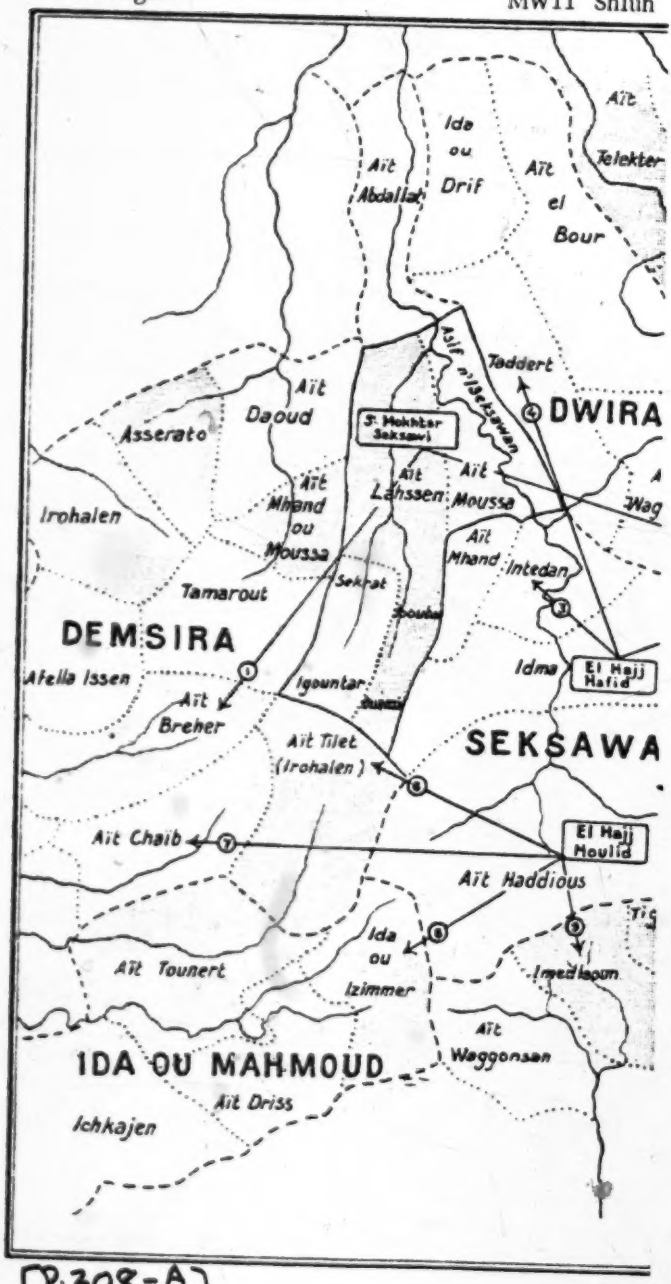
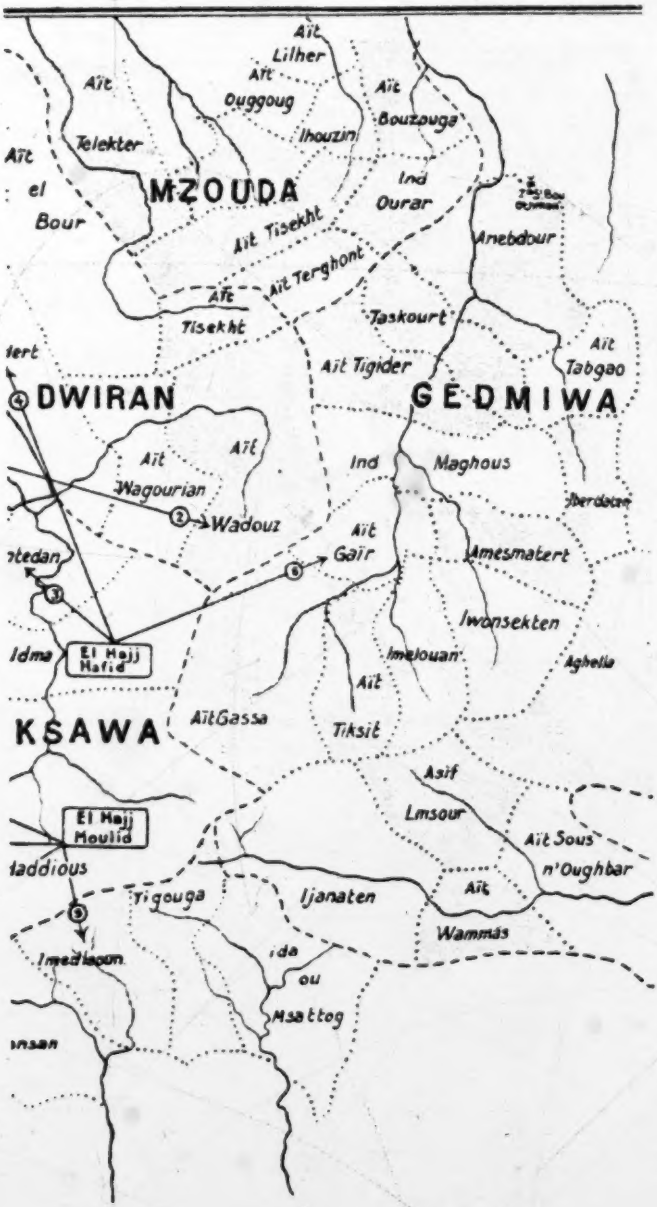


Chart of positions of map inserted between pp. 308-309.
[facing p. 308-A]


Ida ou Drif
Ait Abdallah
Ait el Bour
Ait Telekter
Ait Daoud
Asserato
Ait Mhand ou Moussa
Irohalen
Tamarout
DEMSIRA
Afella Issen
Ait Breher
Sekrat
Igountar
Ait Tilet (Irohalen)
Ait Chaib
Ait Tounert
Ida ou Izimmer
IDA OU MAHMOUD
Ait Driss
Ichkajen
Ait Lahssen
Ait Moussa
Ait Mhand
Intedan
Idma
Taddert
DWIRA
El Hajj Hafid
SEKSAWA
El Hajj Moulid
Ait Haddious
Imedlaoun
Ait Waggonsan

[P.308-A]


Aït Lilher
Aït Ouggoug
Aït Bouzouga
Aït Telekter
Ihouzin
Aït el Bour
MZOUDA
Ind Ourar
Aït Tisekht
Aït Terghont
Anebdour
Aït Tisekht
Taskourt
Aït Tigider
Aït Tabgao
DWIRAN
GEDMIWA
Aït Wagourian
Aït
Ind
Maghous
Wadouz
Aït Gaïr
Amesmatert
Iwonsekten
El Hajj Hafid
Imelouan
Aghella
Aït Tiksit
AïtGassa
KSAWA
Asif Lmsour
El Hajj Moulid
Aït Sous n'Oughbar
Aït Wammas
Tigouga
Ijanaten
Imedlaoun
ou Msattog

[P.308-B]

LA REGION DES
SEKSAWA
Sᵢ Mokhtar Seksawi
Limite de commandement:
zone d'influence : Fleches 1 et 2.
El Hajj Hafid & El Hajj Moulid
zone d'influence { Fleches 3.4.5.
Fleches 6.7.8.9.
Les territoires de cantons "en blanc" sont ceux du leff des "Indghertit"; ceux qui sont teintés appartiennent au leff des "Imsifern"
Echelle 1/300.000
Anebdour
Ait
Tabgao
DMIWA
ghous
berdaten
Amesmatert
Iwansekten
Aghelia
Ait Sous
n'Oughbar
Ait
mmás
Tagontaft

[P·308-C]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

que les Aït Mousa sont assaillis ; leur territoire est conquis ; les villages du Chtittihi sont rasés, et au milieu des champs de son adversaire, l'amghar vainqueur élève une maison de commandement qui rend définitive sa victoire.

L'ambition de Si Mokhtar n'est pas encore satisfaite. En 1908, lorsque l'amghar des Aït 'Abdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, trahit un instant la cause du Mtouggi, Si Mokhtar envahit son territoire et l'annexe à ses possessions. Mais, à ce moment, les succès de Si Mokhtar, l'habileté de sa politique, le crédit qu'il a conquis sur les montagnards des Seksawa le rendent suspect au caïd de Bouaboud. C'est alors que l'amghar se sépare des grands chefs dont il n'a plus rien à attendre. Il va reprendre sa pleine liberté, renouer des alliances dans le leff des « Imsifern », qu'il a dû parfois négliger dans les années précédentes. Sur la fin de sa vie, Si Mokhtar réussit à la fois à fomenter chez les Aït Wadouz, de son leff, la révolte contre Bouaboud, et à protéger les « Imsifern » dissidents des Demsira. Quelques mois avant sa mort, il s'empare enfin de la fraction voisine des Igountar, qu'il annexe à son commandement, en les détachant du leff des « Indghertit ».

Par l'organisation de son commandement, Si Mokhtar Seksawi resté indépendant jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, dans sa kasba de Bou Taradin, a pris l'allure d'un véritable caïd auquel il n'a manqué que la reconnaissance officielle du Makhzen. Ses oumana perçoivent pour lui la « zekkat » et l' « 'achour ». Dans les « taqbilt » de son leff, il désigne les moqaddems et les Aït arba'in. Dans les pays conquis appartenant au leff adverse, son autorité s'exerce souvent d'une manière plus absolue par l'intermédiaire des chikhs qu'il impose. Comme à Tagontaft encore, les gardes et les hommes de confiance sont choisis autour du hameau natal de l'amghar, parmi les familles des compagnons de la première heure. De même qu'à Tinmel conquis par l'amghar de Tagontaft, les « Aït Atman » ont tous été expulsés du pays, de même ici, dans le canton des Aït Mousa vaincus, tous les anciens villages sont ruinés et les habitants dispersés dans la plaine de Marrakech. Leurs terres restées en friche sont peu à peu cultivées au profit de l'amghar; la prise de possession définitive du pays des Aït Mousa est marquée par la construction d'une résidence à Tabia, tandis que Tigemmi Igiz, le village du Chtittihi. est complètement désert.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

III. *Un petit Etat des sommets* (*El Hajj Moulid* 1890-1925). — Dans cette même région des Seksawa, où subsistent jusqu'à nos jours plusieurs amghars indépendants, nous allons trouver un autre exemple de développement du pouvoir personnel qui s'oppose dans une certaine mesure à celui des chefs de Tagontaft et de Bou Taradin.

Lorsqu'on quitte le pays de Mokhtar Seksawi, en remontant vers le Tichka la vallée des Seksawa, on trouve tout d'abord la demeure de l'amghar El Hajj Hafid, ce chef du leff des « Indghertit », dont nous avons étudié l'origine et la fortune (1). Ce n'est là, à la vérité, qu'un chef de guerre inféodé à ses alliances et qui ne peut être comparé à son puissant voisin des Aït Lhasen, maître d'un petit état composé de cantons des deux partis, conquis par la force, la ruse et la trahison. Mais plus près des sommets encore, apparaît un autre amghar, El Hajj Moulid, des Aït Haddiyous, qui a réussi à établir sur les « taqbilt » indépendantes de la haute montagne une sorte d'hégémonie pacifique, et dont l'autorité, solidement établie dans les cantons des deux leffs, peut cependant être comparée à celle des amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen de Tagontaft et Mokhtar Seksawi.

Au milieu du XIXe siècle, les Aït Haddiyous formaient un groupe de trois petits cantons administrés par des moqaddems ; ils n'avaient gardé des traditions glorieuses des amghars du XIIIe siècle, leurs ancêtres, qu'une grande combativité et une ardeur particulière à intervenir dans la lutte des leffs. Pendant la première moitié du siècle, ils avaient formé la clientèle naturelle d'un amghar indépendant de l'Asif el Mal, établi à Adassil des Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid 'Ali, qu'ils soutenaient dans sa guerre contre le caïd du Makhzen à Amismiz au nom de la fraternité des « Indghertit ». Plus tard, ils avaient aidé son neveu et successeur Si Haddouch, à réduire deux « taqbilt » des hautes vallées, les Amesmatert et les Iwonsekten, qui avaient cherché à se libérer de sa domination. Puis, peu à peu, les Seksawa des hautes vallées s'étaient tenus à l'écart des guerres extérieures et avaient réservé leurs forces pour les combats qui se livraient à l'intérieur de leur propre tribu.

Au moment où, sous la pression des grands chefs du voisinage,

(1) Cf. Livre III, chap. I, p. 278.

2: Montagne MW11' Shluh

le régime des amghars commençait d'apparaître dans un grand nombre de « taqbilt » restées attachées jusqu'alors au régime oligarchique, un moqaddem de Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, d'origine modeste, parvint à s'imposer aux diverses familles de son canton. Cette petite révolution eut un caractère original, qui explique la suite du développement du pouvoir des Aït el Bazz ; dans cette fraction, qui passait pour une des plus valeureuses du leff des « Indghertit », ce furent des « Imsifern » du voisinage, venus surtout des Ida Ou Izimmer, qui prirent parti pour El Hajj Moulid et qui lui permirent de tuer les chefs de familles qui s'opposaient au développement de son autorité.

Cependant, tandis que les caïds de Tagontaft et de Bouabond continuaient leurs intrigues, et étendaient peu à peu sur la montagne une sorte de protectorat, par l'intermédiaire de petits chefs, tels que Si Mokhtar Seksawi des Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi des Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid des Idma, les dernières fractions indépendantes des sommets inaccessibles, groupées autour du Tichka, sentaient au contraire confusément le désir de rassembler leurs forces pour un effort suprême afin de garder ce qui pouvait encore être sauvé de leurs traditions et de leur liberté.

Les grandes réunions d'été, où se rassemblent sur les pâturages les plus élevés les innombrables troupeaux des cantons de la montagne, permettaient à El Hajj Moulid de nouer avec tous les moqaddems des « taqbilt » voisines d'utiles relations politiques. Pendant la belle saison, les villages des vallées sont déserts, tandis que s'établissent sur les plus hauts sommets, dans des enclos de pierre, tous les habitants de la région. Chaque « taqbilt » a ses limites, mais les troupeaux se mêlent et les familles ennemies elles-mêmes concluent des trêves pendant cette période heureuse de la vie pastorale. A chaque été renaît ainsi une petite république pacifique sur le Tichka et des conventions approuvées par les moqaddems ou les amghars, font régner l'ordre et répriment sévèrement les vols ou les discordes.

El Hajj Moulid qui, par l'origine de son pouvoir et par ses relations de famille, pouvait aisément intervenir dans les affaires des deux leffs, sut utiliser habilement les circonstances favorables que lui offrait la vie de la haute montagne et l'isolement dans lequel demeuraient les dernières tribus indépendantes. Son fils, Si Ahmed qui lui succéda vers 1900, continua la même politique

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

et étendit peu à peu son pouvoir, tantôt par la force, tantôt par la persuasion, sur les Ida Ou Izimmer, les Irohalen de Tilet et les Aït Tounert. Devenu de nos jours le maître d'un des plus gros villages de la haute montagne, possesseur d'innombrables troupeaux, l'amghar des Aït Haddiyous est célèbre par sa générosité. Au moment de la grande fête, « ses serviteurs rassemblent une partie des moutons ; il s'assied devant sa porte et offre un animal en cadeau à tous ceux qui viennent lui présenter leurs vœux » (1). Aux yeux des Seksawa, dans la pauvreté générale du pays, cette libéralité unie à son autorité suffit à en faire, malgré l'aspect modeste de sa demeure, un véritable chef de tribu.

Ici sans doute, la politique a joué un rôle beaucoup plus important que la guerre. Aussi l'organisation du pouvoir de l'amghar est-elle restée plus proche des anciennes coutumes. Ahmed Ou Moulid respecte les droits de ses sujets et se contente de ses propres terres et de ses troupeaux ; quelques corvées de labour, des gardes pour ses moutons et parfois une « touiza » pour la construction d'une maison, voilà tout ce que demande le dernier chef de la montagne indépendante, pour exercer sa protection sur les « taqbilt » des hautes vallées.

Nous avons dit qu'Ahmed Ou Moulid avait fait le rêve d'unir les « taqbilt » qui constituaient autrefois les Genfisa pour former une confédération dont il aurait dirigé la politique. Si ce projet s'était réalisé, c'eut été la consécration des patients efforts de la famille des Aït el Bazz pour unir les petits états dispersés autour des hauts sommets et constituer, au nom de l'intérêt commun, une vraie tribu faite de cantons des deux leffs.

IV. *Les amghars des Ind Maghous* (1840-1880). — Un dernier exemple, plus ancien, choisi dans le pays des Gedmiwa de la montagne nous montrera comment l'autorité des amghars sur les « taqbilt » des deux leffs s'exerce plus facilement lorsqu'elle fait appel aux sentiments d'indépendance à l'égard du Makhzen, tandis qu'elle tend à disparaître au contraire dès que le petit chef reçoit la consécration du Sultan.

Au point de rencontre du faisceau de torrents qui descendent de l'Igdad pour former l'Asif el Mal, la petite plaine des Ind

(1) Notes inédites de F. de La Chapelle.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Maghous, avec ses riches cultures d'oliviers, ses quelques terres de labours et ses jardins irrigués, constitue un petit centre naturel dont la possession facilite le contrôle de la politique locale. Un amghar établi en ce point surveille toutes les communications de la haute montagne avec la plaine et il peut, s'il lui plaît, jouer le rôle profitable de « concierge des vallées » (1). La tradition rapporte que le Makhzen a autrefois possédé dans ce pays de puissantes kasbas ; peut-être faut-il chercher dans ces légendes le souvenir des forteresses des Ibn Sad Allah, les grands chefs des Gedmiwa au XIIIe siècle. On affirme du moins que le sultan Moulay Hicham est né au milieu du XVIIIe siècle dans la kasba d'Adassil.

Quoi qu'il en soit du passé lointain, l'anarchie du règne de Moulay Sliman avait rendu à la liberté les montagnards de l'Asif el Mal et, sous le règne de Moulay 'Abderrahman, un amghar puissant, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominait les petits chikhs du voisinage. Il appartenait à la famille des Aït Qaïd 'Ali qui avait, dit-on, tantôt au service du Makhzen, tantôt dans l'indépendance, commandé la montagne et la vallée depuis plusieurs générations. L'autorité de l'amghar ne lui venait que de sa propre force. Appuyé sur la forte « taqbilt » des Ind Maghous, il commandait en outre les cantons voisins qu'il avait soumis ; c'étaient les Aït Tabgao, les Iberdaten, l'Erdouz, l'Anougal, Annerni.

Par sa kasba construite à Tagadirt, en un point qui barre la vallée des Aït Gaïr, il tenait la montagne de l'Igdad. Enfin, son leff puissant, celui des « Indghertit », lui valait en toutes circonstances le concours des guerriers des Seksawa.

Entré en 1843 en lutte contre le caïd 'Omar Touzzalti, établi à Amismiz, l'amghar Mohammed mit tout d'abord en déroute le chef makhzen dans la vallée de l'Asif el Mal, comme devait le faire plus tard, dans le Nefis, l'amghar de Tagontaft, aux prises avec son caïd du Jbel Kik. Mais à la longue, l'amghar des Ind Maghous fut moins heureux. Fait prisonnier par une ruse de son ennemi, au cours de négociations de paix qui suivirent cet échec du caïd d'Amismiz, le petit chef indépendant fut envoyé dans les prisons du Makhzen à Tanger. 'Omar Touzzalti, débarrassé du rebelle, rassembla alors une forte harka avec les contingents de la plaine des Mejjat et des Ouled Ben Seba', puis parvint à Adasil et

(1) Brixes, *Voyages au Maroc.*

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

repoussa les Aït Gaïr et tout le leff des « Indghertit » de la montagne dans les vallées supérieures.

La captivité de l'amghar Mohammed est restée légendaire. Selon la tradition, un homme du pays, déguisé en porteur d'eau, fut chargé de faire parvenir en cachette des secours au prisonnier. Quelques mois après, à la faveur du bombardement de Tanger par l'escadre française, pendant l'été de l'année 1844, Mohammed s'enfuit dans le désordre général. A la porte de la ville, il trouva un cheval qui lui avait été providentiellement envoyé, car ce chef était un saint, un « wali », dans la vie duquel apparaissait souvent la main de Dieu. Revenu à Marrakech, reconnu et poursuivi, bien qu'il se fût, pour dérouter les soupçons, caché sous un chapeau de lépreux, l'amghar se réfugia chez le caïd El Moizz des Mejjat. Malgré les recherches, il réussit à s'enfuir encore et, déguisé en femme, il parvint au sanctuaire des Seksawa, à Lalla 'Aziza, où il fit vœu de se laisser pousser une mèche de cheveux, un « chantouf », qu'il s'engagea à ne pas couper avant d'avoir détruit la maison du caïd d'Amismiz.

L'amghar, servi par les circonstances, puisqu''Omar Touzzalti était parti avec l'armée du Sultan pour combattre les Français et soutenir l'Emir 'Abd el Qader en Algérie, rassembla les montagnards des deux leffs, qui se placèrent sous son autorité pour la circonstance, dans cette guerre contre le Makhzen, fondit sur Amismiz et pilla de fond en comble la kasba du caïd. Après toutes ces luttes, les deux chefs se réconcilièrent et déclarèrent qu'on était quitte. Si 'Omar épousa même la sœur de l'amghar Mohammed. Revenu à Adasil, où il reconstruisit sa forteresse, l'amghar des Ind Maghous reprit le gouvernement de la montagne, intervenant dans les luttes des Aït Gassa et des Aït Tiksit du leff des « Imsifern » ; en même temps, il obligeait son leff, parfois indocile, à suivre sa politique, en fermant aux indépendants les marchés et les voies d'accès. Lorsque le vieux chef mourut, son neveu Si Haddouch recueillit sa succession. Aussitôt les « Imsifern » de la fraction des Amesmatert cherchèrent à reprendre leur indépendance avec l'appui des Iwonsekten (1).

Haddouch sollicita alors du Makhzen le titre de caïd. Il obtint seulement, avec beaucoup de peine, le commandement de sa

(1) Cf. Livre II, chap. III, p. 190.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

« taqbilt » des Ind Maghous. Le caïd des Mzouda, consulté par Moulay el Hasan sur l'intérêt que présentait l'attribution du titre de caïd à l'amghar des Ind Maghous, donna la réponse suivante : « C'est un homme sûr ; son cœur est bon, mais sa maison est trop près de la montagne ; elle ne convient pas à un caïd du Makhzen ».

Si Hammo, frère de Si Haddouch, prit à son tour le commandement en 1879, mais le ralliement définitif de cette famille au Makhzen avait valu à l'amghar des Ind Maghous la perte complète de son autorité dans son leff de montagne. Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma et Intedan, tous « Indghertit » cependant, s'unirent pour le chasser. Les Aït Haddiyous encore fidèles au souvenir de l'amghar Mohammed, vinrent le rétablir ; mais bientôt, faisant alliance pour la circonstance avec les « Imsifern » du voisinage, ennemis des amghars d'Adasil, ils pillèrent et détruisirent la kasba de Tagadirt, qui fermait la vallée. C'était la fin du pouvoir des Ind Maghous. Aussi longtemps qu'ils avaient représenté aux yeux des montagnards l'indépendance berbère, ils avaient reçu l'appui le plus complet de leurs frères de leff des hautes vallées et avaient de la sorte réussi à dominer le leff adverse. Définitivement entrés au service du Sultan, ils devaient, au contraire, perdre tout appui chez les « Indghertit » demeurés libres et voir bientôt les « Imsifern » soumis se révolter contre eux.

V. *Les petits chefs des Aït Waouzgit.* — L'étude de la politique des chefs des Aït Waouzgit du Sirwa n'est pas aussi simple que celle du Haut-Atlas, car les leffs de cette région sont moins stables et plus brisés ; et peut-être leurs lignes de rupture s'expliquent-elles par les querelles des amghars établis autour du Sirwa depuis plusieurs siècles (1). Sans entrer ici dans l'étude détaillée de ces petits commandements, dont les origines sont d'ailleurs encore mal connues, il nous suffira, en indiquant leur importance, de montrer que la situation de ces chefs à l'égard des tribus est identique à celle de leurs émules de l'Atlas proprement dit.

Sous le règne de Sidi Mohammed et de Moulay el Hasan apparaissent à Tazenakht de petits chefs à demi indépendants qui sont

(1) Cf. plus haut, livre II, chap. III, p. 195.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les vrais maîtres de la Feija (1). Nous savons fort peu de choses sur la constitution de leur commandement. Il est certain seulement que le Zanifi, amghar de Tazenakht, dominait les cantons des deux leffs. En 1864, il fut d'ailleurs jeté en prison par le Sultan qui avait dirigé contre lui une expédition à laquelle participèrent la plupart des tribus masmoudiennes et leurs caïds ; c'est alors que le caïd des Glawa reçut par intervalles la mission d'aller percevoir l'impôt à la tête de la harka du Makhzen, partageant cette charge avec les caïds de Demnat.

Lorsque de Foucauld traversa le pays en 1883, il put retrouver intact et dans toute sa force le petit état de Tazenakht ; l'énumération qu'il donne des cantons qui le constituaient alors nous montre que les leffs des « Inemzel » et des « Aït Iraten », ceux des « Aït Atman » et Aït « Tintlet », des « Isouktan » et des « Igezzoulen » s'y trouvaient également représentés. L'amghar 'Abd el Wahad qui exerçait le commandement de concert avec son frère, Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, passait alors, avec le caïd Gontafi et le chérif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem du Tazerwalt, comme un des hommes les plus riches de tout le Sud. Il pouvait lever mille deux cents fusils et tenir tête au chef de Telwet (2).

Après la mort de Moulay el Hasan lorsque les Glawa entreprirent la conquête des Aït Waouzgit, ils retrouvèrent comme ennemi le Zanifi; battu dans les premiers combats ce chef perdit bientôt tout prestige et, de nos jours, la puissance des amghars de ce pays n'est plus qu'un souvenir. Mais à ce moment même, un autre chef, l'amghar 'Ali de Tamdakht, devait à son tour, avec l'appui des Aït Waouzgit des deux leffs « Inemzel » et « Aït Iraten » construire une puissante kasba et arrêter pendant quelques années la marche vers le Sud des caïds de Telwet.

La force de ces petits chefs, capables d'unir sous un même gouvernement les partis ennemis, nous semble avoir résidé surtout dans leur prestige d'amghars hostiles au Makhzen, de la même manière que les chefs des Ind Maghous et des Aït Haddiyous chez les Gedmiwa et les Seksawa.

Il existe aussi chez les Aït Tadrat du Sirwa, une autre famille

(1) Sous ce nom de Feija, il faut entendre, dans la bouche des fonctionnaires du Makhzen, toute la steppe qui s'étend entre le versant sud de l'Atlas et le désert, au delà du Warzazat. Mais, dans le pays, le terme de Feija désigne seulement la plaine voisine des Zenaga.

(2) De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, p. 106.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

aussi ancienne, dit-on, que celle du Zanifi. Depuis cinq générations au moins, les Ihebban, établis à Aoullous, ont exercé le commandement des Aït Tadrart avant la conquête des Glawa, en s'appuyant sur le leff des « Igezzoulen ». Mais les cantons adverses du leff des « Isouktan » acceptaient aussi leur domination. L'autorité de cette famille, autrefois ennemie de celle de Tazenakht, a complètement disparu depuis que les maîtres de Telwet ont réduit en servitude toute la confédération des Aït Waouzgit ; mais nous savons du moins que les derniers de ces amghars exerçaient leur commandement à la manière de leurs voisins de Tazenakht ; deux frères s'unissaient pour traiter les affaires qui intéressaient les deux leffs ; chaque parti pouvait donc trouver un avocat dévoué à ses intérêts dans la famille même des amghars, et la décision prise ensuite en commun par les deux frères, permettait ainsi, dans les meilleures conditions possibles, de concilier les intérêts opposés.

L'habitude fréquente dans le Sous et dans l'Atlas de partager ainsi le commandement entre deux frères ou deux cousins nous paraît s'expliquer le plus souvent par le désir des chefs de tenir une juste balance entre les leffs ou les soffs ennemis à l'intérieur de leurs tribus. Une telle pratique n'est possible que chez des chefs parvenus à dominer et à concilier les rivalités intérieures (1).

VI. *Le chef de tribu s'élève au-dessus des leffs.* — Tous ces exemples choisis dans le Haut-Atlas occidental et le pays du Sirwa nous permettent de bien comprendre comment l'amghar, chef d'un canton, fait la conquête d'une tribu.

Aussi longtemps que le chef berbère reste le champion d'un leff, sa puissance est fondée sur l'existence des forces sociales indépendantes de sa volonté et qu'il ne dirige qu'imparfaitement. Les ressources qu'il peut tirer de la guerre sont en outre limitées, car il doit faire à ses alliés leur part du butin. Par suite, lorsqu'il n'a pas dépassé ce degré inférieur d'autorité, il demeure souvent contraint d'entrer au service du grand caïd voisin ou des khalifats du Sultan ; ainsi ont fait El Hajj Hafid des Idma ou les chefs de la famille des Aït Bacha de Taberbourt, dans la tribu des Aït Sem-

(1) Peut-être aussi faut-il voir là une influence arabe explicable chez des tribus voisines du Sahara. Le gouvernement d'une tribu confié à deux frères, et par suite, plus tard, à deux branches de la même famille à la fois est dans la tradition du désert. Cf. G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 704.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

meg, passés au service du Gontafi ; ou bien les amghars de Talemt et Talekjont, ralliés au pacha de Taroudant, au Mtouggi et au Gontafi (1).

Pour que l'amghar parvienne à s'affranchir et à user pleinement de sa liberté, il faut au contraire qu'il réussisse à dominer à la fois les deux leffs de la montagne, soit qu'il incorpore de vive force à son commandement les cantons ennemis, soit que son attitude indépendante à l'égard du Makhzen dans les parties du pays demeurées maîtresses de leur sort fasse de lui le défenseur de la liberté. Souvent, d'ailleurs, il n'atteint qu'imparfaitement ce but, quelle que soit l'énergie ou l'habileté déployées. Parfois l'amghar reste lié, malgré ses efforts, à ses premières alliances; sa domination s'exerce bien, grâce à sa force, sur les fractions du leff adverse, mais elle manque de solidité et disparaît dès qu'il s'affaiblit ; il ne lui reste plus bientôt que son propre leff, diminué par les échecs ou les fautes politiques ; telle fut la situation de l'amghar Mohammed n Aït Qaid 'Ali, à Adasil des Ind Maghous, et de ses successeurs nommés caïds par le Sultan. Mais d'autres chefs, comme El Hajj Moulid des Aït Haddiyous, évoluent aisément au milieu des divisions politiques dont ils deviennent les arbitres. Cependant leurs ressources restent encore insuffisantes pour leur permettre de se soustraire à toutes les règles traditionnelles. Les plus forts, comme Si Mokhtar Seksawi et l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft, sont ceux qui s'emparent des fractions du leff ennemi, après avoir tué les amghars hostiles et confisqué leurs biens ; ils mettent en fuite les habitants et construisent leurs maisons dans ces terres de conquête qui deviennent ce que nous avons parfois appelé leurs « fiefs ». Par ces moyens, ils acquièrent la possession de revenus indépendants dont ils disposent librement. Les voici enfin devenus de véritables chefs de tribu, maîtres de petits états aux limites précises ; leur territoire est, de plus, entouré d'une zone d'influences, étendue surtout, grâce aux amitiés anciennes, dans leur leff d'origine.

C'est seulement alors que l'amghar a vraiment fondé son pouvoir personnel ; il s'élève désormais au-dessus des institutions anciennes, domine la tribu, et connaît, s'il lui plaît, les agréments de la fortune.

VII. *Nouveaux aspects du pouvoir de l'amghar : la prison et la*

(1) Cf. Livre III, chap. I, p. 279.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

kasba. — Deux innovations marquent à cet instant la victoire remportée sur les traditions berbères : la construction d'une kasba et l'aménagement d'une prison. Jusque là, la maison de l'amghar, chef du canton, était établie dans le village ; bien qu'elle fût ornée de borjs et blanchie à la chaux, elle rappelait encore, par sa place et sa disposition, le logis plus humble du chef de clan d'autrefois. A présent, c'est une forteresse spécialement édifiée sur une colline isolée, comme Tagontaft, Adasil des Ind Maghous, ou Aoullous des Ihebban dans le Sirwa. Souvent même, elle est construite au milieu des terres conquises sur un ennemi de soff ou de leff. Sans doute faut-il voir dans le choix d'un lieu écarté du village le désir d'occuper un point important, d'où l'on commande la vallée, et qui se prête aisément, en même temps, à la défense contre un ennemi venu de l'extérieur ; mais, en même temps, apparaît ainsi la volonté de séparer le chef de ses sujets.

Quant à la prison, elle est plus encore que la forteresse l'indice de changements importants dans la vie du pays ; sa présence nous indique que le chef est désormais au-dessus des lois de la tribu à laquelle il n'a plus à rendre compte de ses actes : on entre dans sa geôle quand il lui plaît ; on en sort quand Dieu le veut.

Ainsi solidement établi dans une forteresse aux tours crénelées, pourvue d'une prison redoutée, l'amghar peut connaître le repos. Mais souvent aussi l'ambition qui l'a poussé à conquérir ce rang élevé devient une passion insatiable. Si le pays est soustrait à la surveillance du Makhzen ou si d'autres circonstances favorisent la politique des chefs ennemis des assemblées, de nouvelles entreprises deviennent possibles. La tribu d'origine de l'amghar a sa part de ces nouveaux profits et le petit état ne cesse de grandir. Parvenu à ce degré d'importance, il ne lui manque plus que la reconnaissance de son pouvoir par le Sultan. L'amghar de Tagontaft et Si Mokhtar Seksawi ont, en vingt ans, franchi toutes ces étapes et sont devenus, sans avoir l'investiture du Makhzen, de véritables caïds.

VIII. *La décadence des leffs.* — Soit que l'amghar parvienne à conquérir un leff au moyen de l'autre, soit qu'il réussisse, grâce à une habile politique à se les concilier tous deux, ce sont les forces que lui apportent les alliances traditionnelles qui fondent sa puissance. Que deviennent-elles après son succès ?

Pendant la période de conquête, la politique des chefs berbères

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

est presque entièrement dominée par les alliances traditionnelles des « taqbilt ». Mais lorsque les kasbas sont construites sur les terres de l'ennemi, les amghars, affranchis dans une certaine mesure des règles courantes, renversent à leur gré, nous l'avons vu, les alliances à l'extérieur. Ils ne voient plus, dans les leffs des tribus à soumettre, que des lignes de fractures dans un bloc à dissocier. Peu à peu, grâce à leurs efforts, la conception ancienne même des alliances de cantons s'efface dans l'esprit des montagnards et disparaît devant la réalité nouvelle qu'est le parti d'un grand chef.

La décadence des leffs se poursuit alors rapidement et l'on en distingue aisément les phases successives ; c'est d'abord l' « amqon n mokabelt », le leff de combat, constitué en dehors des règles anciennes par des fractions associées au gré des circonstances, comme nous l'avons observé dans le Tifnout (1) ; ensuite l'alliance des petits amghars avec un chef plus puissant, chacun d'eux amenant dans la lutte les guerriers de son commandement, sans distinction d'origine ; enfin, le parti du grand chef se forme définitivement, souvent au prix de renversements complets d'alliances, ainsi que nous l'avons vu dans le commandement du Gontafi. Le souvenir de l'état d'équilibre des « taqbilt » opposées, des deux leffs régulièrement alternées dans les vallées, s'efface de plus en plus. Désormais, lorsque les maîtres des kasbas entrent en guerre, ils entraînent derrière eux des masses compactes de tribus auxquelles on donne parfois encore le nom de leff, mais dont l'alliance n'a plus aucun des caractères de l'institution berbère d'autrefois. Celle-ci a fait la fortune de l'amghar ; mais elle ne survit guère à son succès.

IX. *Les chefs de l'Atlas sont-ils les « seigneurs des cols » ?* — Au cours de cette étude, nous avons donné toute notre attention à la recherche des conditions politiques dans lesquelles naît et grandit le pouvoir des amghars. Il s'est trouvé que les étapes de leur développement nous ont apparu étroitement liées au mécanisme des alliances et des rivalités de soffs et de leffs, comme si des causes sociales agissaient seules au milieu des tribus pour faire sortir des assemblées berbères des chefs capables de constituer de petits commandements indépendants. Nous avons, au contraire, presque entièrement négligé de faire la part du déterminisme géogra-

(1) Livre III, chap. I, p. 285.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

phique pour expliquer l'évolution qui s'est produite dans les institutions du Haut-Atlas au cours du dernier siècle.

On peut se demander cependant si la disposition même des grandes vallées et des massifs montagneux n'a pas joué un rôle important, déterminant même, dans la transformation du pays. La présence des trois grands chefs de l'Atlas, au voisinage des trois grandes routes qui traversent la montagne, le Tizi n Telwet, le Tizi n Test et le Tizi Ma'cho, ne suggèrent-elles pas que les ancêtres de ces grands caïds ont pu être jadis les maîtres des cols et qu'ils ont tiré d'une situation privilégiée de précieux avantages?

Par ailleurs, si la région des hauts sommets demeure le refuge naturel des républiques berbères, les petits bassins, les cuvettes fertiles où s'élargissent un instant les vallées n'offrent-ils pas, en effet, des cadres tout préparés à la domination des chefs, tandis que les grandes routes de communications tracent à l'avance la direction vers laquelle les entraîneront leurs ambitions ?

Quel que soit l'intérêt de ces considérations tirées de la disposition géographique du pays, il serait imprudent, l'histoire des tribus nous le montre, de leur donner trop d'importance pour expliquer l'apparition des petits chefs qui font la conquête d'un état.

Certes, la possession de ces petits centres naturels, favorisés à la fois par la richesse de la terre et l'aisance des communications, tels que Tinmel sur le Nefis, Adasil dans le haut Asif el Mal, facilite grandement l'exercice du pouvoir et donne au maître du pays d'utiles ressources ; mais l'inverse est aussi vrai ; la rude existence des Berbères sur un sol infertile excite les guerriers à la conquête. Sans doute, la « mine d'argent » cachée, par laquelle les étrangers pensaient expliquer les succès remportés par l'amghar Mohammed Tagontaft, n'était autre chose, nous l'avons vu, que la fertilité — toute relative d'ailleurs — des terres de l'Asif Nefis ; encore fallait-il que le petit chef en chassât les habitants avant d'accroître par les bonnes récoltes d'Arghen et de Tinmel, les maigres revenus des collines de Tagontaft.

Quant aux avantages donnés par la maîtrise des passages de l'Atlas, on peut les invoquer sans doute pour faire comprendre comment s'est développée la fortune des caïds des Glawa, mais ils ne sauraient expliquer le succès initial des chefs du Nefis. Jamais ces derniers n'ont perçu la « zettata » sur les voyageurs ; à peine ont-ils tardivement construit des « nzala » pour les abriter. Il

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

est plus difficile encore de faire appel à cette explication pour les caïds des Mtougga, dont la puissance s'est appuyée sur une tribu située à l'écart de la route des cols.

Il est vrai que la possession d'une grande voie de communication, la construction d'une kasba à la sortie d'une vallée, chemin obligé des montagnards qui descendent vers la plaine, donnent au chef une supériorité dont il sait se servir; mais nous l'avons vu, les amghars naissent et grandissent aussi fréquemment en des lieux qui semblaient à première vue peu favorables à l'accroissement de leurs forces, et c'est alors que l'influence passive du sol s'efface devant la réalité active de l'énergie des hommes et de la force de leurs institutions. Ici, comme ailleurs, on s'aperçoit que la disposition des routes, la fertilité des vallées et des plateaux, ou la situation inaccessible des hautes plaines créent de simples possibilités dont les hommes tirent parti à l'occasion, et qui demeurent parfois aussi inutilisées pendant de longs siècles.

Mais les hommes énergiques, capables de dominer leurs frères, naissent en tout pays dans les montagnes les plus rudes comme dans les cuvettes fertiles des grandes vallées. C'est par l'usage qu'ils savent faire des forces sociales, l'habileté avec laquelle ils font appel aux soffs, aux leffs, à la solidarité des tribus, qu'ils arrivent tout d'abord à conquérir le pouvoir. Par la suite, ils prennent possession des lieux les plus favorables pour exercer cette autorité que leur courage et leur intelligence leur ont permis d'acquérir.

X. *L'amghar ne détient pas de pouvoir magique.* — On trouvera difficilement, dans la vie agitée des amghars du Haut-Atlas, des événements qui puissent nous permettre d'invoquer à l'origine de leur pouvoir quelque prestige magique ou religieux. Alors qu'il nous a semblé possible d'établir un lien — fragile, il est vrai — entre les conseils d'inflas, sénats des petits états berbères, et les porte-bonheur, « inflas el kheir », qui rendent favorables, par leur seule présence, les actes importants de la vie des tribus, l'amghar ne nous paraît aucunement revêtu d'une « baraka » bienfaisante et ne possède pas de vertus secrètes. Comme le moqaddem auquel il s'est substitué, il n'est qu'un chef temporel et tient son autorité de « la force de son bras ». Tout le porte à exercer une autorité despotique, acceptée seulement parce qu'il est fort. Sans doute, lorsque son pouvoir a grandi par l'habileté, la ruse, la guerre ou le

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

crime, la tradition l'auréole volontiers de légendes, ou explique même ses succès par des prodiges. Mais l'imagination des Berbères, leur goût du « sacré », leur amour du merveilleux, demeurent incapables de les entraîner au delà. On ne trouve, à notre époque du moins, aucun indice qui permette de comparer les chefs sortis des tribus, grâce à la guerre des soffs et des leffs, aux rois-prêtres de l'Orient, ni même aux rois-sorciers de l'Afrique noire.

En a-t-il toujours été ainsi ? L'amghar, lorsqu'il devient de nos jours maître absolu d'une tribu indépendante, est bien près de mériter le nom d' « agellid ». En d'autres temps, dans les mêmes régions, des chefs n'ont pas craint de revendiquer ce titre lorsque la puissance du Makhzen était sur le déclin ou qu'ils se sentaient assez forts (1). Or, les contes populaires, l'histoire même semblent parfois laisser croire que ces rois berbères ont pu jadis avoir d'autre titre que leur force au respect de leurs sujets : magiciens autant que guerriers, ils auraient été alors les successeurs légitimes des rois agraïres, comme les inflas de tribu peuvent l'être des porte-bonheur (2).

Mais, de nos jours, le fil de cette tradition s'est trouvé deux fois rompu et l'ère de la royauté magique est doublement close; tout d'abord le Sultan a pris pour lui-même, en pays berbère, le nom d'agellid et les autres chefs, caïds, chikhs, amghars, apparaissent aux tribus comme les agents effectifs ou éventuels du souverain, acharnés à faire disparaître les traditions anciennes et occupés surtout à percevoir l'impôt et la « frida » ; le temps heureux des légendes s'est enfui ; le gouvernement des hommes est devenu chose sérieuse et positive et les montagnards savent bien que l'âge de fer est venu pour eux.

D'autre part, chorfa et marabouts ont détourné à leur profit le courant des forces populaires qui porte volontiers au rang suprême les personnages capables d'entrer en relations avec l'univers caché. L'Islam a capté ce qu'il pouvait utiliser des vieilles croyances ; de nos jours, ce sont les tolba, les savants, les saints, les descendants du prophète, et non les amghars, qui connaissent les secrets redoutables et possèdent une mystérieuse puissance. Les véritables successeurs des rois-magiciens — s'ils ont jamais existé

(1) Cf. livre I, chap. III, p. 67, 76.

(2) Laoust, *Manuel de berbère marocain*. Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, légende du Sous : « On dit qu'il y avait un roi (juif) qui était magicien ». Les rois des Ghomara et des Berghouata ont été magiciens et faux prophètes. Sur les rois agraïres : Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, p. 315.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

en pays berbère — seraient plutôt dans le Sud-Marocain les fils de Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa, qui ont longtemps exercé le commandement des tribus des Igezzoulen, dont Saugnier décrivait en ces termes l'étonnant pouvoir à la fin du XVIIIe siècle :

« Cet homme sans troupes à ses ordres, dit-il du chérif du Tazerwalt, est cependant le plus puissant de toute l'Afrique ; son autorité est sans bornes. S'il ordonne la guerre contre l'Empereur de Maroc, il est obéi ; la guerre cesse quand il le veut. Sans possessions particulières, il a tout en son pouvoir. Chaque famille lui fait tous les ans un présent ; elles s'efforcent à l'envie de le rendre considérable. Il rend justice à tout le monde ; il soumet les accusations à son conseil et, quelques jours après, prononce définitivement : il n'exige rien de personne et tout le monde lui donne » (1).

Au XIXe siècle, jusqu'à la fin du règne de Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham et son fils ont gardé cette tradition. Héritiers du pouvoir royal fondé par Sidi 'Ali, ils ont conservé dans leur forteresse d'Illigh d'étranges coutumes. Telle est cette chasse célébrée chaque samedi par le chérif qui doit tuer, pour plaire à Dieu, le plus grand nombre possible d'animaux sauvages ; le grand mouggar du Tazerwalt célébré deux fois par an est, d'autre part, le théâtre de luttes sacrées au cours desquelles meurent parfois des guerriers que Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa emporte en paradis.

Grâce à l'immense prestige de leur famille, ces marabouts ont pu ainsi exercer un véritable pouvoir souverain et les plus énergiques d'entre eux, concentrant à la fois sans effort l'autorité religieuse et temporelle, faisaient à leur gré « couper les têtes et les mains » (2). Arbitres naturels des soffs, ils détenaient ainsi une royauté soustraite à la fragilité si manifeste des tyrannies berbères.

De nos jours, cependant, la décadence de ces descendants des rois berbères du XVIIe siècle est définitive. C'est qu'eux-mêmes ont mérité d'être atteints par l'indifférence populaire en se ralliant au Makhzen. Comme beaucoup d'amghars indépendants de l'Atlas, ils ont perdu tout crédit depuis que l'un d'eux, Sidi Hosein, s'est fait dans le Sous le conseiller du sultan Moulay el Hasan. De nos jours, les successeurs des rois autochtones du Sous sollicitent humblement du Makhzen la confirmation de leurs privilèges per-

(1) *Relation des voyages de Saugnier*, p. 119, 120.
(2) *Relation de Sidi Brahim de Massat*, trad. R. Basset, p. 14.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

sonnels et parviennent difficilement à conserver au tombeau de leur ancêtre le culte qui a fait jadis la gloire du Tazerwalt.

Si la confiance des tribus fait aisément défaut aux amghars revêtus de la « baraka » la plus vénérée du Sud du Maroc, on comprend combien elle peut abandonner plus rapidement encore les chefs temporels, maîtres de petits états conquis par la violence. Parvenu au degré de développement que nous venons d'étudier l'amghar s'écarte en effet de plus en plus du milieu traditionnel dont il est sorti ; il se sent attiré vers le Makhzen qui cherche volontiers à utiliser sa puissance à ses fins, beaucoup plus qu'il n'est tenté de rester aux yeux du peuple, le défenseur de l'indépendance de la montagne.

C'est par une alliance avec le Sultan que nous allons voir le chef de l'Atlas continuer sa carrière ambitieuse et entraîner sa tribu à des conquêtes lointaines et profitables dont la conséquence est la ruine du pays.

[P.326]

CHAPITRE III

Les grands caïds berbères de la montagne

I. Le premier caïd de Tagontaft (1876-1883). — II. Les débuts des caïds de Telwet (1858-1894). — III. Les caïds des Mtougga avant l'anarchie marocaine (1850-1894). — IV. Les grands chefs de l'Atlas à la conquête des tribus (1894-1902). — V. Les grands caïds pendant l'anarchie de l'Empire (1902-1913). — VI. La soumission à la France. — VII. L'organisation intérieure d'un grand commandement. Les kasbas. — VIII. Les compagnons du grand chef. — IX. Les ressources financières. Le caïd maître des terres. — X. La transformation des mœurs. — XI. La politique de conquête des grands caïds. — XII. La conquête d'une tribu (les Aït Waouzgit). — XIII. La pénétration progressive (les Demsira). — XIV. Les zones d'influence (les Seksawa). — XV. Conséquences des conquêtes pour l'institution des leffs. — XVI. Existe-t-il une féodalité berbère? — XVII. Fragilité du pouvoir des grands chefs.

Au cours des dernières années du XIXe siècle, on a pu voir s'élever en même temps, dans les diverses parties du Haut-Atlas où nous avons jusqu'ici cherché les exemples les plus nombreux de l'apparition et du développement des « amghars », de grands chefs qui ont, au nom du Sultan, conquis de vastes territoires. Leur pouvoir marque la dernière forme de transition entre la vieille organisation tribale et le Makhzen.

Il nous est possible de suivre, pendant cinquante années environ, les efforts que poursuivent ces caïds berbères de la montagne pour accroître leur puissance dans le Sud du Maroc, asservir leurs sujets et se mêler à la vie de l'Empire. Cette étude nous permet d'ailleurs d'observer la similitude des règles qui commandent l'organisation de leurs commandements et de leurs conquêtes. A l'égard du Makhzen, ils conservent dans leurs attitudes et leur politique un parallélisme étonnant, de telle sorte qu'on pourra à bon droit parler, dès l'entrée des Français à Marrakech, du « régime des grands chefs ».

Avant d'examiner la forme prise par la domination que les nou-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

veaux maîtres de la montagne exercent sur les tribus, et qui marque la ruine des républiques berbères et le bouleversement de l'organisation sociale traditionnelle, il nous faut d'abord retracer les étapes successives de la carrière des grands chefs. Quatre périodes distinctes peuvent être considérées : jusqu'à la fin du règne de Moulay el Hasan, ils se contentent d'accroître leurs forces dans leurs tribus sans manifester leurs ambitieux projets et se distinguent à peine des autres petits caïds du voisinage. Pendant la première partie du règne de Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, de 1894 à 1902, nous les voyons se jeter séparément à la conquête des meilleures régions du pays, qui se trouvent au voisinage de leurs kasbas ; puis, lorsque l'anarchie éclate dans tout l'Empire, depuis la guerre de Bou Hamara, jusqu'au moment où l'ordre est rétabli à Marrakech par la victoire du colonel Mangin, en 1912, ils multiplient les expéditions lointaines, luttent jalousement entre eux pour garder leurs conquêtes, obtenir le commandement des tribus depuis longtemps soumises au Makhzen et rivalisent pour faire triompher leurs candidats au pouvoir suprême de l'Empire. Enfin, après avoir accepté de servir le Protectorat, ils achèvent de consolider leur établissement; ils ne songent plus guère qu'à obtenir de leurs sujets les ressources nécessaires à la vie qu'ils mènent avec leurs parents et leurs compagnons, dans leurs grandes forteresses de l'Atlas ou leurs riches maisons de Marrakech.

Il nous suffira ici d'esquisser, au cours de chacune de ces périodes, séparées les unes des autres par des événements dynastiques, la politique suivie dans leurs domaines par les trois chefs de la montagne.

I. *Le premier caïd de Tagontaft* (1876-1888). — Nous avons longuement étudié les premières étapes de la formation et du développement du pouvoir de l'amghar de Tagontaft, à l'origine simple chikh de canton, puis chef d'un leff belliqueux, enfin maître de la tribu de l'oued Nefis, qu'il parvient à conquérir par ses propres forces.

La carrière indépendante du chef de Tagontaft est, dès lors, arrivée à son terme ; sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, le temps n'est plus où un amghar courageux et favorisé par la fortune des armes peut, dans la haute montagne, se rendre indépendant du Makhzen et reprendre la tradition des petits chefs du moyen âge, en se parant du titre berbère d' « agellid ».

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Aussi voyons-nous, en 1876, l'amghar Mohammed, heureux, mais inquiet de sa victoire sur les contingents des tribus guidés par les caïds du voisinage, solliciter humblement la reconnaissance de son pouvoir par le souverain. Nommé caïd à son tour, devenu par là même semblable aux petits chefs dont les forteresses s'élèvent au pied du Dir, et qu'il a jusqu'à présent combattus, l'amghar entre avec ses tribus dans la tradition commune ; bientôt son fils Tayeb Gontafi, deviendra le rival de deux autres caïds dont les origines sont moins étroitement liées au jeu de la politique berbère et qui n'ont grandi qu'avec l'appui du Sultan : le Mtouggi et le Glawi..

Il subsistait cependant, au moment où Moulay el Hasan reconnut le nouveau caïd, une entrave à sa liberté, qui le laissait, à l'égard des autres chefs de tribus, en état d'infériorité marquée : la libre communication avec l' « Azaghar » de Marrakech lui demeurait fermée. En effet, ses conquêtes s'étendaient vers le Nord jusqu'à Tinisk, qui possédait un amghar de son leff. Mais au delà le passage se trouvait coupé par les montagnards de l'Asif n Tinkert, « Aït Atman » convaincus, qui gardaient pour les « Aït Iraten », leurs ennemis héréditaires de leff, une haine que les événements récents du Nefis avaient encore avivée. Plus loin encore, vers la plaine, le village de Tagadirt n Bour, placé à un étranglement de la vallée, formait une forteresse naturelle qui assurait à son chef le contrôle des communications. L'amghar de Tagadirt n Bour, secrètement favorable au Gontafi, redoutait cependant de lui ouvrir ses portes, par crainte de ses sujets du leff des « Aït Atman ». Pour éviter une nouvelle guerre dans le Nefis, qui aurait sans doute attiré dangereusement l'attention du Sultan, l'amghar Mohammed rassembla à Talat n Yaqoub, où se trouvait a nouvelle résidence, une petite harka, la dirigea en secret sur Amismiz par le Tizi n Imiri, et chemina de nuit sur le Dir des Gedmiwa. Ayant ainsi tourné la position, il vint par surprise s'emparer de Tagadirt n Bour par le Nord. Des alliances de familles scellèrent l'union du chikh de Tagadirt n Bour et du caïd, et l'on construisit une solide kasba pour fermer la vallée. Cette forteresse marqua pour un temps l'extrême limite vers le Nord du territoire des chefs de Tagontaft. Ce fut la dernière expédition du caïd Mohammed, qui mourut peu après et fut remplacé par son fils Si Tayeb (1883).

Le jeune caïd, déjà préparé à exercer le pouvoir par le rôle qu'il

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

avait joué depuis plusieurs années, prit le commandement avec résolution. Il resserra les alliances en montagne, équipa la petite troupe de mercenaires que lui avait laissée son père et attendit pour agir la mort du Sultan.

II. *Les débuts des caïds de Telwet* (1858-1894). — A quelques années de là, vers 1886, Si el Madani Glawi, recueillait, lui aussi, à Telwet, l'héritage de son père, l'amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Bien que l'histoire des premières années de la conquête du pouvoir des chefs des Glawa nous soit moins bien connue que celle des amghars du Nefis, beaucoup d'événements survenus entre 1855 et 1880 restant encore cachés par ces caïds comme s'ils étaient dangereux à divulguer, ce que nous savons des origines des chefs de Telwet nous suffit pour comprendre comment ils réussirent à dominer les tribus.

Dès les premières années, l'autorité des amghars des Glawa se trouve associée étroitement à la pénétration du Makhzen, de telle sorte que les premières étapes de leur accession au pouvoir ne peuvent être exactement comparées à celles des amghars du Nefis.

Sous le règne de Moulay'Abd er Rahman, l'amghar Ahmed el Mezwari avait exercé les fonctions de chikh à Telwet dans les mêmes conditions que Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, le fqih de Tagontaft sur le Nefis. Sa famille était peut-être apparentée à celle des Imzwarn, qui avait donné des chefs puissants à la région du Dra au XVIe siècle; mais le souvenir de ces grands seigneurs, qui envoyaient jadis à Fez des ambassades au temps de Léon l'Africain et se disputaient l'alliance des Portugais d'Agadir, était complètement perdu (1). Le chikh de Telwet n'était alors qu'un marabout, vivant des « ziara » et exploitant modestement une mine de sel. Chassé de son canton à la suite d'une querelle de soffs, il se réfugia dans la vallée voisine d'Ouneila. Dans cet exil, il lui naquit un fils, Mohammed, qui eut une jeunesse difficile et fit comme son père le commerce du sel. Mais parvenu à l'âge d'homme, Mohammed reprit, avec l'aide de quelques familles de l'Ouneila, l'autorité qu'avait eue jadis son père. Il réussit à vaincre un rival

(1) Sur les Mezwar du Dra, cf. plus haut, p. 88.
Les chefs de Telwet se regardent comme les descendants d'Abou Mohammed Salah, saint patron de Safi, personnage d'origine berbère de la tribu des Doukkala, fraction des Beni Mager, mort vers 1233 (Cf. Michaux-Bellaire, *Les Confrèries religieuses au Maroc*, p. 44-45 et G.-S. Colin, *Maqsad*, Archives marocaines, t. XXVI, p. 92).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

dans sa tribu, l'amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed de Taghennoust, et étendit son influence sur trois « khoms » des Glawa, appartenant à son leff des « Inemzel », qu'on appelle aussi, sur le versant nord de l'Atlas, le leff des « Aït Fademt ». La faveur du Makhzen de Marrakech valut bientôt à l'amghar Mohammed le commandement de toute la tribu (1858), placée auparavant sous le contrôle d'un caïd arabe de la plaine, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani ; plus tard, en 1864, lorsque le caïd Azerwal Er Rehamani, un autre chef arabe, chargé de percevoir les impôts au sud de l'Atlas au nom du Sultan, fut tombé en disgrâce, l'amghar Mohammed qu'on surnommait Ibibat, « le petit moineau » recueillit un instant sa succession. C'est lui, nous l'avons dit, qui prit la tête des contingents des Aït Waouzgit et des Glawa lors de la grande harka de Tagontaft en 1875, et nous avons vu qu'il favorisa le succès de son émule du Nefis au lieu d'attaquer ses villages. Bien qu'il dominât par instant les tribus du versant sud de l'Atlas, son autorité fut cependant toujours limitée par celle des caïds de Demnat, qui exerçaient leur influence sur le pays des Imeghran et le Dadès ; un fils d'Azerwal er Rahamani obtint d'ailleurs aussi par intervalles le commandement de la Feija, de telle sorte qu'au temps du passage de Foucauld, en 1883, le caïd des Glawa ne se distinguait pas des autres petits chefs du voisinage et son nom cessait d'être respecté dès qu'on arrivait au voisinage des kasbas du Haut-Dra (1).

Quelle que soit pendant cette période la puissance personnelle de l'amghar Ibibat dans la tribu des Glawa, son prestige à l'extérieur tient donc surtout à la faveur du Sultan, qui se partage entre lui et ses rivaux de la plaine de Marrakech. D'autre part, la guerre des leffs ne semble pas jouer dans cette partie de l'Atlas un rôle comparable à celui de la rivalité des « Aït Atman » et des « Aït Iraten » autour de Tagontaft et de Tinmel. Il se trouve, en effet, que sur le versant sud de l'Atlas, la lutte des deux leffs « Inemzel » et « Aït Iraten » est compliquée par la rivalité des petits chefs parmi lesquels les plus actifs sont ceux des Aït Zineb et des Aït Tammâst, de la famille des Aït ben Haddo de Tamedakht, de ceux du Warzazat, les Aït ben 'Ali, et surtout les amghars héréditaires des Mesgita de Tamenougalt et de Tazenakht des Aït 'Amer.

(1) De Foucauld, *Reconnaissances*, p. 18.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

La politique de tribu du chef de Telwet se trouve alors dominée par son alliance avec les notables de l'Ouneila, du leff des « Aït Iraten » opposé à celui de son pays d'origine. Ce sont eux qui l'aident à se maintenir chez les Glawa et, en dépit de quelques discordes passagères, lui donnent leur concours pour dominer les tribus voisines ; jusqu'à nos jours, nous les verrons fournir au grand caïd des khalifats, des chefs de harkas et des mokhaznis, avec lesquels sont exploités les pays soumis, et le soin avec lequel ils construisent leurs maisons confortables dans leur pauvre vallée montre assez que le gouvernement des domaines des Glawa ménage à ces intermédiaires quelques profits.

Dans des circonstances difficiles à l'origine, avec un pouvoir mal affermi encore, une autorité variable, selon que l'appui du Makhzen est acquis ou se retire, l'amghar Mohammed Ibibat réussit du moins deux entreprises durables : il construit à Telwet une solide kasba et attache sa famille, par une alliance durable, aux petits chefs du Warzazat, amis de l'Ouneila. La kasba de Taourirt, dans le district du Warzazat, bien placée pour commander à la fois le passage du Haut-Dra et du Dadès, servira de base à l'action militaire menée plus tard contre l'amghar Mohammed Zanifi de Tazenakht, dont la puissance et la richesse sont célèbres dans le Sud dès la fin du règne de Moulay el Hasan (1).

Lorsque Si el Madani prend la succession de son père, vers 1886, la conquête de la Feija n'est pas encore commencée ; le jeune chef tente plutôt de lutter contre les tribus du Nord et d'atteindre les bonnes terres au pied de l'Atlas. Mais un échec chez les Zemran et, sans doute, aussi la crainte de mettre en éveil le Makhzen l'arrêtent dans ses projets ; il se contente de construire la kasba de Tazert, qui protègera son commandement vers le Nord, de la même manière que Tagadirt n Bour, dans le Nefis, est devenue pour le Gontafi une forteresse d'arrêt contre les Ouzgita du Jbel Kik. Cependant Si Hammadi, frère d'el Madani, s'établit à Taourirt du Warzazat et parvient à éliminer du pouvoir la famille des amghars des Aït ben 'Ali. Grâce à la possession de cette position importante, c'est désormais vers le sud que se tournera l'attention du caïd des Glawa.

Une occasion favorable ne tarde pas en effet à se présenter.

(1) De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, p. 106-107.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Parti en expédition au Tafilelt, en 1893, Moulay el Hasan revient harassé avec une nombreuse harka par la vallée du Dadès et le Dir des Imeghran, après avoir suivi la grande voie des oasis du Ferkla et du Todgha. Si el Madani a l'habileté de faire préparer avec soin les dernières étapes de l'armée chérifienne et d'accueillir le vieux souverain avec une si parfaite prévenance que son hospitalité est remarquée et appréciée. Pendant son bref séjour à Telwet, Moulay el Hasan confie au caïd des Glawa la mission de percevoir l'impôt sur la Feija et vers le Todgha, charge que son père avait reçue jadis pendant quelques années, et lui laisse surtout un précieux témoignage de sa confiance, un canon Krupp, quelques obus et des fusils modernes. A peine l'armée du Makhzen est-elle partie que ces nouveautés sont essayées avec succès contre les cantons du leff ennemi dans la vallée voisine de l'Imini. L'avenir se présente donc sous les apparences les plus favorables et il suffit qu'une « siba » vienne à éclater dans le Sud du Maroc pour que le jeune caïd de Telwet se lance victorieusement à la conquête des tribus.

III. *Les caïds des Mtougga avant l'anarchie marocaine* (1850-1894). — Le règne de Moulay el Hasan avait été moins favorable aux chefs rapaces des Mtougga, dans leur kasba de Bouaboud, et le développement de leur puissance s'était souvent trouvé arrêté par la résistance que leur offraient les caïds du voisinage.

Au milieu du XIXe siècle, nous l'avons vu, toute leur histoire avait tenu dans leur rivalité avec El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, le caïd de la grande confédération des Haha, fixé à l'Azaghar des Aït Zelten. A de rares intervalles, cependant, le petit caïd de Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa, avait obtenu le commandement des Nfifa et des Demsira, mais il n'avait pu réussir à faire accepter son autorité. Coupant les arbres, rasant les villages, il n'avait laissé en montagne que des souvenirs de haine et la « siba » l'avait chassé. Pendant la révolte des tribus, au début du règne de Sidi Mohammed, de 1859 à 1864, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi réussit même un instant à expulser ses ennemis de Bouaboud et nomma chez les Mtougga trois petits caïds à sa dévotion, appuyés par un petit « makhzen » de guerriers des Haha. Enfin, la fortune tourna : Bihi Ajerram — un Mtouggi de la fraction des Ida ou Merzoug, allié des Haha, grand ennemi des caïds de Bouaboud, fut assassiné, et

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

quelques années après, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi lui-même périt à Marrakech, empoisonné par le Sultan (1868). Aussitôt les Mtougga, qui aspiraient à prendre la place laissée libre par l'effacement des Haha, se lancèrent vers le Sous et Taroudant. Le caïd el Hajj 'Omar (1) de Bouaboud, qui avait succédé au caïd Mohammed, subit de graves échecs dans ses expéditions lointaines, il sut du moins entretenir habilement chez ses ennemis les Haha, de précieuses divisions. Après la mort d'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el Hasan avait donné trois caïds à la grande confédération. L'un d'eux Mbarek Anflous, de la tribu des Neknafa, parvint à refaire l'unité ; mais une adroite politique permit aux Mtougga de le faire jeter dans les prisons du Makhzen et de faire nommer à sa place quatre nouveaux petits caïds incapables de s'entendre (1878).

Libre d'inquiétudes du côté des Haha, El Hajj 'Omar Mtouggi se tourna vers l'Est. Il obtint alors les Ida Ou Ziki, ainsi que le Nfifa et les Demsira, dont les petits caïds autochtones furent mis aux fers par le Sultan. Mais, cette fois encore, les abus devinrent tels et la domination des Mtougga si intolérable, que des plaintes adressées à Moulay el Hasan furent entendues et ces tribus de montagne obtinrent pendant douze ans, jusqu'en 1892, d'être gouvernées de Marrakech par le caïd el Hamida Menebbhi.

Vers 1890, le jeune 'Abd el Malek succéda à son oncle, le caïd Mesa'oud, frère d'El Hajj 'Omar. Dès sa prise de commandement, il fit preuve d'une grande habileté dans la politique des tribus de la montagne. Un caïd de la plaine, Saïd el Korimi, voisin des Haha, avait réussi à faire enlever à son profit au Menebbhi le commandement des Nfifa et les Demsira. Par d'astucieuses provocations 'Abd el Malek fit éclater une révolte au passage d'une « mehalla » de Sidi Mohammed, fils du Sultan. Quelques mois avant la mort de Moulay el Hasan, le Korimi fut destitué. Les Mtougga restés en possession des Ida Ou Ziki et des Mesgina n'avaient plus d'ennemi puissant et la voie se trouvait pour eux aussi libre vers le sud.

Pendant les dernières années du règne du vieux Sultan, nous voyons chacun des jeunes caïds de l'Atlas, Si 'Abd el Malek

(1) Les chefs des Mtougga ont été successivement le caïd Ahmed n Ait S'adoun, El Hajj 'Addi, mort en prison à Mogador vers 1845, puis les trois frères : Mohammed, mort vers 1859, El Hajj 'Omar mort vers 1880 et El Hajj Mesa'oud mort vers 1890, enfin 'Abd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). Une branche cadette a, d'une manière constante, tenu la fonction de Khalifat du caïd ; ainsi se sont succédé : El Cheger Mousa, frère du caïd 'Addi, le moqaddem El Housin, fils d'El Cheger, mort en 1892, et ses fils Si Bou Selham et Si Mohammed.

Mtouggi, Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi multiplier ses intrigues en montagne, renforcer ses alliances et, par le jeu des leffs, préparer la conquête des tribus voisines. Mais leur action est semblable à un travail de termites qui mine le pays en restant invisible. Nul ne se soucie, en effet, d'engager des combats qui pourraient mettre en éveil le souverain et attirer son attention redoutable. On sait qu'il est résolument hostile au développement exagéré du pouvoir de ses caïds et qu'il cherche partout à fractionner les commandements (1); aussi chacun se borne-t-il, dans l'ombre, à préparer l'avenir en attendant une crise prochaine.

IV. *Les grands chefs de l'Atlas à la conquête des tribus* (1894-1902). — La mort de Moulay el Hasan détermine en effet une véritable explosion des forces accumulées à l'intérieur de ces commandements berbères de la montagne. La « siba » de quelques mois qui éclate alors favorise les intrigues et les premières annexions. Puis lorsque la paix est rétablie et que Ba Hmad, l'ancien Hajib devenu grand vizir, règne au nom d''Abd el 'Aziz encore jeune, les chefs de la montagne se sentent libres d'agir à leur guise vers le sud. En 1897, chacun se précipite sur les proies qu'il convoite depuis longtemps; jusqu'en 1902, la lutte se poursuivra sans trêve entre les caïds, les amghars et les républiques indépendantes.

En voyant les succès si rapides remportés par les caïds de l'Atlas, il est difficile d'expliquer leur développement en invoquant seulement les circonstances favorables créées par l'anarchie survenant à la fin d'un règne glorieux. L'établissement d'une nouvelle forme de domination réalisé par plusieurs chefs sur de vastes espaces en quelques années paraît supposer l'existence d'une cause plus précise. Il est facile de la découvrir en examinant les circonstances dans lesquelles s'est réalisée la conquête des tribus pendant ces cinq années de guerre : c'est la présence de l'armement moderne aux mains des grands caïds.

Au cours des deux expéditions chérifiennes dans le Sous, en 1882 et 1886, figure, en effet, pour la première fois dans les

(1) Nous voyons à ce moment le Sultan donner à un notable des Seksawa, Lahsen ou Mbarek Chtittihi le titre de caïd, bien qu'il soit incapable de se faire accepter en montagne. On sait, d'autre part, que sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, le nombre des caïds s'est considérablement accru (Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, p. 122).

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

mehallas du Sultan, une artillerie véritable, servie par des spécialistes, sous le commandement d'un officier français ; des mitrailleuses et surtout des fusils à cartouches apparaissent ainsi qui attirent l'attention des Berbères. Les jeunes chefs de la montagne comprennent du premier coup le parti qu'ils pourront tirer de ces armes nouvelles, contre lesquelles les vieux fusils à pierre des montagnards seront sans valeur. Ainsi voyons-nous peu après le Glawi solliciter et obtenir du vieux souverain, au passage de la mehalla du Tafilelt, un canon Krupp et des fusils modernes. Le Gontafi et le Mtouggi ont soin d'acheter à Mogador ou d'obtenir du Makhzen de Ba Hmad, des fusils « Martinie » et des « Chassepot » pour les confier à leurs compagnons. Le ravitaillement en armes du Sud du Maroc est d'autant plus aisé que les puissances européennes rivalisent alors pour intervenir dans les affaires de l'Empire marocain, et que certaines d'entre elles favorisent l'importation clandestine des fusils et des cartouches, à la fois sur les côtes du Rif et sur celles du Sous. Pendant vingt ans, jusqu'à ce que les progrès de la contrebande aient permis aux tribus restées indépendantes d'acquérir à leur tour chassepots, lebels et mausers, les caïds de l'Atlas jouiront dans les combats, grâce à l'armement moderne, d'une supériorité marquée ; ils sauront l'utiliser pour briser toutes les résistances et constituer en quelques années leurs grands commandements.

Le Glawi, heureux possesseur du canon Krupp, commence le premier la lutte contre les amghars du sud de l'Atlas, autour desquels se groupent les tribus indépendantes. Toutes les forces de résistance à la pénétration du « Makhzen » — car Si el Madani invoque, pour justifier ses conquêtes, le nom du Sultan et les ordres reçus de Marrakech — s'unissent autour de l'amghar 'Ali n Aït Haddo des Aït Zineb, dont le père, Brahim, depuis longtemps chef du leff des « Aït Iraten », a déjà résisté à l'amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani a pour lui la montagne, toutes les fractions des Glawa, de leff « Inemzel » pour la plupart, et l'Ouneila, en guerre avec les Aït Zineb pour la possession d'un village limitrophe. La puissance de l'amghar 'Ali grandit au cours de ces combats; son prestige éclipse celui des amghars de Tazenakht ; sa kasba de Tamdakht s'étend et se fortifie ; autour de lui, vivent des compagnons toujours plus nombreux que commande un « mechaouri », sorte de chef des mercenaires. Pendant de longs mois, les Glawa sont même contraints

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

de défendre, à Imirgen, l'entrée de leur territoire; Si Hammadi, frère de Madani, est assiégé par un rebelle dans sa kasba de Taourirt du Warzazat. Enfin, après plusieurs années d'efforts, le Makhzen l'emporte, les Glawa s'avancent jusqu'à Tamdakht. Leurs fusils à cartouche leur permettent de combattre en plaine avec avantage d'innombrables guerriers des Aït Waouzgit. Le siège de la kasba de l'amghar 'Ali se poursuit, malgré les difficultés créées par l'acharnement des tribus; chacune des grottes artificielles creusées dans la falaise des oueds renferme des tireurs qui déciment les assaillants. Enfin le canon Krupp est amené à trois cents mètres du rempart, hors de portée des fusils à pierre. Trente obus sont tirés de plein fouet qui percent quelques brèches dans le rempart, et le qsar de Tamdakht est emporté après une lutte sanglante. L'amghar 'Ali en fuite dans le désert, est rejoint et égorgé, et l'on envoie sa tête à Telwet. Les tribus des Aït Waouzgit acceptent l'autorité des Glawa (1900). Pour quelques années toute résistance disparaît ; la soumission du Dadès, une expédition au Todgha et au Tafilelt, complètent la victoire.

Si Tayeb Gontafi ne profite pas moins heureusement des circonstances favorables. Pendant la courte « siba » qui a éclaté à la mort du Sultan, les tribus du Dir nord de l'Atlas se sont révoltées, et ont mis en fuite leurs petits caïds, qui ont cherché refuge à Moulay Ibrahim du Kik. La tribu des Ouzgita se trouve sans chef; Si Tayeb s'avance avec ses forces et s'empare d'Agergour où l'ennemi de son père, le caïd Brahim, a si souvent rassemblé des expéditions contre l'amghar de Tagontaft. Le Gontafi établit dans la kasba d'Agergour un de ses parents, et pendant trente ans, sauf lors de la suprématie des Glawa, il gardera fermement cette conquête. En 1897, après de longs préparatifs, Si Tayeb entreprend de soumettre les tribus du sud de Tagontaft; deux hautes vallées des Gedmiwa, l'Ogdemt et l'Aghbar voisines de Talat n Yaqoub et de Tagontaft sont emportées, puis la harka du Gontafi descend vers les Aït Semmeg, l'Onein et les Ihouziyoun, brisant la résistance des tribus lorsqu'elle se manifeste. Une révolte de l'Aghbar à laquelle participent les « taqbilt » indépendantes des Seksawa et du sud du Tichka arrête un instant les expéditions lointaines; puis Si Tayeb repart vers le Sous et s'engage chez les Inda ou Zal, les Aït Semmeg du Sud et les Souktana, en s'appuyant sur le leff des « Igezzoulen ». Un grave échec l'arrête aux Aït Mimoun, chez

les Souktana; blessé au combat, il rentre dans sa forteresse de montagne et se contente désormais d'organiser ses conquêtes (1902).

'Abd el Malek Mtouggi a, comme le Gontafi, utilisé la « siba » pour se substituer aux petits chefs du Dir du nord de l'Atlas. Il intervient chez les Mzouda, les Frouga et s'établit à Amismiz, à la place laissée libre par le caïd en fuite. La confédération des Gedmiwa est alors partagée entre les deux grands caïds voisins : la plaine et le Dir reviennent à 'Abd el Malek et Si Tayeb s'attribue la montagne. A l'inverse des deux autres grands caïds — le Glawi et le Gontafi — qui partent en expédition vers le sud, le Mtouggi réserve tous ses efforts pour les tribus de la plaine de Marrakech, et bien que la possession des Ida Ou Ziki et des Mesgina lui garantisse l'accès de la plaine du Sous, il hésite à s'y engager. C'est qu'un rival dangereux grandit sur ses flancs, dans la personne du caïd Sa'id des Ida Ou Gelloul, au centre du pays des Haña. Favori du vizir Ba Hmad le « Gellouli » obtient même à ce moment le commandement de la plaine des Chtouka et de Tiznit. Le seul remède est d'exciter contre lui le caïd des Neknafa, Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous qui lui fait équilibre. Mais à la mort du tout puissant vizir protecteur du Gellouli (1900), la faveur du Makhzen passe à Ahmed Anflous qui obtient à son tour le commandement de Tiznit ; dans ces circonstances, 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi ne croit pas le moment favorable pour s'engager dans de lointaines conquêtes ; il se contente de soumettre et de piller les tribus des Demsira, des Nfifa et des Dwiran.

V. *Les grands caïds pendant l'anarchie de l'Empire* (1902-1913). — L'appel lancé par le Sultan à tous les caïds de l'Empire pour venir lutter contre le rebelle Bou Hamara, devenu menaçant entre Fez et Taza, vient alors interrompre un instant les conquêtes des chefs de l'Atlas. Ils rassemblent eux-mêmes les guerriers de leurs tribus et vont combattre dans le Gharb. Mais, l'échec de la mehalla chérifienne dans le Rif et sa déroute vers Oudjda et l'Oranie, leur montrent bien l'impuissance du Makhzen. Revenus dans leur montagne juste à temps pour rétablir l'ordre et faire cesser la « siba » que leur absence a suffi pour faire éclater, les trois caïds berbères se sentent devenir, dans l'anarchie générale de l'Empire, les maîtres incontestés du Sud. Nous les voyons alors consolider leurs

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

forteresses et en construire de nouvelles ; puis ils reprennent activement leurs entreprises de guerre, comme s'ils comprenaient que leur avenir dépend seulement, pendant la période de désordre désormais ouverte, de la puissance qu'ils auront réussi à constituer.

Jusqu'ici, chacun d'eux a dirigé ses efforts sur les régions les plus voisines de sa kasba et surtout vers les plaines faciles à soumettre. Mais les grands commandements en arrivent à présent à se toucher ; les causes de conflit se multiplient. L'Onein, entre les domaines des Glawa et des Gontafa, est l'objet d'une discorde et les partisans des deux chefs en viennent aux mains. Les hautes vallées des Gedmiwa et des Seksawa sont disputées entre le Mtouggi et le Gontafi et chacun favorise plusieurs amghars dans l'espoir de prendre pied dans la montagne. Bientôt se dessine l'alliance des caïds de Telwet et de Bouaboud contre le chef du Nefis. Enserré comme dans un étau entre les deux commandements voisins, le Gontafi reçoit les coups les plus rudes et il arrive qu'il en soit réduit à s'enfermer dans ses forteresses de la montagne, à la fois menacé par la révolte de ses tribus et par les attaques de ses rivaux (1904-1907). Pendant ce temps, dans la plaine, 'Abd el Malek et Si el Madani se disputent les meilleures terres et prennent en tutelle tous les petits caïds.

Enfin, le désordre est à son comble, au moment où Moulay 'Abd el Hafid est proclamé à Marrakech, en août 1907, sous la protection de Si el Madani Glawi, pour faire échec à 'Abd el'Aziz « vendu aux chrétiens ». Le Gontafi, fidèle et obstiné, reste partisan d''Abd el 'Aziz ; 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi, dont la duplicité est sans égale, évolue d'un parti à l'autre, selon que le succès paraît le favoriser; il se sent, en effet, menacé chez les Haha par le caïd Anflous, son ennemi, et ne se soucie pas de compromettre sa sécurité par un loyalisme inutile. Passé un instant au service d' 'Abd el 'Aziz, le Mtouggi met en déroute, à Imi n Tanout, le caïd el Ayadi, chef des Rehamna, et El Hajj Thami Glawi, frère d'El Madani, sur le Nefis ; il va même s'emparer de Marrakech lorsqu'arrive la nouvelle de la victoire des troupes de Moulay 'Abd el Hafid chez les Chawiya (novembre 1907) et la déroute du « Sultan des chrétiens ».

Le triomphe de Moulay 'Abd el Hafid fait de Si el Madani le grand vizir du nouveau souverain établi à Fez. Le pouvoir du chef de Telwet devient alors sans limites. Il se charge de percevoir l'impôt chez les tribus du nord du Maroc, il amasse des richesses, augmente sa clientèle, et profite de sa haute situation pour établir

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ses frères à Marrakech et à Demnat. Il se fait attribuer le commandement de toutes les tribus du Dir de l'Atlas entre Demnat et Amismiz. Sa puissance alors est comparable à celle des grands chefs Hintata et des vizirs mérinides au temps d'Ibn Khaldoun.

Avec un admirable opportunisme, le Mtouggi s'est fait l'allié de Si el Madani. Il envoie même une harka contre les petits chefs de la vallée du Sous soutenus par le Gontafi. L'échec lamentable de cette petite armée, battue par les Howara, suffira d'ailleurs pour détourner 'Abd el Malek d'intervenir à nouveau dans la plaine du Sud.

Cependant les événements se précipitent et bouleversent la fragile politique du Makhzen. L'intervention des Français à Fez, au cours de l'été 1911, amène la disgrâce de Si el Madani, suivie peu après de la retraite du sultan Moulay 'Abd el Hafid. Les Glawa regagnent leurs forteresses dans l'Atlas, et, sans perdre une journée, l'astucieux 'Abd el Malek se précipite derrière eux pour s'emparer des tribus du Dir qu'ils abandonnent.

Enfin, un dernier orage s'élève au sud et fond sur l'Atlas. El Hiba, le fils de Ma el Ainin, un fanatique qui, dans le désert de la Mauritanie, a prêché, à la fin du règne de Moulay el Hasan, la haine des chrétiens, sort de la plaine intérieure du Sous et franchit le col d'Ameskrout et les Bibaoun pour se diriger sur Marrakech. Il annonce aux populations, lassées des exactions du Makhzen et des caïds, le règne de la justice. Ses compagnons, les Arabes du désert, le donnent comme le Mahdi, « le maître de l'heure », chargé de délivrer le pays et de rénover l'Islam. Cette explosion de xénophobie est aussi redoutable pour les chefs berbères que pour les chrétiens, parce qu'elle fait appel aux forces populaires hostiles à leur domination. Les caïds s'enferment dans leurs kasbas et attendent la fin de l'aventure. Seul, 'Abd el Malek, par dépit contre les Glawa, hostiles à El Hiba se compromet un instant. Mais le canon du colonel Mangin (septembre 1912) qui disperse à Sidi Bou Otman les « hommes bleus » du désert et les tribus des plaines du Sous, est entendu dans la montagne et les trois grands caïds viennent faire leur soumission à la France qui les confirme dans leurs commandements.

VI. *La soumission à la France.* — C'est, pour les « seigneurs de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

l'Atlas », une ère nouvelle qui commence. Les rivalités guerrières ont fait leur temps ; il suffit à présent de faire régner la sécurité dans les pays conquis tout en retirant de ces vastes territoires d'importants bénéfices.

Le Mtouggi obtient en plaine : les Oulad Ben Seba', les Koreimat, les petites tribus des Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta', Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; en montagne : les Mtougga, Nfifa, Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. Il revendique même la région des hautes vallées restées indépendantes, Ida Ou Zal, Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, qui n'entretiennent cependant avec lui que des relations volontairement lointaines (1). Le souci constant d''Abd el Malek est d'exploiter les populations soumises et de nous écarter le plus longtemps possible de sa zone d'action.

Le Gontafi est réduit à la tribu du Nefis, aux Gedmiwa, Ouzgita et Aït Semmeg. Il partage l'Onein avec les Glawa, chacun conservant les villages conquis par ses partisans au moment de la paix générale. Si Tayeb est chargé, de 1917 à 1921, d'aller prendre le commandement des forces du Makhzen dans l'extrême sud, à Tiznit, et s'oppose loyalement aux efforts d'El Hiba dans l'Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani a l'habileté de se rallier pleinement au nouveau Makhzen dès les premiers jours. Il travaille à chasser du Sous El Hiba, réfugié à Taroudant, et refait en cette circonstance la conquête définitive des Aït Waouzgit, révoltés quatre fois depuis vingt ans (1913), ainsi que celle des Ihouziyoun, la plus riche tribu du Sous. Au cours de plusieurs expéditions destinées à faciliter l'œuvre du protectorat, les Souktana, Zenaga, le Moyen-Dra, le Dadès et le Todgha tombent aux mains des Glawa. Dès lors, la puissance des chefs de Telwet est telle qu'à la mort de Si el Madani, son frère El Hajj Thami, pacha de Marrakech, devient le plus grand chef du Sud. Il garde sous son autorité quelques tribus du sud, les Souktana, l'Onein, les Ihouzioun, mais surtout, sur le versant nord les Zemran et les Mesfiwa où il s'implante solidement en prenant les meilleures terres dont il expulse les habitants ; enfin il commande à une partie des « Gich » de Marrakech ; son neveu Si Hammo, resté à Telwet, veille à conserver l'immense territoire

(1) Les tribus de haute montagne se sont soumises directement aux autorités françaises au cours de l'été 1927 et les quatre amghars les plus importants ont été confirmés dans leur pouvoir.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

formé par les Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, le Todgha, le Dadès, les Skourra, le Warzazat, les Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, la grande confédération des Aït Waouzgit.

Ainsi comblés de biens, assurés de la paix par une rude domination qui maintient les tribus dans la crainte et la pauvreté, les chefs de l'Atlas peuvent à présent quitter leurs forteresses pour leurs palais de Marrakech. Ils apprennent l'art d'y vivre en grands seigneurs et d'accueillir avec aisance des hôtes illustres venus d'Europe qui célébreront au loin leur puissance. Le plus habile d'entre eux découvre en même temps la précieuse valeur de l'amitié des hommes politiques de notre pays et la cultive précieusement afin de devenir intangible.

VII. *L'organisation intérieure d'un grand commandement. Les kasbas.* — L'extension si rapide du pouvoir des grands caïds a fait éclater les étroites limites territoriales dans lesquelles ils s'étaient trouvés enfermés, aussi longtemps qu'ils étaient restés fidèles à la tradition des amghars, chefs de cantons ou de tribus. Mais si le nouveau régime instauré, auquel on a parfois donné le nom de « féodalité berbère », apporte aux populations conquises un bouleversement complet de leurs institutions, par son organisation intérieure il se relie étroitement cependant à ce pouvoir « despotique » des petits chefs que de Foucauld avait si exactement observé.

Les institutions les plus importantes du nouveau pouvoir sont avant tout celles qui contribuent à donner au caïd la sécurité et la force.

L'amghar encore indépendant, ou le chikh devenu caïd ont, depuis longtemps déjà, construit une solide kasba. La première forteresse du Gontafi, par exemple, est avant tout destinée à lui permettre de soutenir de longs sièges contre les guerriers des cantons du leff ennemi, encore capables s'il se présentait une occasion favorable, de se révolter contre une domination souvent intolérable. On trouvera donc à Tagontaft, dès le début, des tours élevées, d'épais remparts, de vastes cours entourées d'écuries où peuvent s'abriter les montures des cavaliers, de grands magasins où l'on rassemble des vivres pour plusieurs mois, afin de pouvoir soutenir, s'il le faut, un long siège. Un aqueduc capte une source voisine et l'amène jusque dans les murs ; des postes de guet aux

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

environs complètent la défense et si, en période de trouble, l'alerte est donnée, les lourdes portes de la forteresse se fermeront en un clin d'œil, les créneaux se garniront de fusils et le grand verrou sera tiré de l'intérieur sur les deux battants, jusqu'à ce que le danger soit passé.

Plus tard, le chef fait ajouter de nouvelles chambres superposées les unes aux autres, sans aucun plan préconçu, selon les nécessités du moment. Il lui faut sans cesse de nouvelles pièces pour ses femmes de plus en plus nombreuses ; des salles plus vastes pour recevoir les hôtes de passage, chikhs ou sujets venus de toutes les parties d'un territoire toujours accru. Bien qu'il vive lui-même simplement, le plus souvent couché sur une natte dans un couloir obscur, le nouveau caïd fait néanmoins bâtir, pour recevoir dignement les hôtes de marque, quelques pièces somptueuses, naïvement décorées avec un luxe grossier, dans lequel apparaît bien le désir du parvenu berbère de montrer sa richesse aux montagnards.

Bientôt d'ailleurs, la forteresse conçue tout d'abord pour la guerre, devient trop étroite et ne suffit plus aux exigences d'un vaste commandement. Au bord d'un cours d'eau, au milieu des champs les plus fertiles conquis sur l'ennemi, les sujets du caïd lui construisent une nouvelle kasba aux murs moins guerriers, aux pièces plus vastes et plus ornées. C'est Talat n Yaqoub qui deviendra la résidence favorite de Si Tayeb Gontafi. Cependant, si la guerre menace à nouveau et qu'il soit nécessaire de trouver un refuge derrière de solides remparts, on élèvera sur le sommet d'une colline voisine, une forteresse spécialement destinée à la défense. Tel est, près de Talat n Yaqoub, l'Agadir n Gouj, demeuré inachevé d'ailleurs, mais qui a été construit avec soin, sur les conseils des maîtres-maçons les plus habiles. Une vaste prison, des tours d'angles et des meurtrières favorables à la défense dans toutes les directions, des murailles si épaisses que le canon d'un Sultan lui-même aurait peine à les détruire, d'immenses réserves de grain et de fourrage, voilà ce qu'il faut pour pouvoir résister victorieusement dans l'avenir au soulèvement des tribus et surtout aux puissantes harkas des chefs ennemis du voisinage.

D'autres forteresses moins imposantes serviront, dans les tribus soumises, de demeures aux khalifats du caïd, chargés de percevoir les impôts et de commander en son nom. Toutes ces constructions d'ailleurs seront exécutées en corvée par les tribus, sous la

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

direction des maîtres-maçons venus pour la plupart des Aït Bou Yaya du Sahara. Leurs murs épais de terre battue — auxquels on donne le nom de « louh » — résistent mal aux intempéries et ils se fendent et s'écroulent en une génération d'hommes. Il suffit de les voir pour comprendre qu'un chef ne construit guère pour ses fils. Qui sait ce que réserve l'avenir dans un pays aussi troublé? Par ailleurs, l'essentiel n'est-il pas de bâtir les forteresses dans le plus bref délai possible, en profitant des courtes périodes de paix ?

Par leur destination et leur aspect extérieur, les kasbas élevées pendant la période où le pouvoir des grands chefs restait menacé par les révoltes et les guerres, diffèrent beaucoup des orgueilleuses constructions dont le nombre s'est multiplié depuis dix années. Lorsqu'en effet les grands chefs de la montagne, confirmés dans leur pouvoir après s'être ralliés au Protectorat, ont compris qu'ils pouvaient désormais vivre en sécurité, ils ont fait bâtir de toutes parts des résidences parfois fastueuses, ornées de hautes tours blanchies à la chaux, couronnées de merlons, munies de garages pour leurs automobiles. L'aspect guerrier qu'ont encore parfois ces forteresses n'est plus qu'un décor. Il semble que ces constructions soient surtout destinées à frapper l'esprit des populations soumises en manifestant la richesse et la force du maître. Plusieurs d'entre elles expriment à merveille, au milieu des maisons ruinées des sujets, le caractère brutal et l'écrasante puissance de la nouvelle domination (1).

VIII. *Les compagnons du grand chef.* — Pour l'administration des tribus conquises, l'amghar indépendant s'appuie, au début, sur les notables et les membres de la jema'a du petit canton dont son père était jadis le chef. C'est dans ces « ikhs », fidèlement attachés à sa famille depuis le début, qu'il choisit tout spécialement les fonctionnaires du petit état qu'il a créé. Il a tout d'abord trouvé parmi eux les chefs d'expédition et les mokhaznis dévoués, chargés de maintenir par la force dans la soumission les villages conquis. Lorsque son pouvoir est confirmé par le Sultan, il cherche bientôt à trouver dans ces compagnons de la première heure, un cadi qui saura rendre une justice favorable aux intérêts du nouveau gouvernement. Ce lettré, qui sera en même temps le

(1) Kasba de Taliwin des Souktana.

Z: Montagne MW11 Shluh

secrétaire du caïd, se montrera le plus souvent l'ennemi résolu du droit coutumier berbère, dont les racines plongent dans un passé dangereux d'institutions démocratiques. Il règlera la plupart des contestations selon les instructions de son maître, et la justice infaillible du livre saint servira à légitimer en toutes circonstances les décisions du chef temporel. Parfois aussi, selon la qualité des plaignants ou l'intérêt personnel que prend le caïd au règlement des affaires, la justice sera rendue sans aucune formalité par le chef makhzen lui-même, assis sur le seuil de sa maison. Pour se débarrasser de toutes les petites affaires qui ne donnent aucun profit, le caïd prendra un khalifat et un « mchaouri », sorte de conseiller intime, d'agent de renseignements et d'intermédiaire, chargé en outre du commandement de sa garde personnelle.

La kasba, devenue à la fois un caravansérail, une forteresse, un magasin et un château, est administrée par un « amin » qui est en même temps majordome et gardien des approvisionnements. Les hôtes innombrables qui se pressent dans la cour et séjournent parfois longuement, en attendant une audience du seigneur, sont confiés au « bab inebgioun », maître de l'hospitalité, chargé d'assurer leur subsistance et celle de leurs montures. Un portier, l'« abouwab » (1) conserve la clef de la maison des femmes et leur fait porter la « mouna », la nourriture journalière. Enfin plusieurs « moqaddem » sont préposés aux cultures des champs et des immenses vergers, acquis récemment et par tous les moyens, dans les meilleures parties de la vallée. Ce sont eux qui rassemblent les corvées fournies par les tribus pour les labours et les récoltes, et qui veillent au battage et à l'ensilage des grains.

A Tagontaft ou à Talat n Yaqoub, nous trouvons tous ces divers emplois tenus de nos jours encore, par les fils des compagnons de l'amghar Mohammed. A peine voit-on à présent parmi les hommes de confiance du caïd, apparaître quelques jeunes gens du leff des «Aït Atman ». Leurs pères ont trouvé la mort dans les luttes du début ; leurs biens ont été « mangés » et leurs villages détruits, mais ils finissent par se rallier à un régime qui résiste au temps. Ce sont eux qui, dans les tribus nouvellement conquises, feront respecter les ordres du caïd et leur fidélité est garantie en toutes circonstances par la présence de leurs foyers humblement établis auprès de la maison du maître.

(1) De l'arabe *bouwab*, portier.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

A la petite armée de mercenaires du début vient s'ajouter ainsi, peu à peu, une troupe de volontaires choisis dans la tribu d'origine. Quelques esclaves servent d'appoint pour constituer un groupe sûr, confié dans les expéditions lointaines à un khalifat, parent ou allié du maître. Les tribus déjà soumises amènent chacune leurs contingents commandés par les caïds et les chikhs, et sans aucune solde ils restent à la disposition du khalifat pendant la durée de la guerre. Ces auxiliaires n'ont alors pour vivre d'autres ressources que celles que donne le pillage.

IX. *Les ressources financières. Le caïd maître des terres.* — Mais l'extension du pouvoir ainsi organisé n'amène au chef makhzen que de nouvelles charges. Pour équiper ses mokhaznis, les ravitailler en armes, acheter la complicité des petits chefs du voisinage et lutter à la cour du Makhzen contre les influences dangereuses des grands chefs voisins en distribuant aux grands des sommes considérables, de nouvelles ressources sont toujours nécessaires. Il faut alors imposer aux tribus des contributions extraordinaires, des « frida », acheter les terres aux habitants ruinés, ou mieux les confisquer, lorsque des villages ont été détruits et les familles exilées. Pour cultiver ces champs abandonnés, on achète des centaines d'esclaves. Le train de la maison ne cesse d'augmenter. A mesure que s'accroît l'importance des domaines et du commandement, les intermédiaires deviennent aussi de plus en plus nombreux, les récoltes et les impôts fondent entre leurs mains et le chef n'en reçoit plus qu'une faible part.

Avec une ambition toujours accrue, le caïd cherche alors à obtenir, par la force ou par l'intrigue, de s'établir dans les tribus les plus riches du voisinage, cependant que se consomme la ruine de celles qu'il commande déjà.

Les corvées, les impôts et les amendes se multiplient en effet et, pour trouver l'argent exigé par les mokhaznis, les paysans viennent à la kasba vendre leurs récoltes en vert, leurs amandes en fleurs, et donner leurs champs en gage. Contre l'impérieuse nécessité de trouver des ressources, aucune considération ne peut tenir si ce n'est celle de garder intacte l'organisation même du commandement, en ménageant les quelques familles dont le sort est lié à celui du caïd. Aussi le grand souci du chef est-il d'acquérir des biens par tous les moyens. Si ce régime pouvait continuer de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

durer, le caïd en viendrait, avec ses frères, à posséder toutes les terres du pays.

Sans doute, au début, un traitement de faveur est encore réservé dans l'Asif Nefis aux « Aït Iraten », chez lesquels le Gontafi a trouvé tant d'alliés ; mais, plus tard, lorsque le souvenir de l'institution des leffs se trouvera presque perdu, après quarante années de paix intérieure, les cantons amis d'autrefois finiront par être soumis au régime commun des « frida » et des corvées. Seules les familles entrées au service du nouveau pouvoir conserveront des exemptions et garderont quelque aisance dans la pauvreté générale.

Dans d'autres commandements, chez les Mtougga par exemple, les notables de la tribu du caïd utilisés dans l'administration et le gouvernement des régions conquises obtiennent souvent, dans leur propre village, le titre d'amghar. Ils commandent seulement aux membres de leur famille, mais grâce à leur qualité d'amghar, ils évitent pour les contributions extraordinaires, d'être soumis à l'intermédiaire ruineux des khalifats et des mokhaznis et traitent directement avec le grand chef. Chez les Glawa, certains cantons restent privilégiés, parce qu'ils fournissent encore en grand nombre des petits chefs et des contingents chargés de maintenir sous le joug les tribus lointaines. Ces missions à l'extérieur sont d'ailleurs assez profitables et l'on voit de la sorte de pauvres vallées, comme celle de l'Ouneila, associées dès les premières heures à la fortune du maître de Telwet, ornées de belles demeures. Leurs habitants se sont enrichis au service du seigneur et ils ont de loin suivi son exemple en construisant des maisons ornées de tours.

Tandis que s'accroissent les domaines, on voit s'élever aussi, autour de la maison du chef, d'autres résidences. Ce sont celles de ses frères et de ses parents, qui ont participé avec lui, pendant quelques années, à la conquête des tribus. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub dans l'Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin dans le petit état de Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud des Mtougga, la petite cuvette de Telwet, nous présentent uniformément le même spectacle de la colonisation des meilleures terres par les parents du chef, devenus eux aussi bénéficiaires des corvées et prêteurs d'argent aux pauvres gens.

Enfin, sous la protection de la kasba, un petit mellah s'établit ; des juifs facilitent le commerce et concluent avec les musulmans

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

tous les marchés que le caïd ne saurait, sans rougir, négocier directement. Par le contrôle des souks importants du pied de la montagne, la création des grandes foires annuelles, telles que le « mousem de Taouloukoult » des Mtougga, la vie économique elle-même est réglée par le chef de la montagne, qui prend possession peu à peu de toutes les ressources du pays, au point qu'il en arrivera bientôt à affermer le monopole de la vente des denrées à des amis ou des associés juifs.

Quelle que soit la fidélité du concours apporté au caïd par sa fraction d'origine, et bien qu'il soit entouré de compagnons nombreux, l'organisation du commandement reste très imparfaite, et les diverses fonctions sont très mal définies. C'est le caïd lui-même qui, bien souvent, surveille la distribution des vivres et du fourrage, de même qu'à la guerre, il croit remplir son rôle en donnant aux combattants des cartouches de sa propre main, afin d'éviter les dépenses excessives. Les provisions courantes de sucre, de thé et de bougies, convoitées par les femmes et les esclaves, font l'objet d'une surveillance particulière, et le trousseau de clefs des magasins où ces denrées précieuses sont enfermées, ne quitte guère le cou du grand caïd, maître de vingt tribus en montagne. On voyait naguère Si el Madani Glawi, dans un coin de la cour de sa kasba, séparé de la foule des serviteurs, et protégé d'un mauvais coup toujours possible, par une grille en bois, passer de longues heures à recevoir des nouvelles, dicter des messages, présider à la répartition des vivres, et s'assurer d'un coup d'œil à travers les barreaux que les esclaves donnaient bien à son cheval et à son mulet favoris leur ration d'orge journalière.

X. *La transformation des mœurs.* — La révolution politique et économique apportée en montagne par ce régime nouveau est complétée par une transformation non moins importante de l'organisation familiale. Dans ce pays de stricte monogamie, l'amghar victorieux a, tout d'abord, commencé à affermir sa situation politique par de nombreuses alliances matrimoniales, contractées avec les familles de petits chefs makhzen de la vallée ou les amghars encore indépendants de la haute montagne. Devenu caïd, possesseur de terres importantes et de plusieurs résidences, il augmente en même temps le nombre de ses femmes, qu'il choisit parmi les plus jolies filles du pays. Ce n'est pas sans regret, parfois, qu'un paysan

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

donne sa fille au seigneur ; mais cette alliance lui vaut le plus souvent des exemptions d'impôts et une protection efficace contre les mokhaznis et les khalifats. Entre les chefs, les alliances politiques par mariage sont constantes et chaque réconciliation est marquée par une union nouvelle. On échange les innombrables filles de la famille comme des cadeaux. Bientôt, un grand chef en arrive à posséder une centaine de femmes, sans compter les esclaves dont il a de nombreux fils. A l'imitation du maître, les chikhs les plus aisés prennent plusieurs épouses, et la foule des sujets reste seule attachée à l'ancien régime familial.

Ainsi, de diverses manières, se trouvent profondément altérées les conditions matérielles de la vie, la distance s'accroît de plus en plus entre les gouvernants et les gouvernés, et l'on imaginerait difficilement, si les vieillards n'étaient pas là encore pour nous apporter leurs témoignages précis sur les origines récentes de ce pouvoir, dont on aime tant à présent à nous laisser ignorer l'humble forme des premiers jours, que les grands chefs d'aujourd'hui sont sortis, il y a cinquante ans, d'un village berbère de la montagne.

XI. *La politique de conquête des grands caïds.* — Ce bouleversement de la vie économique et sociale, si frappant dans les tribus les plus rapprochées des kasbas des grands caïds de la montagne est préparé par un habile travail de désorganisation politique dont les phases successives peuvent encore être observées dans les territoires plus éloignés qui ont été successivement conquis par ces chefs berbères.

Ici encore, les procédés sont les mêmes dans les divers commandements, parce qu'ils s'inspirent des mêmes nécessités et que cette action s'exerce sur un milieu social homogène dans les diverses parties du Sud du Maroc. L'activité des grands chefs dans les tribus lointaines représente d'ailleurs ce qu'on peut appeler leur « politique extérieure », jusqu'au moment où ils se mêlent par leurs intrigues au gouvernement de l'Empire.

Il nous suffira, en raison de la similitude des règles qui guident les maîtres de l'Atlas dans leurs relations avec les tribus, de fixer notre attention sur un petit nombre d'exemples.

Dans la courte période, au cours de laquelle ont été constitués les grands commandements, de 1897 à 1916, on a pu remarquer que les efforts des caïds berbères se portaient tantôt sur les régions

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

fertiles des plaines, à grande distance de leur kasba, tantôt sur les parties de la montagne voisines de leur territoire primitif. Leur manière de concevoir la prise de possession du pays varie selon qu'il s'agit de l'une ou l'autre des deux zones. Dans le premier cas, le grand chef cherche avant tout à exploiter la tribu conquise pour en retirer les profits les plus considérables ; son action est rapide et directe et s'impose d'un seul coup ; dans le second, sa pénétration est lente, se poursuit par l'intermédiaire des amghars et se plie patiemment à toutes les subtilités du jeu de la politique locale. Mais quels que soient les moyens employés, après un temps variable qui dépend des résistances rencontrées, l'état de servitude des populations soumises est identique.

XII. *La conquête d'une tribu (les Aït Waouzgit).* — Les régions sur lesquelles se portent le plus volontiers les convoitises des seigneurs de la montagne, dans le but de s'emparer des ressources qu'elles peuvent offrir, sont celles du Dir du versant nord de l'Atlas et de la haute vallée du Sous. A peine affermis dans le commandement de leur tribu d'origine, utilisant les forces que celle-ci peut leur donner, ils se précipitent par la voie la plus directe, en suivant les grandes lignes de communication de l'Atlas vers ces terres productives. Le sud, où l'on échappe plus aisément au contrôle du Makhzen, a leur préférence. Successivement, la riche tribu des Ihouziyoun, les Aït Semmeg de l'Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas, les Souktana, ont excité l'ambition conquérante d'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi et de son successeur et ennemi El Hajj 'Omar Mtouggi, puis du Gontafi et du Glawi. Dans ces territoires qu'ils regardent comme de véritables colonies, ils s'intéressent exclusivement aux profits qu'ils peuvent trouver.

Leur premier soin est de s'établir dans les vallées les plus riches, d'y construire des maisons de commandement et de superposer à l'organisation ancienne une administration exclusivement chargée d'imposer de lourdes contributions aux tribus berbères sans défense. D'ailleurs, chassés du pays à chaque révolte, ils y reviennent en force à la première occasion et finissent, grâce à l'établissement du Protectorat, par s'y fixer à demeure.

La prise de possession par les Glawa de la grande confédération des Aït Waouzgit fera bien comprendre dans quelles conditions

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

une telle conquête est réalisée et comment ils procèdent à l'exploitation du pays.

Au moment où Si el Madani Glawi commença son action politique chez les Aït Waouzgit, vers 1890, les institutions anciennes étaient encore très vivantes dans une partie de la confédération. Une dizaine de cantons des sommets du Sirwa et de l'Azilal avaient conservé leurs Aït arba'in et leurs petits sénats. Dans les vallées se trouvaient des amghars maîtres d'un seul canton, mais qui par l'institution des leffs, étendaient leur autorité sur quelques groupes voisins ; tels étaient les chefs des cantons des Aït Tigdi Ouchen, à Tafounan, ceux des Zenaga, à Ighil n Ogho, de Taliwin dans le Zagmouzen, de Tazoult, dans la tribu des Souktana, de Dou Taourirt chez les Aït Semmeg, de Tamjerjt chez les Aït ou Hamden ; enfin, de Takhorbant, chez les Aït Wartassa de l'Azilal. D'autre part, des chefs plus importants avaient conquis des petits commandements formés le plus souvent, comme nous l'avons vu, de cantons des deux leffs. C'étaient les amghars des Aït Tadrart, au sud-ouest du Sirwa, et plus près de l'Atlas, les amghars de Tamedakht et de Tifoultout chez les Aït Zineb.

Le jeu des leffs nous paraît, dès cette époque, sensiblement altéré chez les Aït Waouzgit par les ambitions des amghars. Dans l'Azilal, des « leffs de combat », « imqan n mokahelt », se constituent au gré des circonstances. Comme on l'a dit déjà, nous n'arrivons plus à rétablir une correspondance rigoureuse entre les alliances des cantons de l'Atlas et ceux du Tifnout ; des contradictions apparaissent aussi au sud du Sirwa à la jonction des leffs « Inemzel-Aït Iraten » avec ceux des « Isouktan » et des « Igezzoulen » de l'Anti-Atlas. Cet état de division favorise les intrigues des Glawa.

Quatre guerres de conquêtes sont nécessaires pour que les chefs de Telwet parviennent à réduire la grande confédération. Au début, vers 1890, tout le pays résiste, sans distinction de leff, à la pénétration du Makhzen et l'alliance des « Inemzel », le parti des Glawa, n'arrive à détacher du bloc réfractaire que les cantons des Aït Tawiya et des Ikhzamen, ennemis des Aït Imini ; vient ensuite la révolte de l'amghar 'Ali de Tamedakht, soutenu par toute la confédération, et qui prend fin avec sa mort. L'amghar Zanifi de Tazenakht vers 1906, se lève à son tour, aidé des amghars de l'Azilal ; la politique de Telwet réussit alors à gagner dans les deux leffs les Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen, les Aït Oubial, Aït Atman et les

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Inmarakht et disloque la coalition ; enfin, après la grande siba, de 1910 à 1913, les Glawa fortement armés, soumettent les vallées et mettent fin dans l'Azilal aux violentes querelles des amghars.

Pendant ces vingt-cinq années de lutte, le leff des « Inemzel », allié traditionnel des Glawa, s'est montré au pays des Aït Waouzgit presque aussi hostile au caïd de Telwet que le leff des Aït Iraten, sauf cependant chez les Ikhzamen et les Aït Tawiya ; ce sont, le plus souvent, les ambitions des amghars et leurs rivalités qui ont permis aux chefs Makhzen de dissocier les forces de résistance.

Lassés des révoltes successives du pays, les Glawa, à partir de 1913, entreprennent d'organiser le pays de manière à briser toutes les résistances. Leur premier soin est de détruire, au passage de la harka, tous les agadirs qu'ils aperçoivent dans les vallées du Tifnout, de l'Azilal et du Zagmouzen ; par la suite, toutes les circonstances seront utilisées pour ruiner les forteresses collectives des petites républiques de la montagne. Les amghars les plus puissants disparaissent ; ils sont remplacés par de petits chikhs, souvent sans influence réelle, qui deviennent sous les ordres des khalifats de simples collecteurs d'impôts ; les « Ijma'an », ces notables dont l'autorité s'imposait aux Aït Arba'in, et dirigeaient la politique des petits cantons autonomes, font place aussi à des chikhs effacés ; les « Aït Arba'in » subsistent encore parfois, servant d'intermédiaires avec les familles et appliquant le droit coutumier dans la mesure où le représentant du caïd le tolère.

Quatre solides maisons de commandement sont construites aux points les plus importants du territoire conquis, dans le Tidili, à Assarag du Tifnout, à Assaka des Aït ou Hamden dans l'Azilal, à Izoggweir du Zagmouzen. Des khalifats qui appartiennent aux familles de Telwet ou de l'Ouneila, alliées depuis longtemps au caïd, séjournent dans ces forterresses. Autour d'eux, une garde de mokhaznis Glawa fait régner l'ordre et transmet aux chikhs les instructions de la kasba ; la fonction essentielle de ces représentants du Makhzen est d'exiger des habitants les contributions les plus élevées qu'ils soient capables de fournir. Ils demeurent indifférents à la vie intérieure des cantons ou des villages dont ils ignorent entièrement le passé et les coutumes. Ce sont des étrangers venus pour s'enrichir et qui acceptent leur séjour au milieu des tribus hostiles en raison des profits importants qu'ils peuvent en retirer.

Dans la tribu voisine des Souktana conquise peu après, l'exploi-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

tation du pays se fait d'une manière un peu différente. La grande kasba de Taliwin, où séjournent, en qualité de khalifats, des chorfa d'Imassin du Dadès, alliés aux Glawa, concentre les « frida » perçues par des mokhaznis établis dans les huit maisons de commandement dispersées dans le petit territoire ; ainsi se trouvent drainées, de la manière la plus rapide et la plus complète, toutes les ressources du pays.

L'affaiblissement du pays, écrasé par les contributions successives, est tel que quelques hommes suffisent à le maintenir dans l'ordre. Ce régime, sous lequel vivent de nos jours une partie importante des tribus Aït Waouzgit, a été celui des Gedmiwa de la plaine, lors de la domination éphémère des Mtougga et des Glawa, de 1906 à 1910, ou à présent même, celui des Ida Ou Ziki et des Nfifa, dans le commandement des Mtougga. L'appauvrissement général qui résulte de cette exploitation intensive détermine l'émigration d'une grande partie des habitants, et une diminution constante du rendement des terres.

Seuls, quelques cantons éloignés de la haute montagne, ménagés parfois en raison des alliances anciennes et des services rendus, comme les Aït Tawiya et les Ikhzamen du sommet du Sirwa, parviennent à échapper à la ruine générale. Aussi les habitants cherchent-ils le plus possible à vivre à l'écart et à ne pas attirer, dans la solitude des sommets, l'attention des khalifats de la plaine.

XIII. *La pénétration progressive* (*les Demsira*). — Dans les régions montagneuses de l'Atlas, la politique des grands chefs est souvent différente : ils parviennent à leurs fins sans entreprendre une véritable conquête, par le moyen des alliances berbères et grâce à l'ambition des chikhs et des amghars.

La patiente soumission des Demsira par les caïds de Bouaboud nous offre peut-être l'exemple le plus complet que nous puissions trouver d'une tribu jadis indépendante, qui évolue peu à peu, grâce à une habile pression politique, vers la soumission complète ; la partie inférieure du territoire, au voisinage des Mtougga, tend à devenir déjà une colonie d'exploitation, tandis que celle de la haute montagne a conservé encore presque intacte ses institutions anciennes (1).

(1) D'après les notes de F. de La Chapelle.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Les treize cantons qui forment la tribu des Demsira s'étendent entre la piste du Tizi Ma'cho et les montagnes des Seksawa et des Ida Ou Mhamoud. Au début du XIXe siècle, comme dans tout l'Atlas occidental, chaque canton berbère a encore, dans cette région, ses traditions particulières, sa constitution démocratique ou oligarchique ; les deux leffs des « Indghertit » et des « Imsifern » s'équilibrent dans leur ensemble et contribuent à assurer l'autonomie des petits états de la montagne. A peine voit-on alors entre Imi n Tanout et les Bibaoun, sur la « route du Makhzen », jalonnée par de grandes kasbas des sultans aujourd'hui ruinées, de petits chikhs sans autorité qui partagent avec les conseils de notables les maigres profits du pouvoir, à la manière des petits amghars du Nefis et des Glawa à la même époque.

Les progrès de la domination du Makhzen valent aux Demsira de connaître, à partir de 1850, de nombreux caïds. Ce sont presque tous des maîtres étrangers, préoccupés d'amasser rapidement de l'argent dans les cantons les plus aisément imposables sur la limite de la grande voie de pénétration de l'Atlas et qui négligent les pays de haute montagne. Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, le puissant caïd des Haha, exerce le premier commandement à grande distance. Il est remplacé par le caïd Mohammed Mtouggi, dont les exactions sont restées si célèbres dans la mémoire fidèle des tribus ; rattachés ensuite aux Nfifa, et placés sous l'autorité d'un caïd autochtone, 'Ali ben Boujja, les Demsira se reposent un instant sous le règne de Sidi Mohammed et au début de celui de Moulay el Hasan ; mais el Hajj 'Omar Mtouggi et son frère Mesa'oud reviennent à nouveau, puis un caïd de Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, et, en 1892, Sa'id el Korimi, dont la domination fut détestée, et qui a laissé jusqu'à nos jours des souvenirs de misère. Après la mort de Moulay Hasan, Si 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi obtient à nouveau du Makhzen la mission de les soumettre à l'impôt et s'y consacre résolument.

Au moment où les autres caïds berbères songent à conquérir de vastes territoires dans la vallée du Sous, le Mtouggi entreprend d'organiser le commandement des Demsira. Une harka suffit pour soumettre les cantons situés sur la piste de la montagne : Asserato, les Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, les Aït Mesa'oud et Assen acceptent la nouvelle domination et les réfractaires voient détruire leurs villages et couper leurs arbres.

La pénétration de la montagne est plus difficile. 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi réussit à progresser par l'intermédiaire du chikh Ahmed Agzal du canton des Aït Daoud, de leff « Indghertit ». Jadis les Aït Daoud ont opposé une énergique résistance au caïd 'Omar Mtouggi, avec l'aide des Aït Lahsen, commandés par l'amghar Si Mokhtar, fils d'Hammo ou Bella, ainsi que des Seksawa de la haute montagne. C'est dans leur territoire que l'amghar Khorsa, un Mtouggi, ennemi personnel des chefs de Bouaboud, s'est longtemps réfugié, attaquant les mokhaznis du caïd, enlevant les troupeaux à ses chikhs. Mais à la faveur de ces luttes, un amghar est apparu, Ahmed Agzal, qui a construit une kasba à Taourirt. Les montagnards cependant n'ont pas accepté sans difficulté son autorité absolue. Un jour, à l'instigation d'un amghar voisin, 'Omar ben Bihi Ou Hafid, des Aït' Abdallah, ils ont fait rouler du sommet d'une colline élevée une meule de pressoir pour éventrer les murs de la forteresse d'Agzal. Mais, à ce moment, une alliance conclue entre le Mtouggi, Agzal et Mokhtar Seksawi, a permis à l'amghar des Aït Daoud de triompher de ses ennemis

Dans sa kasba restaurée, Agzal fortifie son pouvoir et devient le chef incontesté des « Indghertit » dont il met les forces, dans la mesure de son influence, au service du Mtouggi. Il confisque les biens de ses ennemis, rend la justice, lève des impôts que le conseil des notables a pour seule mission de réunir; personne n'enfreint ses ordres. Les petits chikhs des cantons voisins prennent ses instructions et il obtient même le commandement direct de certains groupes du leff adverse comme Taskemt. A l'autre extrémité de la tribu, les Mtougga laissent grandir un autre amghar du leff des « Imsifern », qui complète l'apprivoisement des républiques de montagne trop éloignées du chikh Agzal et que leurs alliances anciennes tournent vers un autre parti.

Le commandement des amghars se substitue ainsi à la lourde domination du caïd que les mokhaznis rendaient odieuse. Sans doute les populations ne sont pas moins imposées ; les oumana du caïd sont présents lorsque les chikhs perçoivent la « zekkat » et l'« a'chour » que le Mtouggi attend avec impatience à Bouaboud; mais du moins, si le pays est appauvri, ce sont ses propres chefs qui fixent l'impôt, et ils ont quelque souci de ne pas ruiner sans profit une terre dont ils vivent. Néanmoins, les progrès du Makhzen sont tels dans ces fractions que les conseils de notables

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ont disparu et que le souvenir même des leffs s'efface rapidement.

Les « taqbilt » éloignées de la piste ont gardé plus d'originalité et opposé quelque résistance. En particulier, les Aït Mhand ou Mousa, du leff des « Imsifern », ont tenté de rejeter pendant quelques années la domination de Bouaboud. Aidés dans cette lutte par l'amghar Mokhtar Seksawi, leur frère de leff, ils ont succombé à l'action combinée des « Indghertit » rassemblés par l'amghar Agzal et des autres « Indghertit » de la montagne achetés par le Mtouggi : Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. Cette résistance obstinée a du moins valu aux Aït Mhand ou Mousa de conserver leurs Aït Arba'in et leurs moqaddems, en acceptant seulement un agent de liaison qui joue le rôle d'amghar.

La fraction de Tamarout a perdu toutes ses institutions propres et est devenue semblable, grâce à l'action du chikh Agzal, à ses voisines de la piste du Makhzen. Les Aït Breher, Aït Chai'b et Aït Tilet, de leff « Imsifern » ont mieux résisté. Les deux premières de ces « taqbilt » se sont unies étroitement pour lutter contre les tentatives de pénétration des Mtougga. Elles ont restauré, avec plus de vigueur qu'autrefois, l'organisation des moqaddems. Le droit coutumier est seul appliqué sur leur territoire à l'exclusion du droit religieux; les moqaddems sont régulièrement changés et l'on évite de les choisir dans des familles trop puissantes de peur de voir apparaître des amghars dont le premier soin serait de favoriser la politique des caïds. Les Aït Cha'ib surtout se sont montrés longtemps les adversaires irréductibles des khalifats du Mtouggi, et n'ont consenti à se soumettre qu'à la condition expresse de conserver un régime de faveur. Ils ne versent à Bouaboud que l' ' achour et quelques « frida ». Les Aït Tilet, les plus éloignés, sont jusqu'ici demeurés à l'écart, et l'amghar des Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, les compte parmi les « taqbilt » indépendantes des sommets, dont il cherche à guider les destinées.

XIV. *Les zones d'influence* (*les Seksawa*). — L'habile politique du Mtouggi dans la pénétration des Demsira se complète en haute montagne, comme nous l'avons vu à plusieurs reprises, par des alliances qu'il a conclues avec les amghars des Seksawa. Dans cette région, où se sont jusqu'à ces dernières années croisées les intrigues parties des kasbas de Bouaboud et de Tagontaft, on aperçoit plus

aisément à présent comment les amghars préparent, le plus souvent, à leur insu, l'établissement de la domination des grands chefs.

L'apparition du « pouvoir despotique » à la fin du XIXe siècle, dans la région restée fidèle, dans l'ensemble, au régime des moqadems et des assemblées, ne s'explique pas uniquement par le jeu normal des institutions oligarchiques ; la fréquence des petites révolutions survenues dans les hautes vallées trouve sa cause dans l'intérêt que prennent les grands caïds à la transformation politique des tribus.

Les maîtres des kasbas ne sauraient en effet entrer en relations avec des conseils turbulents d'Aït Arba'in, toujours prêts à discuter leurs ordres et à faire appel à l'amitié des républiques voisines pour refuser de leur verser l'impôt. La soumission ne peut donc se faire que par l'intermédiaire d'un pouvoir personnel qu'il faut créer tout d'abord. Dès lors, on voit les grands caïds favoriser de tous leurs moyens les notables susceptibles d'imposer leur autorité à des assemblées trop respectueuses de la coutume et attachées à l'indépendance. En toutes circonstances, nous trouverons ces amghars disposés à traiter avec les grands chefs ou le Makhzen, au moment où la conquête deviendra inévitable. Ils se présenteront alors comme des intermédiaires naturels entre la tribu qu'ils ont réduite et le pouvoir des caïds qui parlent au nom du Sultan. Leur intérêt est de ménager les deux partis opposés et de faciliter la transformation du pays devenue inévitable par les progrès des grands chefs. Pour mieux y parvenir, ils s'efforcent de propager eux-mêmes, de canton en canton, le régime despotique qu'ils ont réussi à instaurer dans leur « taqbilt » (1).

Pour dominer plus sûrement les amghars indépendants, le caïd les oppose entre eux et entretient leur division par des agents secrets. Il leur envoie même, si cela est nécessaire, des armes pour se battre et il évite de les laisser grandir. Par une réaction naturelle contre l'effort caché du caïd, chaque petit chef cherche, tant bien

(1) C'est ainsi que dans les hautes vallées de l'Asif el Mal, les amghars des Aït Gair, 'Abderrahman Irro et ses fils, ont été soutenus par les chikhs des Ind Maghous, les Aït Ja'far, le plus souvent dévoués à la politique des Gontafa. Les Iwonsekten, du même leff, ont subi la même évolution sous la même influence. Les Imelwan ont aussi des amghars appuyés par le chef des Aït Haddiyous des Seksawa. Les Aït Tiksit, du leff des « Imsifern », ralliés par l'intermédiaire de leurs voisins Tigouga aux amghars du Talekjont, ont fait, à leur tour, disparaître leurs moqaddems. Les caïds de Talemt, du leff des « Ida Ou Zeddagh » ont favorisé l'établissement des amghars chez les Aït Waggounsan et les Ida ou Kwais.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

que mal, à se constituer un commandement et une zone d'influence dans laquelle il se réserve la direction exclusive de la politique extérieure. En même temps, il se donne au peuple comme le dernier rempart de la liberté et s'assure ainsi d'un prestige nouveau auprès des inflas des derniers cantons attardés aux vieilles constitutions qui viennent dans sa maison prendre ses conseils ; par ces procédés indirects, toute la montagne se trouve ainsi mêlée sans le savoir ni le vouloir, à la politique compliquée et aux intrigues des grands caïds.

XV. *Conséquences des conquêtes pour l'institution des leffs.* — Il est facile de comprendre combien se trouve désormais altérée la vieille institution des leffs berbères, qui a tant servi les amghars à leurs débuts. Les renversements d'alliances que nous avons déjà observés (1) se multiplient ; les petits chefs passent d'un parti à l'autre avec les guerriers des cantons qu'ils dominent ; à l'intérieur même de leur commandement, les leffs anciens se trouvent confondus.

Il serait inexact cependant de soutenir que, dans l'esprit même des chefs berbères, la notion ancienne du leff ait entièrement disparu. Ils la prolongent, au contraire, d'une manière idéale et l'étendent à toutes leurs discordes en partant de ce principe que les ennemis de leurs ennemis sont leurs amis. Ainsi le Gontafi se considère encore comme un chef des « Imsifern » et lié par des pactes anciens aux Igezzoulen du Sous et de l'Anti-Atlas. Le Mtougg et le Glawi, ses adversaires, sont donc pour lui des « Indghertit » et des « Isouktan ». Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, l'ennemi des Mtougga, au milieu du siècle dernier, est rangé par les chefs de Tagontaft dans l'alliance des « Imsifern », aussi bien que la famille des Anflous des Neknafa. De même chez les Ergita, les Ida Ou Zal et les Ida Ou Ziki, où le souvenir des leffs est entièrement perdu, même par les vieillards les plus âgés, les petits chefs qui se disputent le pouvoir se rangent d'eux-mêmes parmi les « Ida Ou Zeddagh » ou les « Ait Zolit », dont ils reconstituent l'alliance dans leur esprit à leur manière, selon les nécessités de leur politique.

Enfin, dans les régions définitivement soumises où s'est effacée à jamais l'ancienne division des leffs, certaines rivalités entre

(1) Cf. plus haut p. 303.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

es cantons ou les villages perpétuent les luttes d'autrefois. Les commandements des petits chikhs que nomme le Makhzen doivent être parfois fixés en tenant compte de ces oppositions traditionnelles.

C'est par la persistance des discordes locales que continue de se manifester la vieille institution des leffs berbères, cependant que les traditions politiques d'autrefois ont disparu pour toujours.

XVI. *Existe-t-il une « féodalité berbère » ?* — Dans l'ensemble, l'organisation du pouvoir personnel des grands chefs de la montagne ne nous apporte, ainsi qu'on a pu en juger par cette étude, aucun trait original qui puisse permettre de le différencier d'une manière précise de l'autorité « despotique » des amghars sortis des tribus. Les seigneurs de l'Atlas ne sont, en réalité, que d'anciens « inflas » devenus progressivement maîtres absolus d'un village, d'un canton, d'une tribu, d'une région et qui conservent pendant un temps, au cours de leur rapide ascension, le souvenir des principes vénérables sur lesquels repose la société berbère; mais leur ambition désormais sans frein les amène ensuite à dévier ou à changer les institutions qui ont aidé leur croissance; enfin, ils en arrivent — en moins de cinquante années de gouvernement — à précipiter, dans l'état qu'ils ont conquis, la ruine de toute l'organisation traditionnelle des populations, sans lui substituer d'autre loi que celle de leur volonté, d'autre fin que celle de leur richesse.

Il n'est pas étonnant que, bien avant qu'on ait écrit le roman des « seigneurs de l'Atlas », les voyageurs européens, au cours de rapides tournées dans le sud du Maroc, se soient laissé prendre aux apparences et aient tenté de faire entre notre féodalité d'Occident et ce pouvoir personnel fondé par les chefs berbères au sein des tribus, des rapprochements audacieux. L'aspect des kasbas, construites depuis moins de deux générations, mais si vite revêtues de la patine du temps, la vie pittoresque et animée des cours intérieures des forteresses, la liberté relative dont jouissent les grands caïds à l'égard du Sultan pouvaient, en effet, donner quelque vraisemblance à cette transposition historique.

Certes, il n'était pas impossible, en y mettant quelque bonne volonté, de multiplier des analogies; le caïd à demi indépendant du Makhzen exerçait naguère son pouvoir dans des circonstances qui pouvaient être comparées parfois à celles du comte de la monar-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

chie franque, et certaines pratiques semblaient même être identiques aux institutions les plus classiques de notre féodalité. Les « amici », les « gasindi », qui entourent le comte ne sont-ils pas figurés par les « imeddoukal », les « asahab » du chef berbère, ces compagnons qui restent à demeure dans sa maison et entre lesquels nous avons vu s'établir une hiérarchie naturelle, selon leurs origines et les services rendus au maître? L'amghar ou le caïd, en se substituant à l'ancien conseil des inflas, autrefois chargés de partager entre eux les amendes infligées aux coupables, perçoivent le prix du sang, comme jadis le comte, les « freda », ainsi que toutes les autres compositions; c'est là ce qui rend manifeste leur possession du droit de justice. Ici comme là-bas, sous des formes plus humbles sans doute, se développent le patronage, la « commendatio », dans un milieu social où le faible ne peut être sauvé qu'en abandonnant au plus fort une partie de sa liberté, de ses biens et de son travail. L'acquisition — si rapide il est vrai — des immenses propriétés des chefs berbères, sur lesquelles ils établissent en quelques années des centaines d'esclaves ou conservent les anciens maîtres de la terre, devenus en apparence semblables à des serfs, peut encore suggérer un autre rapprochement. N'est-ce pas là l'image des domaines de l'époque mérovingienne sur lesquels ont pu grandir par une lente évolution, les seigneurs du haut moyen âge ? Il n'est pas jusqu'au diplôme d'immunité, dont on ne puisse trouver une réplique dans les lettres de commandement fictif attribuées par certains chefs, le Mtouggi par exemple, aux compagnons qui l'ont fidèlement servi, afin qu'ils puissent échapper, avec tous les membres de leur famille, aux règles communes de la justice ou de l'impôt (1).

Enfin, nous observons ici comme en Occident, le développement d'une classe aristocratique, s'il est permis d'employer cette expression en parlant des fils parvenus des amghars, et la ruine des classes inférieures se précipite en même temps que s'affaiblit l'autorité publique : ce sont là, comme on l'a dit depuis longtemps, les conditions générales de l'apparition d'une féodalité (2).

Il serait cependant imprudent de s'en tenir à ces similitudes :

(1) Cf. plus haut p. 346.
(2) Compar. Fustel de Coulanges : *Origines du système féodal*, p. 294 et sqq., p. 415; *L'alleu et le domaine rural*, p. 374-382.

Une barbarie ressemble toujours, disait Doutté en décrivant l'aspect du Sud du Maroc, à une autre barbarie, et il ne suffit pas qu' « un chef demeure dans un château, ait des pages et chasse au faucon », que les manants se prosternent sur son passage ou qu'il rende la justice sur le seuil de sa kasba, pour qu'on puisse en faire un baron féodal (1).

Ainsi que cet observateur sagace l'avait remarqué, deux aspects essentiels de la vie sociale de notre moyen âge manquent entièrement au pays des grands caïds : d'une part le régime des terres ne justifie en rien une comparaison avec celui des sociétés féodales ; d'autre part, il n'existe pas entre les chefs de hiérarchie traditionnelle.

Les biens du chef berbère, nous l'avons vu, sont tout d'abord ceux qu'il tient de ses ancêtres, pauvres petits champs en terrasse bordée de pierres près d'une maison de boue ; dès ses premiers exploits, l'amghar leur a joint les terres de ses ennemis de soff et de leff, dont il s'est emparé de vive force; plus tard, lorsqu'il a pu lever des contributions, accabler ses sujets par des exigences d'argent sans cesse renouvelées, il est devenu l'acquéreur des meilleures parties du sol des grandes vallées ou du Dir. Mais, parvenu à ce degré de puissance, le grand caïd se considère comme propriétaire exclusif des terres qu'il occupe ; souvent même il respecte les formes de l'achat et de la vente et consent quelques indemnités aux anciens maîtres du pays qu'il a chassés ; les cultivateurs ne sont que ses « khemmas », et nous ne les voyons pas s'implanter sur son domaine en conservant des droits héréditaires. Seuls les esclaves, achetés aux marchands à Taroudant ou à Marrakech, peuplent des villages au voisinage de la forteresse, et ils travaillent les terres sans jamais devenir des serfs.

Il n'existe donc pas dans l'Atlas de « tenures » et les relations multiples et durables que la terre a établies entre les diverses classes de la société féodale en Europe font entièrement défaut.

Quant à l'existence d'une hiérarchie entre les amghars et les caïds, il nous suffira de rappeler que les degrés que nous avons été amené à distinguer entre eux dépendent uniquement de leur puissance et de l'importance des petits états qu'ils ont conquis ; maîtres d'un canton, d'une tribu, d'une confédération, leur rang

(1) Doutté, *Marrakech*, p. 400-402.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

se trouve de la sorte déterminé par la structure sociale du pays, elle-même est fixée par la nature des institutions républicaines de la montagne. On imaginerait difficilement, dans ces circonstances, qu'il puisse apparaître entre les chefs des liens de vassalité, bien moins encore qu'il se constitue des tribunaux féodaux où l'accusé soit jugé devant ses pairs.

Il est possible de marquer plus encore les différences qui séparent notre moyen âge du régime des grands caïds en invoquant, non plus les caractères négatifs de la barbarie du Haut-Atlas, mais les aspects qui lui sont propres. L'un d'eux a déjà été bien souvent indiqué dans ces pages. L'élévation des amghars au rang de grands caïds marque successivement, nous l'avons vu, la domination d'un soff sur les autres, celle d'un leff sur le leff adverse, d'une tribu sur les tribus et les confédérations du voisinage; dans son accession progressive à la fortune, le chef berbère entraîne ses compagnons de village, de leff, de tribu en accordant aux uns et aux autres des situations différentes selon l'origine et les services rendus; c'est là sans doute le trait le plus original de l'organisation du pouvoir personnel dans ce pays, celui qu'on chercherait en vain dans la féodalité occidentale née au contraire sur un sol qui avait autrefois connu la domination de Rome, où les tribus avaient disparu pour faire place aux cités.

Il n'est pas moins important de signaler une autre particularité de cette domination des amghars qui tient au caractère de violence de leur pouvoir à ses origines ; aucun d'eux, chef de canton, de tribu ou de région, n'a réussi à l'emporter avant d'avoir vaincu, et souvent tué, un rival d'une force presque égale à la sienne et dont il a confisqué les biens. C'est ainsi que les caïds des Mtougga ont rencontré, comme adversaires, vers 1850, les amghars des Ida Ou Merzoug ; l'amghar Mohammed de Tagontaft a eu pour ennemi l'amghar Achefar de Tagemout ; la famille des caïds des Glawa au premier degré de leur puissance a dû vaincre le petit amghar de Taghennoust, vers 1860 ; plus tard, ces amghars devenus chefs de tribu ont rencontré l'amghar 'Ali de Tamedakht, qui a limité leur expansion vers le sud aussi longtemps que le canon Krupp n'a pas permis d'ouvrir une brèche dans les murs de sa kasba. Nous avons vu de la même manière que Si 'Omar Seksawi n'avait triomphé dans son petit domaine qu'en faisant assassiner le caïd Chtittihi et en construisant au milieu de ses terres, sur l'emplace-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

ment des villages rasés, une forteresse de commandement.

Ces traits suffisent à nous montrer comment le pouvoir des amghars et des caïds de l'Atlas se différencie de celui des seigneurs féodaux d'Occident. Les ressemblances, lorsqu'elles existent, ne concernent guère que la vie du chef lui-même ; les institutions qui dans notre moyen âge relient le seigneur à son roi ou à ses sujets font ici presque entièrement défaut.

S'il fallait cependant comparer l'état politique du sud du Maroc, qui n'est que l'ébauche grossière de notre féodalité, à celui de l'Europe avant la formation des grands États, et chercher des analogies plus complètes, c'est sans doute, avec l'Irlande, l'Écosse et l'Allemagne du haut moyen âge, peut-être avec la Corse, la Sardaigne, l'Albanie jusqu'à l'époque moderne, qu'il faudrait tenter de multiplier les comparaisons. C'est là qu'ont longtemps subsisté, sur les confins de l'Empire de Rome, comme de nos jours dans la Berbérie, les institutions primitives des tribus, les alliances de familles et de cantons, les constitutions oligarchiques des petites républiques : des chefs y sont nés, dont l'autorité s'est trouvée bien faible à l'origine, qui n'ont pu grandir sans lutter contre les assemblées. Des rapprochements qu'il ne nous appartient pas de faire entre ces diverses régions pourraient peut-être montrer que des sociétés primitives séparées à travers le temps et l'espace se trouvent cependant, au cours de leurs transformations, guidées par les mêmes principes et que des lois plus fortes que les hommes, inconnues d'eux le plus souvent, conduisent leurs actes dans les mêmes voies.

XVII. *Fragilité du pouvoir des grands chefs.* — Ne nous étonnons pas que le chef berbère dont la famille a si rapidement réussi, grâce aux circonstances favorables, à dominer toutes les tribus que le regard peut embrasser d'un sommet de l'Atlas, se trouve, malgré sa force apparente, menacé par de redoutables périls.

Outre les ennemis les plus déclarés qu'il a contraints à l'exil, le grand caïd a sur place tous les adversaires que ses abus incessants lui font naître. Lui-même n'a pas, nous le savons, le sentiment d'exercer, à l'intérieur de son commandement, la charge du gouvernement des tribus, mais il cherche seulement à faire peser une domination qu'il veut aussi productive que possible ; la notion du bien public lui est étrangère; ses compagnons, dont l'appui lui est

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

indispensable, sont d'habitude plus avides encore et leur attachement à la cause commune ne dépend souvent que des profits qu'ils comptent retirer de l'appui donné au maître.

Les abus qui résultent de cet état d'esprit exaspèrent l'antagonisme latent que nous avons déjà observé entre le pouvoir despotique de l'amghar et le sentiment démocratique et égalitaire des masses ; la révolte est prête à renaître en tribu au premier embarras des caïds ; on observe en effet qu'elle éclate sur les frontières du commandement dès qu'une nouvelle fâcheuse pour le chef, vraie ou fausse, se répand dans le pays.

Par surcroît, une autre cause de faiblesse qui ne cesse de prendre une plus grande importance avec le temps est le goût de la discorde et de l'intrigue dans la famille même du caïd. Le grand nombre des enfants, la rivalité des épouses, facilitent les désaccords qui aboutissent bientôt à la dispersion de l'autorité. C'est là, on le sait, l'un des ferments d'anarchie les plus actifs à l'intérieur des états musulmans. L'Islam, en s'affirmant davantage dans la montagne, l'apporte avec lui aux Berbères dans leurs petits commandements.

Le grand chef de l'Atlas — au temps du moins où la France n'a pas encore garanti son autorité — connaît toutes ces raisons de redouter l'avenir ; il vit dans l'inquiétude, la crainte du poignard ou du poison ; aujourd'hui, d'immenses contingents de tribus le suivent à la guerre, mais il sait que demain peut-être, il n'aura plus pour le protéger dans la « siba » qu'une poignée de frères et ses esclaves fidèles. On imagine assez bien dans ces conditions la terreur qu'a pu jeter, en 1912, dans le cœur des seigneurs de la montagne, la prédication des « hommes bleus », des Arabes de Mauritanie groupés autour du Mahdi el Hiba, annonçant à la fois au peuple du Sous le règne de la justice et l'expulsion des chrétiens. Enfermés presque aussitôt dans leurs kasbas lors de la proclamation du prétendant, livrant aujourd'hui à la plus complète anarchie le pays qu'ils exploitaient hier, les caïds de l'Atlas ne pouvaient désirer le succès de ce mouvement de guerre sainte : ils craignaient trop, en effet, que les Berbères de leurs commandements n'aient la tentation de tourner leurs forces contre eux, à la faveur d'un instant d'enthousiasme, et ne parviennent aisement à les détruire ; prendre le parti de l'ordre, du Makhzen, même celui des chrétiens s'ils étaient les plus forts, c'était là le salut. En échange de leur

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

soumission au général Mangin, les trois grands chefs, qui s'engageaient à maintenir les tribus dans l'obéissance, voyaient s'ouvrir pour eux la perspective de nouvelles conquêtes. Délivrés de la menace de cette explosion de fanatisme et d'anarchie qui avait un instant risqué de les emporter, les grands caïds allaient désormais consacrer leurs efforts à poursuivre dans leurs états pour le compte du Sultan et de l'Islam, avec une ardeur renouvelée, l'œuvre de soumission de la Berbérie.

[P. 365]

CHAPITRE IV

La domination du Makhzen et la transformation du pays

I. Le Sultan et sa cour. — II. L'armée chérifienne. — III. Les tournées d'impôts. — IV. La politique berbère du Makhzen. — V. Le fractionnement nouveau des tribus soumises. — VI. Un grand caïd au service du Makhzen. — VII. Les abus. — VIII. « La siba ». — IX. La disparition des institutions berbères.

En suivant l'évolution politique des tribus berbères de la montagne, nous les avons vues atteindre ce degré de transformation où la différence n'apparaît plus d'une manière précise entre le pays jadis indépendant et le bled makhzen occupé par les tribus arabes des plaines. C'en est fait désormais de l'indépendance d'autrefois. L'organisation traditionnelle n'est plus de nos jours sur le Dir du Haut-Atlas qu'un souvenir, tandis qu'elle se prolonge par de simples survivances dans la région des sommets.

Nous verrons maintenant le gouvernement central intervenir d'une manière de plus en plus directe dans la vie du Sous. Le pacha de la kasba de Marrakech, les caïds autochtones ou étrangers, changés et révoqués selon les fantaisies du souverain, sont devenus les maîtres du pays ; ils ont pour se faire obéir, les forces de leurs esclaves, des « gich » arabes ou des harkas, et interviennent sans ménagement pour faire rentrer les impôts et réprimer les révoltes. Telle est la dure réalité à laquelle se heurtent les dernières réactions des communautés jadis autonomes du Sud du Maroc.

Il nous reste à décrire dans les pages qui suivent la forme du nouveau pouvoir et à montrer quels sont ses moyens d'action, ses habitudes et ses traditions, dans le rôle politique qu'il va désormais jouer en tribu. Il va sans dire que nous n'essaierons

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

pas de refaire, une fois de plus, le tableau de l'ancien Makhzen, avec sa cour pittoresque et désuète, ses intrigues de palais, les abus qu'il entretenait, le désordre savant dans lequel il conservait le Maroc pour mieux l'utiliser à ses fins, à travers les révoltes et les crises intérieures qui ont fini par ruiner l'Empire chérifien. Les voyageurs qui ont traversé le pays avant l'établissement du Protectorat, Foucauld, Segonzac et surtout Erckmann ont donné du vieux gouvernement des chorfa une peinture si fidèle qu'il est inutile de chercher à la compléter. Nous essaierons seulement ici de dire quelle a été l'action du Makhzen sur les tribus berbères du Sud du Maroc et comment elle a achevé de modifier l'état social des populations du Haut-Atlas et de la plaine intérieure du Sous et de l'Anti-Atlas.

I. *Le Sultan et sa cour.* — Le nom du gouvernement central, le « Makhzen », magasin, indique, par son étymologie même, l'idée d'une institution faite avant tout pour constituer une réserve permanente d'argent, d'armes et de munitions, de vivres et de provisions de toutes sortes, rassemblés dans de vastes chambres, à l'abri des remparts. Derrière ces murs qui entourent les kasbas des villes s'abritent, dans toutes les parties de l'Empire, les forces du Sultan prêtes à intervenir contre les rebelles (1). Mais ce n'est pas surtout l'organisation matérielle qui caractérise, aux yeux des tribus berbères, le pouvoir suprême, c'est la présence d'un roi, d'un « agellid », souverain despotique qui, depuis des siècles, tire son autorité de son origine chérifienne.

L' « agellid » est, dans la pauvre littérature orale des Berbères du Sud du Maroc, le plus souvent décrit sous les aspects les plus naïfs, et toujours entouré de l'auréole de la richesse, de la « baraka » ou parfois même du pouvoir magique. En tribu, on n'imagine pas d'ailleurs d'une manière précise les conditions dans lesquelles peut vivre un souverain au fond de ses palais du Gharb ou de Marrakech, où il mène une existence si éloignée de celle des pauvres paysans de l'Atlas. D'ailleurs lorsqu'il apparaît aux yeux des montagnards descendus pour un instant dans la plaine, ou lorsqu'on

(1) Le terme de makhzen est fort ancien. Les Almoravides, les Almohades l'ont déjà connu et en ont vulgarisé l'usage dans toute l'Afrique du Nord. On relève le nom de Bab el Makhzen à Marrakech dans le début du XIIe siècle. *Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade*, El Beidaq, p. 58.

l'aperçoit au milieu de son armée, en expédition sur les confins de l'Empire, il est entouré d'un luxe qui frappe grandement les esprits. Les signes extérieurs de respect qu'on lui témoigne ne sont pas moins imposants, surtout lorsqu'il chevauche à l'ombre du parasol (mdell), qui est dans tout le Maroc le véritable insigne de la royauté (1).

Par son origine et son pouvoir, le sultan est véritablement, même pour les montagnards les plus indépendants, un homme au-dessus du commun et d'une classe à part. Sous le règne des bons sultans, chacun sait que les récoltes sont abondantes et l'élevage prospère. Ainsi qu'on l'a vu au cours du XIXe siècle, en plusieurs circonstances, alors même qu'il est vaincu et que ses troupes sont mises en fuite, sa personne reste le plus souvent sacrée (2).

Enfin, il est un autre aspect de la puissance du sultan que redoutent les Berbères ; chacun sait l'efficacité terrible de sa malédiction. La « sokhta » chérifienne prononcée contre une tribu est semblable à l'excommunication du moyen âge. Elle autorise tout d'abord le pillage général des biens des maudits, pour toutes les tribus voisines assez fortes pour le faire. En outre, elle rend la terre infertile et produit la disette. On l'a bien vu après la destruction de Mogador, qui a mérité aux Haha, coupables d'avoir pillé la ville, six années de famine et de tribulations sans nombre dont le souvenir s'est conservé dans tout le pays (3).

C'est l'origine chérifienne du sultan qui lui vaut cette puissance dangereuse ; quand bien même il serait le fils d'une esclave noire ou circassienne, ou d'une captive chrétienne, ainsi qu'il est arrivé bien souvent au cours de l'histoire, il garde tout son prestige en raison de ses ancêtres paternels.

(1) Il n'y a point de sultan sans parasol, et lorsque Sidi 'Ali, petit-fils de Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa, se fit proclamer dans le Sous, au XVIIe siècle, il n'eut garde d'oublier le « mdell » traditionnel, que ses descendants, chassés par Moulay Rechid, emportèrent dans leur fuite sur les confins du Sahara.

A la fin du XIXe siècle, lorsque Moulay el Hasan dirigea sa deuxième expédition victorieuse jusqu'au Tazerwalt, il reçut en hommage du fils de Sidi Hachem, et comme témoignage de sa soumission définitive, la précieuse ombrelle sous laquelle s'était abrité jadis l' « agellid » du Sous.

(2) Moulay Sliman, mis en déroute chez les Ait Oumalou, les Beni Mgild, bafoué à la Zaouia Cherradi, et au cours de la révolte des Oudayas, n'est pas inquiété personnellement, mais au contraire accueilli avec égards, cependant que tous ses compagnons sont tués ou dépouillés et mis à nu (*Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines, IX, p. 193 et X, 52, 82, 145). Comparer à l'accueil fait aux chorfa dans les tribus du Nord du Maroc, considérés comme porte-bonheur, mais exclus de la vie politique (Le Glay, *La Mort* [illegible] *ugui*, p. 24 25, 186, 199).

(3) Comparer Michaux-Bellaire, *Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt*; Archives Marocaines, XVII, p. 36-37.

Quelle que soit l'impression profonde produite sur les Berbères par la cour chérifienne, le sultan du Maroc ne vit pas au XIXe siècle au milieu d'une cour habituée à une étiquette raffinée ainsi qu'il se voit dans les États d'Orient. L'organisation de l'État et du pouvoir central est extrêmement rudimentaire et les caprices du souverain tiennent lieu, le plus souvent, de règles de gouvernement. Un vizir, un « hajib », sorte de maître du palais, des secrétaires aux emplois mal définis et surtout de nombreux « ashab » ou compagnons, remplissant souvent, au hasard de la faveur du maître, les diverses fonctions domestiques ou politiques, voilà tout le personnel qui peut intervenir dans la marche de la vie des tribus. Chaque fois qu'une affaire importante exige le déplacement d'un envoyé du sultan, il suffit de désigner l'un des « msakhrin », chargé spécialement d'exécuter les commissions pour le compte du maître. Les « msakhrin » se recrutent à la fois parmi les Arabes du « gich », les esclaves et aussi parfois parmi les fils des caïds de tribu, que leurs intérêts retiennent à la cour chérifienne. Depuis deux siècles, c'est surtout le « gich », constitué par la masse des tribus arabes établies autour des villes, qui forme le groupe des familles dans lesquelles sont choisis la plupart des fonctionnaires de la cour (1). Par ailleurs, l'utilité essentielle du « gich » c'est de fournir au sultan, en toutes circonstances, une masse de combattants, le plus souvent montés, nécessaires pour chacune des expéditions de police ou la protection des déplacements du souverain.

II. *L'armée chérifienne.* — On sait que, dans la plupart des guerres livrées sur leur territoire, les sultans des deux dernières dynasties n'ont presque jamais rassemblé un très grand nombre de guerriers. La grande bataille d'El Mkhazen, en 1578, avait été livrée par les Saadiens avec 5.000 hommes du gich du Haouz de Marrakech et 10.000 Berbères du Sous. Au XVIIIe siècle, 10.000 à 12.000 hommes suffisaient à Moulay 'Abdallah dans la plupart des cas (2). Moulay el Hasan lui-même, se contentait généralement de 25.000 fusils en comptant les contingents des tribus levés pour la circonstance (3). C'est seulement au cours des dernières expéditions à la fin du XIXe siècle — celle du Sous par exemple — qu'on

(1) *Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines, IX, p. 239.
(2) Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, p. 175 ; Chénier, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 251.
(3) Erckman, *Maroc moderne*, p. 298.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

a vu réunir un plus grand nombre de guerriers, d'ailleurs rassemblés et ravitaillés au prix des plus grandes difficultés.

La faible importance des effectifs engagés en toutes circonstances dans les expéditions à l'intérieur s'explique aisément par le caractère des institutions berbères, l'absence de coalitions unies et la difficulté de transport et de ravitaillement dans des régions sans routes et souvent difficiles.

Cependant pour faire respecter leur autorité, les sultans ont été contraints d'organiser leurs forces militaires, soit en s'appuyant sur des tribus des Berbères sédentaires, à l'exemple des Almohades, soit en utilisant les services des tribus arabes ou berbères déportées et transplantées, ou bien enfin en constituant spécialement une armée noire, réservée à l'exclusive disposition du Makhzen. Selon les époques, l'une ou l'autre des formules a prévalu ; les révoltes de palais, les soulèvements des prétendants appuyés sur l'une de ces trois forces, l'insuffisance des ressources du Trésor, ont obligé les sultans à changer leur politique militaire et à rechercher les services de ceux qui leur paraissaient, selon les circonstances, les moins dangereux.

Un pouvoir fort comme celui de Moulay Isma'il pouvait sans trop d'inconvénients utiliser une puissante armée noire. On sait que, sous le règne de ce sultan, de nombreuses kasbas furent construites dans tout l'Empire et nous retrouvons la trace de la plupart d'entre elles au pied de l'Atlas, le long de la piste du Tizi Ma'cho et dans la plaine même du Sous (1). Elles recevaient un détachement permanent d'esclaves du Makhzen. Ces noirs, dont le nombre s'élevait à près de 100.000, percevaient les impôts, vivaient du produit de la dîme versée en nature dans ces forteresses et faisaient régner sur les routes de l'Empire une sécurité relative (2).

Mais les difficultés créées au Makhzen par ces mercenaires furent telles dans la suite, que le sultan Moulay 'Abdallah en fit périr dès qu'il le put le plus grand nombre ; son fils Sidi Mohammed voulut un instant tenter de les rassembler, mais le vide du trésor et les révoltes l'obligèrent aussi à les disperser (3).

(1) Tahanout, Amismiz, Kasba Amejjout (Imi n Tanout), Qehira, Tizi Ma'cho sur le Dir ou dans la montagne ; Khandeq el Wed, Ilou Riqi et Chichawa dans les plaines.
(2) *Istiqsa*, Archives marocaines, IX, p. 262.
(3) Chénier. *Recherches historiques*, t. III, p. 424, 437, 488, 489; *Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines, t. IX, p. 313-332.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Jadis, les Almohades et les Mérinides avaient su attirer dans leurs capitales des mercenaires chrétiens, ainsi que des renégats turcs et des persans. L'appui qu'ils donnaient au souverain était d'autant plus fidèle qu'ils étaient sans attaches profondes dans le pays (1). Mais, depuis que le Maroc s'était fermé à l'Occident et redoutait l'influence turque, ces éléments avaient disparu. Les sultans Saadiens ou Filaliens furent alors contraints le plus souvent de faire appel aux tribus arabes, dont le dévouement était moins certain et qui, à de nombreuses reprises, causèrent la perte de ceux qui les utilisèrent.

Dans l'histoire du Sud, les groupes arabes les plus importants qui sont intervenus dans la politique du Makhzen sont les Oulad Mot'a, sous les Saadiens, dispersés d'ailleurs par Ahmed el Mansour, à présent voisins des Gedmiwa; les Menabha, établis à la fois à l'ouest de Marrakech et à l'est de Taroudant; les Chebbanat, instruments de la perte du dernier des Saadiens et déportés dans diverses directions ; enfin les Chararda, formés d'éléments divers, Zirara, Chebbanat, Oulad Dlim, Tekna, Ida ou Blal, dont les derniers soulèvements près de Marrakech agitèrent les règnes de Moulay Sliman et de Moulay 'Abd er Rahman (2).

Ces tribus « gich », formant une sorte de colonie militaire répartie autour de Marrakech, étaient soustraites à l'impôt et possédaient leurs terres à titre permanent ou précaire. Elles recevaient en outre des subsides mensuels, mais devaient, en toutes circonstances, fournir des contingents levés sur simple avis du représentant du sultan, qui était établi dans la kasba de la capitale du Sud avec le titre de pacha. Organisées en « milliers », « centaines » ou fractions plus faibles, commandées par des caïds militaires, elles prenaient part à toutes les expéditions nécessitées par le rétablissement de l'ordre et le recouvrement des impôts. Les liens d'alliance de ces Arabes avec leurs frères Ma'qil du Sahara n'étaient pas sans importance pour le gouvernement du pays. Par ailleurs, comme les sultans choisirent à plusieurs reprises des épouses parmi ces tribus arabes, leurs descendants purent, en de nombreuses circonstances trouver un appui utile chez leurs oncles du désert. Le sultan Moulay

(1) Cf. sur les « Ghozz » almohades d'origine égyptienne, El Marrakchi, trad. Fagnan, p. 251, et sur le « Djond », *ibid.*, p. 298. Sur les troupes chrétiennes, P. de Cenival. L'Église chrétienne de Marrakech, *Hespéris*, 1927, p. 73-83.

(2) *Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines; t. X, p. 86.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

'Abdallah, plusieurs fois chassé du pouvoir par les noirs révoltés, éprouva le bénéfice de cette alliance conforme aux plus anciens principes de la tradition sémitique (1). De la même manière, les chefs de l'Atlas, chez les Haha et les Mtougga, purent parfois, grâce à des unions de famille, faire appel au concours des Howara ou des fractions arabes intégrées dans la confédération berbère des Chtouka, et amener l'intervention des tribus arabes dans les querelles des tribus berbères de la montagne.

Nous avons dit par ailleurs le rôle joué par les caïds arabes des tribus fixées à l'est de Marrakech dans le gouvernement des tribus du Sud : Rehamna et Segharna furent souvent chargés, jusque sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, d'assurer pour le compte du Makhzen le recouvrement des impôts et d'exécuter les tournées de police sur le versant saharien de l'Atlas et dans le Dadès et le Haut-Dra (2).

Les tribus berbères se sont montrées, dans l'ensemble, plus rebelles à entrer en masse au service du sultan. Nous les avons vues, il est vrai, donner tout leur appui aux chorfa Saadiens dans le Sous au début du XVIe siècle, mais c'était seulement en leur qualité de « moujahidin », d'ennemis des Portugais, que ces chorfa pouvaient faire appel aux tribus indépendantes de l'Anti-Atlas. Dès que leur pouvoir eut pris l'allure d'une royauté et qu'ils se mirent à suivre dans leur gouvernement les règles constantes du Makhzen, les contingents berbères de l'Anti-Atlas se dispersèrent et les Saadiens durent faire appel, contre leur gré sans doute, aux tribus arabes turbulentes de la plaine du Haouz. De la même manière, les Masmouda se rangèrent un instant, au début du XVIIe siècle, sous la domination maraboutique d'Abou Zakaria, petit-fils de Sidi Saïd Ou 'Abd en Naïm, mais l'abandonnèrent lui aussi lorsqu'il eut cherché à prendre à Marrakech le pouvoir suprême.

Seules, parmi les populations berbères du Sud, les Haha semblent avoir, au cours du XIXe siècle surtout, contribué à étendre et à fortifier la domination du sultan dans la plaine du Sous et sur le Dir de l'Anti-Atlas (3).

(1) Georges Marçais. *Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 706.
(2) Cf. plus haut Livre I, chap. IV et Livre III, chap. III.
(3) Il se peut que les Skoura, les Mesgita et les Ait Seddrat, totalement ou partiellement arabisés d'ailleurs à présent, aient joué jadis dans le Haut-Dra un rôle analogue à celui des Haha. Ces tribus passent dans le pays pour avoir eu d'anciennes relations avec le Makhzen.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Enfin, dans la plupart de ses expéditions guerrières, le Makhzen a utilisé de tout temps en plus du « gich » et des « 'abid » de nombreux contingents levés sur place en traversant les tribus soumises. Ce service militaire occasionnel, connu dans le pays sous le nom de « naiba », a été rendu surtout par les Haha et les populations de la plaine.

L'organisation des troupes chérifiennes en marche a été souvent décrite ; on sait qu'un représentant du sultan, choisi généralement parmi ses parents, est le chef suprême de la « mehalla » et se trouve assisté d'un caïd qui détient toute l'autorité militaire.

Lorsque le sultan lui-même dirige la colonne, il emporte à sa suite, à dos de mules, les lingots d'or qui constituent son trésor, ainsi que ses archives et ses biens les plus précieux. Il pourrait craindre, en effet, qu'une révolte ne l'en dépouillât s'il les laissait derrière lui dans l'une des villes de son Empire (1).

III. « *Les tournées d'impôts* ». — L'utilité principale de l'armée du Makhzen est de permettre de procéder en tout temps à la levée de l'impôt. C'est bien par cette fonction que le gouvernement central est le plus connu des Berbères, et la « harka » ou la « mehalla » du sultan n'intervient généralement en tribu que pour combler les vides du Trésor.

On sait que le problème de l'impôt est l'un des plus graves qu'ait à résoudre l'État musulman. Le droit religieux a soigneusement fixé la nature des diverses contributions. La « zekkat » et l'« 'achour » sont les seuls impôts légaux, qui puissent être exigés des tribus musulmanes. Le « kharaj », impôt foncier sur les terres conquises, a toujours été regardé comme une exaction par les Berbères, qui prétendent avoir embrassé volontairement l'Islam (2).

La destination des contributions elle-même a été prévue par les commentateurs, en sorte que le sultan a les plus grandes difficultés à subvenir à l'entretien de son armée, qui n'a d'autres ressources que la part du butin fait sur l'ennemi et les taxes établies sur les juifs et les chrétiens. On ne signale guère que les petits états kharejites qui aient réussi à s'adapter à ces règles impératives, en

(1) *Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines, t. IX, p. 274 ; *Cour*. Établissement des Chorfa, p. 5 et 92.

(2) Van den Berg, *Principes de droit musulman*, p. 243-244 ; Doutté, Les causes de la chute d'un sultan, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1909, renseignements coloniaux, p. 222.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

conservant une vie fruste, comparable à celle des temps anciens du Prophète.

Depuis deux siècles, l'établissement des droits de marché (meks), des taxes de péage au passage des rivières ou à l'entrée des villes, des impôts supplémentaires sur les étoffes et les objets précieux, ont été le sujet de discussions passionnées des juristes, qui ont toujours blâmé ces contributions illégales, excusables seulement par la dureté des temps et l'appauvrissement du trésor chérifien (1). Chénier indiquait déjà, sous le règne de Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Abdallah, l'état de ruine des finances de l'empire et la dépréciation constante de la monnaie. L'ouverture du Maroc au commerce européen a précipité, au cours du XIXe siècle, une crise financière qui a été l'une des causes les plus agissantes de l'effondrement du Makhzen (2).

Cet aspect de l'organisation de l'État a eu, pour la vie des tribus, une importance particulière ; en toutes circonstances et surtout depuis trois générations, le sultan a dû exiger des tribus soumises, non seulement la zekkat et l' 'achour, mais encore des impositions extraordinaires limitées seulement par la force de résistance que pouvaient offrir les populations du « bled makhzen ». Les intermédiaires habituels, caïds et chikhs, ont pour leur part accru encore la valeur et le nombre de ces « frida ». Les tribus à demi soumises se contentaient de verser leur quote-part lors du passage assez régulier de la « mehalla » chérifienne. Encore estimaient-elle la somme qu'elles devaient verser en tenant compte de la distance qui séparait leur territoire de l'itinéraire suivi par les forces du sultan. Si les révoltes, la faiblesse du pouvoir ou une autre cause, avaient pour quelques années suspendu la perception des impôts, on les totalisait à la tournée suivante, qui s'exécutait alors avec des forces considérables afin d'obtenir le maximum sur les sommes réclamées par le Trésor.

L'exécution de ces tournées d'impôt qui permettaient de faire vivre les grands du Makhzen et les tribus « gich », se poursuivait selon des règles bien connues des tribus. Les résistances locales étaient surmontées soit par l'occupation effective des villages, le pillage, la destruction des maisons, la recherche des silos et la

(1) *Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines, t. IX, p. 279, t. X, p. 97-98.

(2) Les conséquences de cette situation se sont fait sentir d'une manière particulièrement pénible pour les populations du Sous.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

capture des troupeaux, soit en échauffant le zèle des tribus voisines ennemies des groupes réfractaires et qui se trouvaient ainsi intéressées à la perception fructueuse des impôts. En toutes circonstances, la prise des otages facilitait le réglement définitif des contestations, et le passage de la « mehalla » dans une tribu voisine était obtenue après une soumission et des concessions mutuelles sur les sommes réclamées et proposées.

Dans les tribus soumises, nous trouvons établis, au voisinage des maisons de chefs, de petits groupes de juifs qui contribuent d'une manière indirecte à faciliter l'action du Makhzen. Mêlés au recouvrement des impôts, parce qu'ils sont toujours prêts à avancer, quelquefois avec l'argent du caïd lui-même, les sommes réclamées aux paysans au nom du sultan, ces juifs ont joué dans la vie intérieure des tribus un rôle obscur, mais parfois important. Groupés surtout au pied de l'Atlas, au point où s'exerce en même temps l'action politique et où se multiplient les transactions économiques, ils sont souvent l'indice de la pénétration récente du Makhzen (1).

IV. *La politique berbère du Makhzen.* — Il est facile de trouver dans le détail de l'action du Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, au cours du dernier siècle, l'application des principes généraux de la politique à l'égard des tribus qui n'ont cessé d'être respectés depuis le temps des Saadiens.

La première de ces règles pratiques est la méfiance à l'égard des Berbères qui habitent les contrées inaccessibles : « Gardez-vous surtout, disait Ahmed el Mansour à son fils, d'enrôler parmi les fusiliers les gens de la montagne qui ne pensent qu'à bien manger et à s'enrichir ; il n'en faut prendre aucun, car sachez-le bien, en agissant ainsi, c'est comme si vous vouliez qu'ils ne vous paient plus d'imposition, ni maintenant ni plus tard » (2). Mohammed Echcheikh el Asghar faisait écrire lui aussi à Mohammed Ben Echcherif à Sidjilmassa : « N'attaque jamais les Berbères dans leurs montagnes ; attends que tu trouves un moyen plus facile d'arriver jusqu'à eux » (3).

(1) Il existe d'autres juiveries, parfois en haute montagne dans l'Atlas (Tifoout, Glawa), mais surtout dans l'Anti-Atlas. Il se peut que nous nous trouvions là en présence des restes dégénérés des anciennes populations berbères judaïsées. Les traditions locales montrent souvent que ces groupes ont été beaucoup plus nombreux autrefois et que des conversions à l'Islam obtenues de vive force les ont fait disparaître.

(2) *Nezoht el Hadi*, trad. Houdas, p. 288.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 424-425.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Restent alors pour soumettre les tribus, les combattants levés dans les plaines du Sous, le Dra ou l'Azaghar de Marrakech. La plupart sont des Arabes dont la fidélité est douteuse, et il faut, lorsqu'ils trahissent, pénétrer sur leur territoire, « avec des troupes qui pillent tout et tuent sans merci » ; mais, malgré leur versatilité, ils forment encore le rempart le plus solide de la dynastie. « Attache-toi, dit un souverain, le cœur des Arabes, sache de quoi ils sont capables, et alors tu sauras sûrement ce que tu peux attendre de chaque tribu » (1).

Les deux pôles de l'action du Makhzen dans le Sous sont la kasba de Marrakech et celle de Taroudant. Cette dernière ville d'ailleurs trop souvent menacée par les soulèvements, et perdue à grande distance au milieu du pays berbère, ne peut être un point d'appui suffisant pour faciliter des entreprises importantes. Elle n'apparaît comme un centre actif que de loin en loin, dans les périodes de calme, et son importance le cède de beaucoup à la capitale du Haouz. C'est donc surtout dans l'activité des pachas de la kasba de Marrakech, exercée sur les tribus du nord de l'Atlas, qu'il est possible de trouver les meilleurs exemples de la politique du Makhzen.

Maintenir le pays dans un ordre relatif, entretenir dans un état de faiblesse les tribus et leurs chefs, de telle sorte que la perception de l'impôt soit aussi facile que possible, telle est la préoccupation essentielle de ces gouverneurs. Ils surveillent avec soin les caïds nommés par le sultan dans les tribus du Dir, entretiennent leurs divisions et les opposent les uns aux autres, afin qu'ils ne puissent augmenter dangereusement leur commandement. Ils veillent à ce que leurs kasbas soient construites en des lieux faciles à atteindre et craignent de laisser prendre le pouvoir à des chikhs trop éloignés à l'intérieur de la grande chaîne (2). S'ils dérogent parfois à cette règle, comme le fit Brahim el Grawi, à l'égard de l'aïnghar Mohammed de Tagontaft, c'est afin, semble-t-il, de morceler des commandements qui leur paraissent trop vastes. Sous le règne de Sidi Mohammed, les Gedmiwa du Dir sont soumis à trois petits caïds. A la mort du grand caïd des Haha, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, la confédération est aussitôt fractionnée en trois parties, et plus

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 424-425.
(2) Cf. plus haut, livre III, chap. II, p. 315.

tard, Moulay el Hasan y établira cinq chefs étroitement surveillés par des « oumana » (1). Enfin, comme en toutes circonstances, il faut sauvegarder la fiction du Makhzen, jusque dans la haute montagne insoumise, le titre de caïd est même donné à des notables sans autorité véritable, qui acceptent le risque de défendre par leurs propres moyens la cause du Makhzen dans les hautes vallées. Tels ont été sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, Mohammed ou Mansour des Seksawa, nommé chez les Aït Haddiyous et l'éphémère Bou L'achrat chez les Ida Ou Tanan (2).

La politique chérifienne sait d'ailleurs admirablement utiliser les circonstances locales, et lorsque les commandements se trouvent trop fractionnés, elle les réunit progressivement. Nous voyons alors agir les représentants du sultan avec une admirable patience : on confirme tout d'abord l'autorité des amghars les plus solides en leur donnant généralement le titre de caïd, puis on les oppose les uns aux autres en ne perdant aucune occasion par la suite de faire disparaître les vaincus et d'organiser un commandement unique (3).

Souvent dans les régions les mieux contrôlées par le Sultan l'autorité des caïds est limitée par celle des « oumana », car bien que les chefs des tribus méritent dans les lettres chérifiennes le nom de « serviteurs intègres », les sultans n'ont jamais hésité à écrire très librement les vols et les exactions que commettaient la plupart d'entre eux (4).

(1) Moulay el Hasan redoutait le développement du pouvoir des caïds en tribu, à la suite de l'exemple donné par El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi.

« Tous les efforts du Sultan, dit Erckmann, tendent à substituer dans les tribus berbères l'autorité du caïd à celle de la jema'a, et dans les tribus arabes à remplacer les groupements naturels par des groupements artificiels, de manière à augmenter le rendement des impôts et à triompher plus aisément des résistances locales. Dans ce but, il substitua aux dix-huit grands commandements qui existaient autrefois (pour tout l'Empire) un nombre considérable de petits groupes — trois cent trente environ — à la tête de chacun desquels se trouve un caïd. Les nouveaux caïds sont de minces personnages qui ne peuvent pas songer à résister aux ordres qu'ils reçoivent ; la cohésion des tribus se détruit et les impôts rentrent plus facilement. Mais malheureusement il arrive que le pays ainsi pressuré par une foule de caïds et par leurs acolytes marche à une ruine certaine ». *Le Maroc moderne*, p. 122.

(2) Cf. plus haut.

(3) Cf. La Tribu de Massat, *Hespéris*, 1924, p. 392. A l'égard des marabouts eux-mêmes, le sultan sait faire preuve d'une grande habileté, et utiliser tout leur crédit moral pour consolider son action en tribu. Les relations de Moulay el Hasan avec le chérif du Tazerwait, au cours de la deuxième expédition du Sous peuvent être données comme un des meilleurs exemples de la souplesse d'une action politique entièrement couronnée de succès. Cf. plus haut, livre I, chap. IV, et Géranton, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, p. 192.

(4) A l'occasion d'une famine, des prêts d'argent avaient été consentis aux populations par le Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah. Écrivant ensuite à son peuple qu'il renonçait à recouvrer ses avances, ce souverain disait : « Je ne vous ai pas donné cet argent dans l'intention de vous le réclamer, je vous ai dit que c'était un prêt, uniquement pour qu'il ne fût pas accaparé par vos cheikhs et vos notables, ce qu'ils eussent fait s'ils avaient su que c'était un don de ma part. » *Istiqsa*, Archives Marocaines, t. IX, p. 333.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Le rôle des « oumana » que le sultan choisit parmi les notables du pays, est de veiller à la perception correcte des impôts et d'administrer les biens du Makhzen, qui proviennent de toutes les terres confisquées aux caïds précédents. A la mort d'El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi, chez les Haha, tous les champs qu'il avait fait défricher dans l'ensemble du pays, sa cavalerie, ses mulets et ses troupeaux furent pris en compte par des « oumana » établis à demeure sur tout le territoire de la confédération. Ces fonctionnaires qui percevaient la « mouna » dans les « magasins de l' 'Achour » à Mogador, où se trouvaient réunis les produits des impôts en nature, recevaient en outre des tribus tout leur équipement. Ils n'avaient pas le droit, pour leur compte personnel de réclamer le bénéfice des « touiza », réservé aux caïds. Leur devoir était, en outre, de signaler au sultan toutes les exactions et tous les abus qu'ils pouvaient connaître. En réalité, un accord s'établit vite entre eux et les chefs qu'ils devaient surveiller et le sort des tribus soumises au Makhzen ne s'en trouva aucunement amélioré.

V. *Le fractionnement nouveau des tribus soumises.* — Ce qui caractérise la nouvelle organisation des tribus définitivement réduites en servitude, ce n'est pas seulement leur soumission à un caïd placé dans une étroite dépendance par rapport au sultan, c'est surtout l'existence d'un mode nouveau de fractionnement conçu d'une manière différente de l'ancienne division naturelle des groupes berbères. L'unité était jadis un canton, ancienne « taqbilt » indépendante formée d'un certain nombre de « mouda' » ou de « jema'a », aux dimensions presque constantes. A présent, les tribus sont divisées arbitrairement en tiers, en quarts, cinquièmes ou unités plus petites encore qui n'ont plus d'autre fonction que de faciliter la répartition des impôts et dont les limites chevauchent arbitrairement les frontières des cantons d'autrefois (1).

Parfois aussi, les cantons anciens subsistent, mais selon les

(1) On peut donner en exemple les Ouzgita du Jebel Kik coupés en trois fractions : les Aït Wasif, comprenant les villages des rives de l'oued Nefis, les Immighern, établis à Agergour et sur la montagne de Kik, Dou Ighris avec les vallées des Imarighen et Wirgan. Chacune de ces unités est divisée en six « quarts ». Les Mzouda sont formés de dix unités ayant le nom de « mia », centaines. Les Nfiffa, jadis constitués par six cantons, ont vu leurs divisions entièrement remaniées et sont formés de cinq cinquièmes : Imi n Tanout en comprend deux, Asif el Bour en a deux autres, Ameznez forme le dernier ; dans cette tribu, le nouveau fractionnement au Makhzen a même fait disparaître la notion de leff autrefois très vivante.

besoins, on les unit à d'autres groupes entièrement différents, situés à une journée de distance, afin de compléter le nombre des foyers imposables pour former une nouvelle unité artificielle, la « tribu makhzen », dont l'utilité est purement fiscale (1).

Une autre manière de diviser les tribus, plus artificielle encore, consiste à grouper les différents feux par groupes de dix pour constituer ce que l'on appelait un « kanoun makhzen », unité d'impôt qui devait fournir des contributions en nature au passage des harkas (2).

Tandis que, dans les régions mal soumises, les nouvelles divisions établies par le Makhzen se confondent encore avec des unités sociales d'autrefois et sont dès lors capables de reconstituer en temps de « siba » leur conseil d'Aït Arba'in, les parties plus directement atteintes par la transformation politique n'ont plus que des « khoms » sans assemblée, des « mia » ou des « toulout » sans personnalité politique. Nous avons dit comment, dans ces conditions, la seule unité naturelle qui subsistait encore était la simple « jema'a » de village ou d'un groupe de hameaux groupée autour de sa mosquée et continuant à appliquer avec obstination les petits réglements coutumiers de la vie agricole, sanctionnés par des amendes modestes, les « azzainnigran » (3).

Dans tout l'ensemble du Haut-Atlas, il est ainsi possible de suivre la décadence progressive des unités sociales anciennes, d'autant plus apparente à mesure que s'intensifie l'action du Makhzen. L'établissement du nouveau fractionnement contribue à effacer la division en leffs, diminue l'autorité de la plupart des chikhs, devenus de simples agents de transmission d'ordres entre

(1) C'est ainsi que la vallée de l'Asif el Mal formait autrefois une tribu divisée en quatre parties ; les Ind Maghous formaient le premier quart, Tigi'ler le second, Taskourt, les Ait Tabgao et Iberdaten le troisième, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif le quatrième. Comme ce commandement paraissait trop faible pour fournir les impôts d'une « tribu makhzen » on lui adjoignit plus tard le petit groupe des Dnassa situé sur le Dir à l'est d'Amismiz, à une quarantaine de kilomètres de distance, de manière à former une « tribu makhzen ». De même, chez les Mtougga, nous voyons aussi Tednest situé en plaine, rattaché artificiellement aux khoms des Ida Ou Nifi à une journée de marche de distance en montagne. Comparer Trenga, *Les Branes*, Archives berbères, t. I, fasc. 4, p. 318.

(2) Au Touat, chez les Chauwya du Maroc l'unité est la « deffa », ainsi nommée parce qu'elle désigne un groupe d'habitants chargés de fournir une « deffa » à l'armée du Makhzen, lorsqu'elle passe dans le pays (A. C. P. Martin, *Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine*, p. 32, 60, 115, 437. Nous avons trouvé dans les hautes vallées du Nefisa l'« aserdoun » — mulet — parce que la contribution annuelle de cette unité était un mulet offert au sultan ou au caïd.

(3) On peut ainsi comparer le sud des Haha, peu atteint par la pénétration Makhzen, dont les tribus sont divisées en « khoms », véritables unités politiques, et le nord du même pays dont les khoms ne sont plus que des divisions établies en vue de l'impôt (cf. plus haut, t. re II, chap. II, p. 155) et Doutté : Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905, rens. coloniaux, p. 11.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les mains du caïd; enfin, les conseils de notables et les « jema'a » jouent un rôle sans cesse plus effacé dans l'administration du pays et font place au caïd.

VI. *Un grand caïd au service du Makhzen.* — Tels sont les aspects principaux de la politique et de l'organisation du Makhzen dans ses relations avec les tribus berbères du Sud du Maroc. Lourde machine qui écrase le pays et fait disparaître les dernières traditions que les chefs autochtones avaient respectées, efface les limites des cantons, le souvenir des alliances anciennes, et ne laisse plus bientôt, en face du sultan qu'une foule anonyme de sujets dont le rôle unique est de payer l'impôt.

Cependant parfois, sous la domination du sultan, il arrive qu'on voit se reconstituer le pouvoir personnel, qu'un caïd habile et entreprenant, mettant ses ambitions au service du Makhzen, réussisse à obtenir un grand commandement en pays berbère, de telle sorte qu'il nous apparaisse, à distance, sous les mêmes traits que les chefs à demi indépendants de la montagne. Mais si l'on veut examiner avec attention les conditions dans lesquelles s'est développée et exercée sa puissance, on aperçoit combien les forces sur lesquelles il s'appuie ont changé; moins solidement construit sur la base d'un canton ou d'une tribu, moins bien soutenu par les alliances de leff, sans fondation durable dans le pays, son pouvoir reste précaire et repose surtout sur la confiance et l'appui du souverain. Que celui-ci retire sa faveur, le grand caïd makhzen disparaît dans le néant.

L'exemple de la carrière d'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, grand chef qui eut au milieu du dernier siècle, dans le pays des Haha, un prestige comparable aux seigneurs des Glawa, suffira à nous faire comprendre combien le pouvoir d'un tel caïd s'oppose, par des traits nombreux à celui des maîtres des tribus de la montagne.

'Abdallah Ou Bihi apparaît vers 1844. Sa famille est au service du Makhzen depuis soixante ans; déjà fixée à Mogador, elle commande de loin au pays des Haha sous la surveillance du gouverneur de la ville. 'Abdallah est lui-même le fils d'une esclave noire et la tradition rapporte le fait étrange que sa mère fut donnée enceinte au caïd des Haha par le Sultan Moulay Sliman, ce qui laisse planer sur ses origines véritables un mystère complet dont la légende s'est emparée.

Après des débuts difficiles et des discordes avec le petit caïd des Mtougga que le sultan fait jeter en prison, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi entreprend de soumettre les tribus de son commandement révoltées depuis le bombardement de Mogador par la flotte française et maudites par Moulay 'Abd er Rahman. On ne trouve plus, à cette époque dans le pays des Haha, de leffs stables constitués par des alliances traditionnelles, à la manière de celles du Nefis ou du pays des Glawa, mais seulement des associations fragiles de « khoms » ou de tribus, établies selon les nécessités du moment. Ce sont surtout d'ailleurs des alliances de notables. C'est ainsi que le caïd des Mtougga entretient avec les Ida Ou Bouzia et les Ida Ou Gelloul des relations qui lui servent à faire échec à 'Abdallah Ou Bihi.

Le territoire de la confédération est alors divisé en deux parties que sépare le cours de l'Asif des Igezzoulen. Au nord de cette limite, se trouvent les tribus les plus habituées à la domination du Makhzen, et soumises à des chikhs ; au sud, des unités plus indépendantes, encore dirigées parfois par des conseils de notables et toujours prêtes à s'unir dans la révolte à leurs voisins de la montagne restés libres, les Ida Ou Tanan.

En dix ans, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi fait la conquête de son territoire. Il s'établit tout d'abord à l'Azaghar des Aït Zelten, vieux centre du Makhzen où les terres appartiennent dès cette époque au sultan, et y construit une kasba. Celle-ci n'a pas l'allure guerrière des « agadirs » des chefs de Tagontaft ou de Telwet. C'est une grande enceinte carrée, aux murs de pierres et de pisé, défendue par des borjs, comme toutes les kasbas du Makhzen construites en plaine. A l'intérieur, il y bâtit tout d'abord sa maison, assez modeste, formée d'un enclos carré, orné de deux tours d'angles ; puis des écuries destinées aux nombreux chevaux des cavaliers qu'il garde à son service, enfin des magasins où les tribus viendront verser la dîme.

Peu à peu, il réussit à franchir la limite de l'Asif des Igezzoulen, bat, emprisonne les révoltés et arrive à la frontière des Ida Ou Tanan. Ainsi maître de toute la confédération, il en rassemble les forces pour faire la conquête des plaines du Sud, tenir garnison sur le Dir de l'Anti-Atlas, et percevoir les impôts au nom du sultan. Tous les Haha trouvent ainsi profit, comme naguère au temps d'Aghennaj (1), à cette domination. Répandus dans la plaine

(1) Cf. plus haut, livre I, chap. IV, p. 106.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

intérieure du Sous où ils se dispersent « comme des bateaux dans la mer », ils s'enrichissent et oublient leurs discordes intérieures.

Devenu puissant, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi se sent à l'étroit dans sa kasba de l'Azaghar. Il en fait construire une autre, plus vaste que la première à quelques kilomètres, sur la croupe de la montagne d'Amhach. Cette forteresse, aujourd'hui ruinée, contenait une grande maison défendue par des borjs ; des citernes et des magasins voûtés édifiés avec soin, dans lesquels les marabouts eux-mêmes venaient verser la dîme, ce qui nous indique assez bien leur état d'abaissement. Entre les deux kasbas s'étendait un grand espace planté d'oliviers et toutes les tribus participaient par des corvées à la construction d'un immense mur d'enceinte en pierres sèches, destiné à abriter les cultures du caïd. Autour de la maison de l'Azaghar grandissent alors les demeures des parents d''Abdallah Ou Bihi. Enfin, des centaines d'esclaves noirs cultivent les champs. Par les aspects matériels de son établissement le chef Makhzen semble vivre et agir comme un caïd de la montagne.

Mais si l'on examine avec soin l'organisation du pouvoir du grand chef, on voit combien elle diffère de celle des autres chefs berbères dont nous avons étudié l'apparition et le développement. 'Abdallah Ou Bihi n'est pas établi sur les terres de ses ennemis, mais sur celles du Makhzen. Son seul rival est le caïd des Mtougga, mais pour le combattre et le mettre en fuite, il doit attendre patiemment la « siba » qui suit la mort du Sultan. Il ne confisque pas les biens des vaincus, mais dans chaque tribu, il fait défricher les terres mortes, conquises en forêt, par l'incendie. Chacun lui doit deux jours de labours et trois jours de moisson, qui lui suffisent pour faire remplir ses silos établis sous la garde d'un « amin ».

Le grand caïd, sans cesse à la tête de ses cavaliers, parcourt les tribus. Cependant ce groupe qu'il appelle son « makhzen » n'est pas constitué par les guerriers d'un canton privilégié, il est formé de Haha d'origines diverses. Ceux qu'il prise le plus sont ceux des Ida Ou Gourd, pour la plupart d'origine arabe, parce qu'ils sont durs au combat ; il peut, en toute circonstance, utiliser cent cavaliers et trois cents piétons qui sont tous volontaires et qu'il a parfois choisis parmi les fils de ses plus rudes ennemis. Les Aït Zelten, de la tribu d'origine du caïd, sont les moins nombreux ; vivant dans un pays moins pauvre, ils sont pour la plupart impro-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh .

pres à la guerre et n'ont d'autre réputation que celle de bien vivre et bien manger.

Enfin, les fonctionnaires de la kasba qui, chez l'amghar berbère, sont pris dans le village d'origine, proviennent ici indistinctement des diverses tribus du commandement; les chefs de harkas et les khalifats viennent surtout de la tribu guerrière des Ida Ou Gourd. Pas de khalifats sur le territoire de la confédération, ni de maisons de mokhaznis chargés de percevoir la « frida ». Au contraire, on trouve dans chaque khoms des chikhs éprouvés, sortis des vieilles familles qui garderont le pouvoir pendant plus de vingt années et ce sont eux qui, après la mort du grand chef, recueilleront sa succession et donneront au pays de nombreux petits caïds.

La domination d'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi dans son propre pays, nous apparaît ainsi moins violente que celle des chefs de l'Atlas sur les tribus qu'ils ont conquises. L'union des Haha est réalisée par l'autorité d'un chef que le Makhzen soutient de sa puissance lointaine, mais cependant redoutée ; c'est d'ailleurs surtout par l'attrait qu'exercent sur les guerriers du pays les missions fructueuses remplies dans la plaine du Sous afin de percevoir l'impôt du sultan, qu'est cimenté l'accord des tribus. Dès que cette source de profit se trouvera tarie et qu'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi aura été tué par le poison du sultan, tout le pays retournera à l'anarchie, aux luttes intérieures, aux ambitions désordonnées des petits chefs, et l'œuvre de vingt années d'efforts disparaîtra sans laisser aucune trace.

La fin tragique du grand chef des Haha suffit à nous montrer combien son effort se trouve étroitement limité et surveillé par le Makhzen. Plus facilement grandi grâce au prestige chérifien, il est en même temps destiné à connaître, si la disgrâce le frappe, une ruine immédiate.

El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi n'avait pas continué, à l'égard du Tazerwalt, la politique de guerre acharnée faite jadis par Aghennaj. Le Makhzen avait accepté ce qu'il ne pouvait détruire : les descendants de Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa envoyaient au sultan, chaque année, un couple d'esclaves en présent, tandis qu'ils recevaient en « ziara » une somme de mille metqal.

Des relations très amicales s'établirent même entre El Hajj 'Abdallah et le chérif du Tazerwalt. Bientôt leur amitié devint presque une alliance et l'on vit venir un jour, au camp du khalifat

du Makhzen, dressé sur les bords de l'Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein lui-même, escorté des « Aït Arbai'n » de la montagne, au nombre de 400, apportant en cadeau, disent encore les témoins, 32 esclaves, 8 chevaux, 10 selles brodées, 12 fusils d'argent, de l'ambre et de l'or du Soudan. Chikhs des Haha et notables de la montagne de l'Anti-Atlas réunis passèrent en fêtes plusieurs jours et l'on célébra la puissance d'Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi qui était telle, dit encore le poète, « qu'on ne vit jamais son pareil ».

Plusieurs années après, il arriva à Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi une fâcheuse aventure. Un rekkas envoyé par lui au chef du Tazerwalt, avec qui il n'avait cessé d'entretenir des relations, sans doute inoffensives pour la sécurité du Makhzen, oublia ses lettres sur un rocher en faisant sa prière. On ne put jamais les retrouver ; mais à quelque temps de là, comme Hajj 'Abdallah s'était rendu à Marrakech pour verser au sultan la « hédia », les présents traditionnels donnés à l'occasion des fêtes, il fut reçu par Sidi Mohammed lui-même, qui lui montra les lettres perdues. « Que préfères-tu maintenant? Veux-tu boire ce thé en silence, ou bien faudra-t-il que je promène en tribu le grand caïd Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, les fers aux pieds, avant de lui faire couper la tête ? »

El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi réfléchit, prit avec résignation le verre de poison, et s'en alla mourir dans la chambre où l'attendait en ville son cadi qui l'avait accompagné (1868).

VII. *Les abus.* — En dehors des périodes heureuses pendant lesquelles, sous la conduite d'un caïd bien en cour, la tribu berbère peut en invoquant les ordres du sultan, vivre aux dépens des régions voisines, encore à demi-rebelles à la domination du Makhzen, le nouvel état politique n'amène pour le pays qu'un accroissement de la misère et que le développement d'intolérables abus.

C'est le caïd lui-même qui, aux yeux du Berbère soumis, apparaît comme l'agent principal de son malheur. En vain, s'efforce-t-on au début, dans le pays, de limiter les injustices qu'il peut commettre. Lorsqu'une tribu, après avoir réussi à vivre quelques années dans l'anarchie, se trouve lasse du désordre et cède à l'habile pression exercée par le Makhzen sur les notables et les chikhs, elle désigne le plus souvent, comme porte-parole et comme caïd éventuel, un homme choisi parce qu'il est modeste et qu'on le croit sans ambition. Ainsi espère-t-on pouvoir s'opposer plus

aisément à l'activité d'un chef qui peut devenir désormais, s'il le veut, un maître absolu. Mais le nouveau caïd, ses frères ou ses fils, s'affranchissent bien vite de toute règle ; il en va de même des chikhs qui, au début, n'osent rien décider sans consulter les notables et bientôt cessent de les rassembler ; ils obéissent en toutes circonstances, disent-ils pour s'excuser, aux ordres formels du caïd. Plus la transformation du pays, préparée par l'action des amghars depuis des siècles, est avancée, plus l'autorité des chefs makhzen se fait absolue et se libère aisément de tout contrôle.

Seuls échappent, dans une certaine mesure, aux exactions des caïds et des amghars, ceux qui leur sont attachés par les liens de parenté ou le souvenir des anciennes alliances. Aussi voit-on souvent en tribu des villages riches et puissants, dont la prospérité contraste avec la ruine d'autres hameaux presque déserts. Les premiers sont ceux des « frères » du chef, les seconds sont ceux des familles ennemies ou rivales.

Le malheur est plus grand encore lorsque le caïd est un étranger à la tribu ; tous sont alors « mangés » sans distinction d'origine, tandis que prospèrent autour de la kasba les parents et les serviteurs du maître, qui font même parfois sortir leurs richesses du territoire pour les envoyer dans leur propre tribu.

Le sultan, il est vrai, intervient parfois, pour limiter les méfaits de ses représentants. Moulay el Hasan cherchait, on l'a vu, à équilibrer le pouvoir des caïds par celui des jema'a ou des oumana, vain effort dans un pays où tout chef est depuis des siècles l'ennemi né d'une assemblée. Il existe aussi une justice du souverain, rapide et décisive ; maître absolu de ses sujets, le caïd est à son tour sans droits devant le sultan ; que les cavaliers du Makhzen arrivent dans sa kasba avec l'ordre de lui mettre les fers, demain il sera jeté dans la prison de Marrakech pour le punir des abus qu'il a commis. Mais tous les biens dont il s'est emparé pendant son commandement, tout l'argent qu'il a enterré dans les cours de sa maison deviennent la propriété du Makhzen. Si le chef meurt en fonction et que le commandement passe à une autre famille, le sultan est aussi l'héritier de toute la fortune acquise depuis sa nomination. Enfin, chaque changement de caïd est pour la cour du sultan l'occasion de recevoir de tous ceux qui sollicitent la succession d'importants cadeaux ; les sommes ainsi versées par avance seront remboursées par la tribu à son nouveau chef dès le premier

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh .

jour. On sait combien cette pratique, exagérément répétée sous le règne de Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, au temps de la grande détresse du trésor chérifien, a contribué à préparer la grande explosion d'anarchie dans laquelle le Maroc a perdu sa liberté.

Soumis à ce régime d'oppression, le paysan souffre avec une patience infinie. Il exécute les ordres reçus, verse l'argent demandé, accomplit les corvées, vend ses récoltes en vert, ses amandes et ses olives en fleurs, livre ses biens, enfin, ruiné, quitte son hameau. Pendant de longues années, il lutte contre la misère. Plus de fêtes en tribu, plus de danses collectives sur l' « assais », la place du village entourée de noyers, où l'on allumait jadis de grands feux jusqu'à l'aube. A peine les petits enfants jettent-ils encore dans l'espace, en gardant quelques chèvres, la courte phrase nostalgique du chant berbère. Le seul espoir qui reste est celui d'une prochaine libération lorsqu'éclatera d'un seul coup la « siba » et les hommes qui restent en tribu vivent dans cette attente, cachant au plus profond de leur cœur une haine grandissante.

VIII. *La siba.* — La « siba », la révolte peut être regardée en pays soumis comme une véritable institution. C'est elle qui permet aux tribus de se délivrer un instant de leur servitude, de reprendre leurs biens tombés en possession du Makhzen, de goûter pendant quelques années les joies de l'anarchie, pour mieux reprendre plus tard leur place dans l'Empire auquel elles sont liées désormais pour toujours.

La « siba » se produit chaque fois que l'autorité du Makhzen subit un grave échec ou qu'elle s'affaiblit et manifeste son impuissance. Le meilleur signal de la révolte est donné par la mort du Sultan, puisque chacun s'attend — grâce à une expérience millénaire — à ce que plusieurs prétendants se disputent sa succession les armes à la main, enrôlent à leur suite les tribus et à ce que le désordre règne jusqu'à ce que le plus fort ou le plus habile l'ait emporté. Les crises les plus longues d'anarchie qu'ait connues le Sud du Maroc depuis un siècle et demi sont la grande siba de sept années, après la mort de Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Abdallah (1790-1797) ; celle de la mort de Moulay 'Abd er Rahman (1859-1864) ; celle de la mort de Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Les tribus ont, en outre,

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

manifesté par d'innombrables révoltes locales leur impatience à supporter le joug du Makhzen.

A peine la nouvelle de la défaite des armées du Sultan ou celle de sa mort est-elle connue dans les villes, qu'elle se propage avec une inconcevable rapidité jusque chez les tribus berbères les plus lointaines.

Lorsque le sultan Sidi Mohammed se noya, dans le bassin de l'Aguedal, à Marrakech, en 1875, son fils Sidi El Hasan était fort occupé dans le pays des Haha à rétablir l'ordre, troublé depuis les huit années écoulées, après la mort d'El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi. Les esclaves noirs, ses cavaliers, ses mokhaznis, dispersés dans toute la confédération, cherchaient à dénombrer les biens du Makhzen et vivaient largement des lourdes amendes imposées aux Berbères. Soudain, les habitants apprirent l'événement, avant qu'il fût arrivé à la connaissance du fils du Sultan. En une seconde, l'état du pays fut changé ; les loups devinrent agneaux, et c'est à grand peine que les serviteurs du Makhzen regagnèrent la kasba de Bou Riqi sous les huées des Berbères. Sidi El Hasan eut l'habileté de promettre le commandement de leur tribu aux principaux notables et réussit à arrêter un mouvement de révolte qui lui eût été fatal. Il fut proclamé, le jour même, par les chikhs des Haha promus caïds.

A la mort de Moulay el Hasan, dont le règne avait été marqué cependant par de sérieux efforts pour organiser les tribus du Sud la nouvelle de sa disparition fit éclater, d'un seul coup, la « siba » dans tout le pays soumis au sud du Tensift. et toutes les kasbas furent assiégées. Les caïds, alors en harka avec le souverain dans le Gharb, quittèrent le camp du Sultan en doublant les étapes, cherchèrent asile chez Si 'Aisa ben 'Omar, le puissant caïd des 'Abda, et de là gagnèrent en secret leur pays. Seuls, les plus puissants : le Mtouggi, le Gontafi, le Glawi, réussirent à trouver asile dans leurs grandes forteresses ; la plupart des autres chefs durent aller se refugier auprès des tombeaux des marabouts les plus vénérés, cependant que leurs maisons étaient pillées et que les terres étaient reprises par leurs anciens maîtres.

Lors de la « siba » qui fut causée, en 1904, par les embarras du sultan Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, aux prises avec Bou Hamara, nous voyons les petits chefs tenir fermement derrière les créneaux de leurs remparts, se prêter un mutuel appui, grâce à la fidélité de

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

leurs esclaves et de leurs mokhaznis, et ne réussir à rétablir leur situation antérieure qu'au prix de longs mois d'efforts.

Le premier soin des Berbères, après avoir assiégé et ruiné la maison du caïd, est de réunir un conseil de notables et de tenter de rétablir les institutions d'autrefois. On peut même dire qu'il n'est pas de plus sûr moyen de juger de l'état de transformation d'une région soumise que d'observer la nature de son organisation de « siba ». En haute montagne, là où le souvenir des moqaddems n'a pas encore disparu, bien qu'un chikh ait gouverné le canton depuis de longues années, la constitution du petit état berbère est intégralement rétablie; plus bas, sur les pentes, les notables choisis, selon les mêmes règles qu'autrefois, dans les différents hameaux de l'ancienne « taqbilt », prennent le titre d'Aït Arba'in, et édictent un tarif d'amendes, mais ils ne sont plus capables de désigner un président; sur le Dir ou dans la plaine, ce sont les chikhs eux-mêmes qui constituent le conseil de la tribu, chaque canton ayant perdu le souvenir de sa personnalité politique ; ils se contentent de mettre les fauteurs de troubles dans un trou, sans restaurer le règlement qui punit chaque délit d'une amende déterminée; leur souci est d'ailleurs de tenir le petit peuple à l'écart et ils songent surtout aux moyens qui leur permettront de briguer la place du caïd dès que la révolte sera terminée. Parfois, il arrive que le chef makhzen ait gouverné sa tribu avec modération et qu'on ne relève contre lui aucun motif grave d'expulsion; alors on lui laisse une place dans le conseil, mais en qualité de notable seulement : « Tu seras notre anflous porte-bonheur », dit-on, lors de la siba de Sidi Mohammed, au vieux caïd des Mzouda, qu'on ne voulait pas chasser de sa maison. Le mouvement populaire, qui gagnait alors tout le pays au cours de la « siba », prenait une telle force qu'il fallait donner à l'esprit berbère cette satisfaction de principe pour parvenir à conserver un chef aimé (1).

Cantons et tribus livrés à eux-mêmes, incapables de rétablir dans toute leur force les institutions qu'ils ont abandonnées depuis longtemps, tombent bientôt dans une effroyable anarchie. A l'enthousiasme des premiers jours succède la lassitude du désordre, à mesure que se répètent les luttes de soffs, les combats des cantons qui s'unissent à nouveau pour former des alliances de guerre, analo-

(1) Cf. notre étude sur « Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain ». *Hespéris*, 1924, p. 323.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

gues aux leffs de jadis. C'est alors que le Sultan reprend son autorité, les caïds reparaissent en plaine, des harkas se forment pour rétablir sur le Dir dans leur commandement les chefs bannis; peu à peu, l'on perd confiance en tribu; les Aït Arba'in sont abandonnés et trahis; le Makhzen les met en prison et les Berbères reprennent sans trop de regret le lourd collier de la soumission, comme des bêtes apaisées par une révolte d'un instant contre un joug trop pesant.

Mais c'est surtout lors des révoltes locales, justifiées par les excès de la domination d'un chef étranger et entretenues par la vitalité des traditions d'indépendance que la lutte se prolonge. Au début du mouvement, khalifats et mokhaznis ont été trahis et massacrés ; chacun a repris ses biens et préparé ses armes. A l'arrivée des forces du Makhzen, les guerriers défendent avec énergie leur territoire ; puis, devant les progrès de la harka, s'enfuient dans les montagnes voisines avec leurs familles et leurs troupeaux. Le caïd fait alors détruire les villages et si la « siba » se prolonge, coupe les oliviers et les palmiers. Ainsi ont procédé El Hajj'Abdallah Ou Bihi chez les Aït 'Aisi, et les chefs des Mtougga ont fait de même dans le pays aujourd'hui ruiné des Ida Ou Ziki.

IX. *La disparition des institutions berbères.* — S'il nous fallait indiquer, au terme de cette longue évolution qui a changé les républiques indépendantes en tribus soumises au sultan, les transformations les plus importantes survenues dans la vie du pays berbère, notre choix se porterait sur l'accroissement des unités politiques, le développement des guerres et la disparition lente mais sûre du vieux droit.

En constituant leurs commandements, les amghars ont contribué à effacer les limites des cantons qui séparaient autrefois les petits états autonomes. Plus tard, le long et patient effort du Makhzen a réuni dans les frontières d'une même tribu ces groupes souvent hostiles ; un fractionnement nouveau a fait disparaître jusqu'au souvenir des divisions anciennes ; enfin, un seul chef a reçu du sultan le droit de commander. Cet élargissement du cadre de la vie locale est le résultat de guerres et de révoltes sans nombre ; il a été acquis au prix de souffrances dont on ne peut faire la somme sans quelque tristesse ; peut-être fallait-il qu'il en fût ainsi pour

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

que les petites sociétés de la montagne parvinssent à trouver leur place dans l'Empire.

Les républiques berbères achètent ce droit d'entrer dans un grand état par d'autres sacrifices encore. Jadis les guerres intérieures, par le jeu des alliances équilibrées, ne mettaient aux prises sur les frontières de ces petits cantons que des centaines de guerriers armés de mauvais fusils ; désormais, parvenue à la bordure du pays soumis, la tribu supporte le choc de masses considérables de combattants, Arabes du « gich » de la plaine au service du Makhzen, Berbères asservis par confédérations entières, contingents innombrables des grands caïds. Quand ces harkas pénètrent dans le territoire, aucune résistance n'est possible ; en quelques heures, tous les villages, les agadirs séculaires eux-mêmes sont détruits. Inscrit à présent sur la liste des tribus de « naiba », le petit état dont la vie s'écoulait autrefois dans un cirque de montagne, participe lui aussi aux expéditions lointaines. Les guerriers iront demain rétablir un caïd dans le Dra, ou combattre un rogui au nord de Fès ; au cours de ces voyages, ils connaîtront d'autres lois que celles de leur village et reviendront pénétrés d'influences arabes, d'habitudes citadines jusque là ignorées.

Mais surtout la conquête du Makhzen consacre la ruine définitive de l' « 'orf », du droit berbère. Pendant de longs siècles, la coutume s'est assouplie pour devenir conforme aux règles essentielles du droit religieux. En ce pays qui a vu naître tant de réformateurs de l'Islam, de savants et de juristes, une lente pénétration des principes du « chra' » se poursuit insensiblement. pour éliminer, dans le droit tribal, les dispositions opposées à celles du livre saint (1). Bientôt l' « 'orf » en arrive à se limiter à la répression des crimes et des délits et à réglementer la vie politique du canton. En même temps, la part du « chra' » s'accroît sans cesse ; il embrasse le statut des personnes, et s'étend bientôt aux litiges immobiliers.

C'est à ce moment que s'achève le plus souvent la pénétration politique du Makhzen. Le « louh » des tribus, le recueil vénérable de leurs coutumes, jusqu'ici confié à la garde du moqaddem ou des Aït Arba'in, tombe entre les mains de l'amghar, du chikh du canton

(1) A peine trouverait-on — sauf en ce qui concerne la « rehania » — l'antichrèse — quelques règles opposées au chra' dans les recueils de droit coutumier des tribus du Sous et de l'Anti-Atlas.

ou du caïd de la tribu. Désormais, c'est un homme dont le pouvoir n'a d'autres limites que sa force, qui a la charge d'ordonner et de défendre. Que lui importent les règles anciennes établies par des assemblées dont le souvenir même est une offense à sa puissance? Ne vaut-il pas mieux d'ailleurs, pour punir les coupables, fixer des amendes qui tiennent compte de leurs ressources ? Un homme aisé versera pour sortir de prison une somme élevée ; un pauvre homme pourra à tout le moins vendre son champ. Pour le surplus, le cadi, dévoué au nouveau maître, saura en toutes circonstances juger selon les intérêts du Makhzen.

Ainsi succombent les unes après les autres les institutions berbères. Contre elles, deux forces s'unissent, celle des chefs et celle du Makhzen chérifien. L'une prend naissance dans la montagne elle-même : amghars, chefs d'un canton, d'un leff ou d'une tribu, caïds à demi indépendants, dont les kasbas s'élèvent près des sommets affirment leur volonté, toujours plus puissante et plus absolue, d'asservir les petites républiques à leurs fins personnelles et de transformer les hommes libres d'autrefois en sujets dociles et résignés. L'autre puissance vient du ciel, puisque c'est de Dieu que le souverain tient son trône et ses principes de gouvernement, lorsque les musulmans l'ont reconnu comme chef suprême; mais, en réalité, cette théocratie n'est que l'association des intérêts matériels et des ambitions dévorantes par lesquels s'explique l'activité des fonctionnaires du Makhzen. Ni en fait, ni en droit, les institutions berbères ne peuvent trouver de place dans ce gouvernement. Le premier principe de cette monarchie absolue est celui de la soumission la plus entière de l'inférieur au supérieur. Comme le sultan est dans la main d'Allah, les caïds sont les esclaves du souverain et les sujets les humbles serviteurs des caïds. D'autre part, il ne peut exister dans l'Empire qu'un seul État, qu'une seule communauté islamique dont le chérif est le chef. Les républiques indépendantes de la montagne ne sont pour le Makhzen que les erreurs d'hommes corrompus, des créations qui ne peuvent en droit strict se réclamer d'aucune loi : le néant engendré par l'ignorance.

Également acharnés à détruire la Berbérie, le pouvoir temporel des chefs et le droit divin des sultans savent se joindre et s'unir. Souvent, nous l'avons dit, c'est l'amghar, maître d'un leff établi au pied du Dir, qui entre au service du Makhzen de la plaine ;

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

d'autres fois, c'est un chef de tribu en montagne qui reçoit le titre de caïd; les seigneurs de l'Atlas eux-mêmes, dont les conquêtes se font au nom du sultan, gouvernent selon les principes traditionnels de l'État chérifien, au point que, de nos jours, c'est dans les parties de leurs territoires demeurées libres de notre contrôle qu'il faut aller observer l'anachronisme des dernières tribus vivant sous le régime du Makhzen d'autrefois.

Parfois, il est vrai, ces deux puissances de domination en viennent à se combattre un instant, comme nous l'avons vu au pays de l'amghar de Tagontaft, dans la vallée du Nefis ; mais c'est pour mieux unir ensuite leurs volontés d'exploitation et leurs désirs de conquête. Le but, souvent inconscient, des efforts des chefs et du sultan est d'achever la fondation, sur les ruines des cantons berbères, d'un Empire absolu, sans frontières intérieures, soumis à une loi unique et qui condamne les sujets à subir une ruineuse et impitoyable tyrannie.

Il est difficile, lorsqu'on mesure la vanité des résultats obtenus par le Makhzen et les amghars pendant dix siècles de luttes, d'échapper à un sentiment de pitié à l'égard de ce peuple réduit à une servitude sans idéal, dans une misère sans espoir, et qui ne cherche plus de remède à ses maux que par un retour impuissant et passager à l'anarchie d'autrefois.

[P. 392 is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P 393]

CONCLUSION

L'évolution politique de la Berbérie sédentaire

I. Les républiques berbères. — II. Les grands commandements de l'Atlas. — III. Les royaumes berbères de l'Afrique du Nord. — IV. Fragilité du pouvoir des chefs temporels. — V. Les États maraboutiques ; leur stabilité relative. — VI. Conséquences de la soumission des tribus au Makhzen. — VII. L'avenir politique de la Berbérie.

I. *Les républiques berbères.* — Dans les diverses régions de la Berbérie sédentaire, nous l'avons vu au cours de cette longue étude, les mêmes institutions sociales régissent les Masmouda, perdus au fond des vallées reculées du Deren, les habitants des bourgs et des hameaux qui s'élèvent sur les plateaux desséchés de l'Anti-Atlas, les Jbala et les Rifains, dans leurs rudes montagnes aux cîmes couronnées de cèdres, aussi bien que les Kabyles d'Algérie dont les villages en nids d'aigles occupent les sommets du Djurjura.

Dans toutes ces régions, séparées entre elles par d'immenses espaces, les hommes vivent en obéissant aux mêmes lois, en dépit de leur diversité d'origine et malgré la variété des conditions d'existence matérielle. C'est à l'isolement de leurs territoires qu'ils doivent d'avoir gardé leurs traditions millénaires. Le témoignage actuel de leurs institutions a une valeur historique, elles nous donnent l'image de ce qu'eût été le Maghreb, si les invasions arabes dans l'Est et la formation des grands Empires dans l'Ouest, n'avaient pas ruiné les minuscules états dans lesquels les Berbères aiment à enfermer leur activité.

Deux tendances primordiales déterminent la vie politique des Berbères : en premier lieu ils répugnent à la constitution d'un état de quelque étendue, partout ils s'organisent spontanément en petites unités dont les dimensions n'excèdent pas celles d'un simple

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

canton et qui sont pour les sédentaires la véritable patrie; en second lieu, par une sorte de génie instinctif, les Berbères forment des systèmes d'alliances équilibrées qui permettent aux petits états autonomes de la montagne de s'entr'aider dans la guerre et la paix. Tantôt ces associations, auxquelles on donne souvent le nom de leffs, sont liées au souvenir des grandes luttes du haut moyen âge entre les autochtones et les envahisseurs ; tantôt elles nous apparaissent comme des institutions vénérables, dont l'origine n'est plus connue et qui sont étroitement liées aux conditions de l'existence matérielle et aux traditions locales.

Le régime politique auquel les Berbères demeurent attachés avec le plus de fermeté, lorsqu'ils vivent dans l'indépendance, est donc une sorte d'anarchie organisée ; toutes les grandes familles s'appliquent alors à maintenir entre elles, dans les limites d'un canton, une rigoureuse égalité ; c'est dans ces circonstances que naissent des constitutions en apparence démocratiques, oligarchiques en fait, qui ont pour objet de régler entre tous les notables l'équitable partage des profits du pouvoir et de répartir sur tous les habitants les charges de la vie commune. L'Anti-Atlas, le Rif, le Jbel occidental, la Kabylie avant la conquête, n'ont guère connu, semble-t-il, d'autres institutions au cours de l'histoire; le Haut-Atlas lui-même qui a vu depuis deux générations de si étonnantes transformations politiques, se trouvait encore, au milieu du siècle dernier, divisé en petites républiques, semblables à celles du Djurjura au temps de son indépendance.

Lorsque les tribus conservent leur organisation politique traditionnelle, à peine voit-on naître sous des aspects identiques dans ces diverses régions de la Berbérie sédentaire un pouvoir personnel précaire, limité aux frontières étroites d'une fraction de tribu, dans le cadre d'une vallée. Les petites tyrannies qui se forment alors sont si fragiles que les chefs, sortis de la lutte des soffs à l'intérieur des villages, à peine maîtres d'un minuscule territoire, sont le plus souvent emportés sans retour par un changement d'équilibre des partis dans l'intervalle d'une ou deux générations.

Une seule région fait exception à cette extrême instabilité du pouvoir des amghars, qui ne sont habituellement que les maîtres éphémères des petits cantons de la montagne. Le Sous, à la fin du XIXe siècle, et plus particulièrement la partie de l'Atlas comprise entre le col des Glawa et le Tizi Ma'cho, nous offre, en

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

effet, le spectacle de l'apparition simultanée d'un grand nombre de petits chefs, qui parviennent exceptionnellement à consolider leur autorité et à bannir pour un temps la tradition des républiques égalitaires. Bientôt d'ailleurs, se dessine sous nos yeux une complète évolution : au cours des vingt dernières années, on peut observer toutes les formes de transition entre les humbles amghars, maîtres de quelques villages perdus sous les noyers, au fond des gorges de l'Atlas, et les grands caïds possesseurs de vastes tribus, qui, du fond de leurs kasbas, gouvernent les états qu'ils ont conquis par la force. Ces derniers préparent d'ailleurs à leur tour, en ruinant les institutions anciennes à la faveur desquelles ils ont pris le pouvoir, l'arrivée du Makhzen et l'établissement d'un Empire musulman unifié, dont les lois nous paraissent semblables à celles des grandes monarchies orientales.

Au cours de la première partie de notre étude sur les républiques berbères, et lorsque nous avons cherché à connaître les circonstances dans lesquelles apparaît le pouvoir temporel des amghars de canton, nous avons pu multiplier les comparaisons entre le Sous, le Rif et la Kabylie. Mais pendant cette courte période qui a vu dans le Haut-Atlas le rapide développement de l'autorité des grands chefs, il nous a semblé que nous nous trouvions en présence d'un régime politique presque inconnu, du moins, aux époques récentes, dans les autres régions de l'Afrique du Nord peuplées de sédentaires.

Peut-être nous est-il permis maintenant, après avoir longuement analysé les conditions dans lesquelles se forme le pouvoir de ces « seigneurs de l'Atlas », de chercher, en portant nos regards plus loin, à rapprocher leur domination de celles des royaumes et des Empires berbères dont l'histoire du Maghreb nous montre parfois la brusque constitution; en comparant les phases successives de leur croissance à celle des principautés du Sous, nous apercevrons alors les causes profondes de la force et de la faiblesse de ces étonnantes constructions politiques, surgies si rapidement de l'obscurité de la vie des tribus et qui disparaissent sans avoir réussi à altérer d'une manière durable l'immobilité du Maghreb.

II. *Les grands commandements de l'Atlas.* — Les conditions dans lesquelles se forme à notre époque le pouvoir des chefs de l'Atlas s'explique, nous l'avons dit, par des lois simples; il nous suffira

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

pour les mettre en évidence de rappeler brièvement les diverses étapes de leur conquête des tribus.

Au début du dernier siècle, plusieurs centaines de petites républiques, unies entre elles par deux chaînes d'alliances, composent un immense échiquier qui couvre la plus grande partie de la montagne, et délimite ainsi la région dans laquelle va s'engager entre les assemblées, les amghars et le Makhzen la longue partie dont l'enjeu est la liberté des Berbères.

A l'origine, dans le petit canton où l'équilibre est réalisé entre les chefs de toutes les grandes familles, de tous les « ikhs » qui se partagent les bénéfices du gouvernement local, plusieurs ambitieux apparaissent qui pensent que leur force plus grande leur vaut une part plus large des profits ; bientôt, deux partis se forment et s'affrontent ; le vainqueur prend le titre d' « amghar » et remplace l'oligarchie des chefs de famille par la tyrannie d'un seul.

Dans ce minuscule territoire d'une petite fraction de tribu, dans cette « taqbilt » où s'est ainsi établie la domination d'un « ikhs » sur les autres, le nouveau chef sent l'impérieuse nécessité de maintenir l'union qu'il a réalisée un instant par la force à l'intérieur, en avivant les guerres extérieures. Grâce aux alliances anciennes conclues entre les petites républiques du pays, il parvient aisément à étendre son influence à grande distance, et bientôt, il entreprend de soumettre à sa volonté une véritable tribu. S'il réussit à vaincre le chef de l'alliance opposée, il place les « taqbilt » ennemies sous le joug de son lelf et avec l'appui de son canton d'origine, il organise, sous des formes diverses, l'exploitation d'une tribu par un canton.

Si la fortune continue de favoriser l'amghar vainqueur, on le voit alors tenter de soumettre, avec le secours des contingents qu'il lève dans la tribu dont il est devenu le maître incontesté, des territoires étendus dans les plaines ; des confédérations entières lui paient l'impôt ; il s'établit sur les voies de passage de la montagne, y construit des forteresses dont ses « frères » d'ikhs ou de village sont les gardiens ; autour de lui, ses « frères » de canton se tiennent en permanence pour constituer son escorte ; les guerriers qu'il envoie au loin pour réduire les rebelles sont ses « frères » de tribu.

C'est lorsqu'il est parvenu à ce degré de puissance que l'amghar prend place sans efforts auprès des caïds du Sultan. Sans doute, il

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

n'est pas encore confondu dans les rangs des chefs serviles des tribus de la plaine ; il conserve l'orgueil de sa puissance, la fierté d'avoir pu constituer par ses propres forces le vaste commandement qu'il exerce. Vienne même une période d'anarchie, il s'affranchira le plus possible des ordres des pachas de la capitale voisine; mais, par ses tendances et ses ambitions, le seigneur de la montagne se trouve désormais entraîné dans le courant de la politique du Makhzen ; son attention se détourne de plus en plus des obscures traditions de la montagne ; ses regards se portent plus souvent vers la cour du Sultan ou des prétendants ; il brûle du désir de jouer auprès d'eux à la faveur des désordres le rôle plus brillant et plus profitable encore de vizir ou de gouverneur des villes.

A la vérité, ce n'est pas seulement au terme de cette évolution qu'apparaît le rôle du Makhzen en tribu. C'est qu'en effet le Sultan, du fond de ses palais des villes, éloignées de la montagne, favorise et encourage en tout temps, à la limite des régions où son autorité s'exerce directement, l'apparition et la croissance des amghars. Sous l'influence d'une savante politique, une tendance hostile au gouvernement anarchique des assemblées se fait jour chez les communautés encore indépendantes. Les grands caïds eux-mêmes imitent le souverain et, peu à peu, à mesure que s'accentue la pression du Makhzen ou que les puissants chefs de l'Atlas deviennent plus entreprenants, les révolutions se font plus nombreuses à l'intérieur des républiques des hautes vallées au profit des ambitieux; à l'inverse d'ailleurs, si l'anarchie éclate dans l'Empire, les kasbas sont jetées à terre et leurs maîtres mis en fuite; les chefs les plus forts s'enferment en toute hâte dans leurs agadirs imprenables, les « Aït Arba'in » reprennent leurs réunions ; la liberté et la discorde succèdent à la servitude.

Dans les périodes favorables au développement du pouvoir des chefs, on voit ainsi surgir de toute part, au milieu des tribus indépendantes, des amghars qui s'élèvent au-dessus du gouvernement traditionnel de la Berbérie. Mais, comme des plantes sorties de graines semblables, s'élèvent à des hauteurs variables au-dessus de la terre inégalement fertile des diverses parties de la montagne qui les nourrit, ces petits chefs n'atteignent pas tous le même degré de développement. La plupart n'étendent leurs racines que dans un canton et ne dominent qu'une vallée ; plus rares sont ceux qui sont les maîtres d'une tribu ; trois ou quatre en un siècle gagnent

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

les riches plaines irriguées et projettent l'ombre de leur force jusqu'aux limites du Sahara. La terre qui les porte se trouve elle-même, par leur croissance, profondément altérée ; les limites traditionnelles des cantons s'effacent, la mosaïque des leffs, formée de petits états savamment opposés, se brise et se disloque ; enfin, la vie des petites unités sociales, humble et tenace végétation des hautes vallées, s'étiole et s'alanguit. C'est alors que survient souvent le Makhzen, qui coupe à son gré ces plantes éphémères sorties si rapidement du sol berbère, comme pour en moissonner le fruit, puis laboure et retourne comme il lui plaît, pendant quelques années, le pauvre champ des tribus soumises.

Quelle que soit leur importance, tous ces chefs de l'Atlas, amghars de cantons ou de tribus, grands caïds à demi indépendants du Sultan, s'inspirent des mêmes principes dans le gouvernement de leurs petits états.

Dans leur politique extérieure, tout d'abord, ils adoptent à l'égard de leurs sujets, aussi bien qu'aux yeux des chefs plus puissants du voisinage ou du Makhzen chérifien, une double attitude. Aux guerriers de la montagne, ils se donnent comme les derniers défenseurs de la liberté ou des coutumes locales; de la sorte, ils recueillent sans difficulté l'appui que les Berbères donnent toujours sans mesure à ceux qui prétendent les défendre contre les étrangers — chrétiens ou musulmans venus des plaines. — Auprès des grands caïds ou du Sultan, à l'inverse, les amghars s'engagent volontiers à maintenir dans l'ordre et la paix les populations qu'ils ont soumises ou qu'ils protègent; ce sont eux, disent-ils, qui contiennent les instincts de pillage et de révolte des habitants des sommets; ils pourront même dans l'avenir, s'il plaît à Dieu, les amener par la ruse et la patience à accepter le joug de la soumission.

Ainsi se sont présentés depuis vingt ans les amghars des Seksawa dont nous avons étudié l'apparition et la croissance, qui se donnent à leurs frères des hautes vallées comme les protecteurs de l'indépendance, et qui, par ailleurs, se tournent vers les grands caïds de Tagontaft et de Bouaboud en offrant de faire triompher leurs ambitions jusque dans les cantons les plus reculés du Tichka. Ainsi faisait naguère de son côté le vieil 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi, qui aimait à défendre avec affectation les dernières traditions berbères les plus inoffensives qu'il avait laissées vivre, tout en laissant voir

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

avec complaisance, à la cour du Makhzen, les efforts constants que devait exercer sa politique pour contenir les dissidents de la montagne des Seksawa.

Cette double attitude est d'ailleurs fort ancienne. Nous avons dit ce qu'avait été, au temps d'Ibn Khaldoun, la vie agitée d'un grand seigneur de l'Atlas dont la carrière nous semble être comme un précédent historique de celle de Si el Madani Glawi, dans les premières années de notre siècle. N'avons-nous pas vu alors 'Amer Hintati, maître de toutes les tribus masmoudiennes, offrir aux Mérinides dans l'embarras, « afin de rendre service à la dynastie », de barrer la route aux anciens partisans du « Mahdi », auxquels on prêtait la résolution de venir une fois encore jeter bas les mosquées impures de la capitale? A la faveur de ce rôle, le grand chikh des Hintata devenait en même temps le véritable roi du Sud et percevait, à titre d'impôt, des sommes considérables. De même, cinq siècles après, les grands caïds de l'Atlas proposaient à la France, aux premiers jours de la Grande Guerre, d'assurer par leurs propres moyens la sécurité du Sous, pour nous « rendre service », cependant qu'ils fermaient jalousement à notre pénétration l'accès de leurs commandements ou de leur zone d'influence et consolidaient hâtivement leurs conquêtes en bâtissant des kasbas dans les vallées les plus fertiles dont ils confisquaient les bonnes terres.

On peut aussi rappeler qu'au moment de sa plus grande puissance, 'Amer Hintati, maître du Deren, laissait habilement subsister chez les Seksawa et les Gedmiwa de la montagne un foyer d'indépendance utile à sa politique, ce même territoire insoumis qui existait naguère encore à la limite des états du Gontafi et du Mtouggi ; la présence de cette dissidence lointaine et inoffensive permettait ainsi de justifier aux yeux des maîtres de Marrakech l'attitude de défenseurs du Makhzen prise si volontiers par les grands chefs de la montagne.

Ces analogies si complètes, entre les amghars du temps des Mérinides et les caïds à demi-indépendants de notre époque, suffisent à montrer quelles nécessités permanentes s'imposent, à toutes les époques, aux chefs éphémères des tribus de l'Atlas et qui, à défaut de traditions véritables, suivent la même voie dans toutes les démarches de leur politique parce qu'ils grandissent dans des circonstances identiques.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Mais c'est surtout l'organisation intérieure des états conquis par les amghars, qui nous permet d'entrevoir une des lois les plus constantes de l'histoire de la Berbérie et de comprendre l'un des principes qui président à la formation des grands commandements.

Cette domination d'un territoire, sans cesse plus étendu, que le chef d'un soff dans un village de l'Atlas parvient à soumettre progressivement à sa volonté, se fonde, nous l'avons dit, à l'intérieur d'un canton par la maîtrise d'un « ikhs » sur les « ikhs » rivaux, par le triomphe d'un leff sur un autre dans une tribu, enfin par l'exploitation des ressources d'une grande confédération ou des immenses territoires des plaines par une tribu privilégiée. Mais quelle que soit la dimension des états ainsi formés, ils gardent toujours la marque de leurs origines. C'est aux compagnons du village d'où l'amghar est sorti que sont réservés les commandements des populations vaincues ; les liens du leff ou l'alliance des familles de la tribu d'origine, servent à associer entre eux ces guerriers désormais chargés de l'administration rudimentaire du pays conquis ; l'existence durable d'un groupe fidèle, constitué grâce aux alliés des premiers jours, vient ainsi donner plus de solidité à la structure concentrique de l'état berbère formé de groupes de plus en plus nombreux, successivement intégrés par la force, et que la volonté d'une famille, d'un clan et d'un leff maintient solidement assemblés, jusqu'à ce que la défaite oblige les vainqueurs à lâcher prise et laisse retourner les tribus au désordre primitif.

III. *Les royaumes berbères de l'Afrique du Nord.* — Nous ne connaissons pas avec assez de précision les circonstances dans lesquelles se sont constitués la plupart des royaumes et des empires de la Berbérie sédentaire pour pouvoir multiplier les exemples de cette « structure concentrique » des états fondés par la conquête. Du moins ceux dont les origines peuvent être étudiées nous montrent-ils, malgré la différence d'étendue de leurs frontières, l'analogie profonde des lois de leur formation et de celle des grands commandements de l'Atlas.

Nous ne redirons pas ici les étapes de la fondation de l'Empire almohade, dans cette même région du Nefis où devait apparaître, huit siècles plus tard, l'amghar de Tagontaft, dont nous avons si longuement étudié l'épopée plus modeste. On se souvient que, dans cette fédération de cinq grandes tribus, unies dans une même foi

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

pour créer le royaume des « partisans de l'unité de Dieu », les deux groupes d'Aghren et de Tinmellel, d'où sortaient le père et la mère d'Ibn Toumert conservèrent toujours un rang privilégié ; un peu plus tard, lorsque les populations des montagnes acceptèrent la foi nouvelle et partagèrent les mêmes espoirs de conquête, elles furent rattachées, par une sorte de lien d'adoption, à l'un des cinq groupes fondamentaux des Masmouda ; ce sont d'ailleurs les guerriers des « cinq tribus » qui donnèrent les chefs de guerre et les prédicateurs destinés à encadrer les contingents ralliés, dont les efforts aboutirent à la conquête de l'Occident ; enfin, après le succès définitif, cette « noblesse almohade », formée par les paysans des hautes vallées de l'Atlas, allait s'exercer à gouverner les villes de l'Afrique du Nord, à administrer des provinces en Espagne, à fonder au loin des royaumes.

C'est en suivant la même voie, tracée par la nature des institutions berbères, qu'à l'autre extrémité du Maghreb, les Fatimides préparèrent au xe siècle la conquête de l'Ifriqiya, de la Sicile, de l'Égypte et de la Syrie. Eux aussi, procédèrent « de l'intérieur à l'extérieur ». Nous les voyons tout d'abord unir entre elles, grâce à une active prédication religieuse, les forces, dispersées jusqu'alors, des tribus des Koutama et en faire le réservoir d'énergie dans lequel ils puiseront sans compter ; après la conquête des villes de l'Ifriqiya, ces rudes paysans deviendront d'ailleurs, comme les Berbères almohades du Nefis, les vrais maîtres du pays, et recevront « en récompense de leurs services, des sommes d'argent, de belles esclaves et des commandements importants » ; plus tard, c'est encore en entraînant avec lui en Égypte la nation des Koutama organisée en tribus qu'El Moezz fondera son Empire oriental (1).

Nous devons, sans doute, renoncer pour toujours à connaître comment, au cœur du pays des Senhaja sédentaires d'Algérie, les petits rois d'Achir et de la Qala au xe et xie siècles, les seigneurs rivaux de Kouko et de Beni Abbès au xvie siècle, ont réussi à fonder leurs royaumes, parmi des tribus attachées de nos jours encore

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, t. I, p. 225; t. II, p. 511 et sqq; E.-F. Gautier : *Les Siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, p. 308-330. M. Gautier fait observer avec raison que les États berbères du haut moyen âge ont été souvent fondés par des étrangers : Idris, Obéid Allah, 'Abd el Moumen, Roustem (p. 312). Mais, il faut le remarquer, ces chefs ont toujours été adoptés par un groupe ; l'accord des soffs ennemis s'est fait plus aisément sur leur nom ; leur qualité d'étrangers a ainsi facilité leurs débuts, et pour la suite, ils ont suivi la tradition berbère en utilisant les forces des tribus qui les acceptaient pour maîtres.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

à leurs traditions républicaines et opposées entre elles par des guerres incessantes. Du moins nous est-il permis de dire que leur apparition presque inexplicable au premier abord, si l'on songe à la fidélité gardée par les Kabyles à leurs constitutions égalitaires, s'éclaire lorsqu'on admet que le pays dans lequel ils ont grandi, a été, il y a plusieurs siècles, divisé en leffs territoriaux, et s'est trouvé recouvert d'un échiquier de petites tribus opposées en deux alliances, analogues à celui de l'Atlas occidental à notre époque. On peut, dès lors, admettre les mêmes causes engendrant les mêmes effets, que des amghars de cantons et de tribus de Kabylie, ont réussi à s'élever, à la faveur des liens de leffs, en formant des principautés semblables à celles des grands caïds du pays des Masmouda.

L'exemple le plus récent que nous puissions citer est aussi le plus conforme à nos conclusions antérieures. Sous nos yeux, le dernier chef de l'indépendance berbère, Mohammed ben 'Abd el Kerim vient, en effet, de tenter dans le Rif anarchique de créer lui aussi un état, en obéissant, à son insu sans doute, aux principes que ses devanciers avaient dû suivre dans d'autres régions du Maghreb.

Le chef rifain nous apparaît, en effet, dès les premiers combats qui précèdent la déroute espagnole de 1921, comme un simple notable des Beni Ouriaghel ; sa victoire d'Anoual ne fait de lui qu'un « chef de guerre », dont l'autorité reste précaire et limitée. Rien ne peut faire prévoir à ce moment son étonnante carrière. Mais c'est alors qu'il prend conscience de sa mission. Nous le voyons tout d'abord imposer silence à la rivalité si aiguë des soffs dans sa tribu; après avoir fait cesser les guerres privées chez les Beni Ouriaghel ses frères, il constitue un Makhzen rifain auquel les tribus riveraines de la baie d'Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin, apportent leurs meilleurs éléments, comme jadis les Masmouda du Nefis se groupaient autour d'Ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades. A la manière des grand chefs de l'Atlas, il choisit alors ses chefs de harkas et ses khalifats dans sa tribu d'origine ; il fait des guerriers de son village d'Ajdir ses conseillers et ses hommes de confiance. Puis, ayant ainsi assuré la fortune de son clan, de son village, de sa tribu et des tribus du voisinage, 'Abd el Kerim peut aisément dompter les révoltes du Rif, que fomentent les petits amghars des Ghomara,

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

jaloux du développement de sa puissance; bientôt, il complète ses succès par la conquête du Jbel et fait périr en prison son rival Raisouli.

Quatre années ont suffi pour faire du fils du cadi d'Ajdir le Sultan indépendant du nord du Maroc, qui tient en échec les armées d'Espagne ; entraîné par son ambition, par l'enthousiasme et la cupidité de son entourage, 'Abd el Kerim rêve alors un instant de conquérir les villes du Maghreb et de devenir le maître de tous les musulmans du Maroc, dont les regards se tournent vers lui avec une admiration croissante. Chaque jour qui passe, en effet, grandit son prestige ; il devient, aux yeux de l'Islam occidental, un nouveau Moustapha Kemal ; des Indes à l'Amérique, son nom est connu et l'on suit avec un intérêt passionné ses victoires et ses projets ; les grands pays d'Europe s'émeuvent de l'importance qu'il acquiert et, selon leurs intérêts, souhaitent secrètement son succès ou espèrent sa ruine.

Quelques semaines d'efforts militaires bien dirigés suffisent d'ailleurs pour faire disparaître l' « État rifain ». Mais les conditions dans lesquelles s'effondre soudain ce royaume berbère, si rapidement édifié et en même temps si fragile, nous permettent de bien voir sa structure intérieure.

Pendant la première phase de la guerre, la lutte entre le Rif, la France et l'Espagne, s'est poursuivie à la limite des tribus conquises et gouvernées par les Beni Ouriaghel ; aussi les efforts de deux grandes armées modernes sont-ils demeurés vains parce que les membres du Makhzen rifain ont toujours réussi à contraindre toutes les populations des montagnes du nord du Maroc à continuer la guerre sainte, le « jihad », sans ménager leurs forces ; mais, lorsque le territoire des Beni Ouriaghel lui-même se trouve menacé, les guerriers de la tribu d''Abd el Kerim abandonnent tous en même temps leurs commandements extérieurs dans les tribus des Jbala et de l'Wergha pour venir défendre leurs propres maisons ; l'étreinte exercée par les frères de tribus du « Sultan du Rif » sur toutes les petites communautés de la montagne se relâche un instant ; les circonstances qui mènent alors d'un seul bond la colonne française du colonel Corap à Targist, au cœur du pays ennemi, déterminent l'écroulement complet de l'édifice politique construit avec tant d'énergie par le chef des Beni-Ouriaghel ; à l'état organisé dont il avait tracé le plan avec tant de hardiesse

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

succède en deux jours une masse inerte de tribus sans force.

Enfin, les circonstances mêmes de l'émouvante capitulation d''Abd el Kerim abandonné par ses sujets projettent une vive lumière sur la nature du petit état qu'il a réussi à créer en quatre années d'efforts.

Cependant que les Beni Ouriaghel succombent ou plient sous le nombre, en défendant leurs villages, les compagnons du chef rifain, qui sont les habitants d'Ajdir, dont il a fait ses ministres, s'enfuient avec leurs femmes dans un village de la montagne ; 'Abd el Kerim lui-même, réfugié à Snada, auprès d'un marabout, atterré par sa défaite, comprend la vanité de toute résistance et lorsqu'il accepte de se rendre en se plaçant sous la protection de la France, le dernier vœu qu'il formule illustre, mieux qu'une longue étude, l'humble origine du mouvement : « Nous sommes, dit-il à nos officiers envoyés pour le déterminer à se soumettre, de simples agriculteurs, notre désir est d'être autorisés à vivre ensemble de notre travail sur une terre du Makhzen ». S'il avait été possible en d'autres temps moins troublés d'exaucer le souhait du vaincu, on aurait vu le « Sultan du Rif » avec tout son Makhzen — les fils des Aït Arba'in d'Ajdir — mener dans quelque pays lointain, avec résignation et sans trop d'étonnement, l'obscure existence d'un hameau berbère de laboureurs.

IV. *Fragilité du pouvoir des chefs temporels.* — Du dixième siècle à nos jours, les grandes lois politiques de la vie du Maghreb n'ont donc pas changé. Qu'il s'agisse de l'Empire des Fatimides ou du royaume éphémère d''Abd el Kerim, des chefs de l'Atlas du XIVe siècle ou de ceux de notre temps, les hommes ambitieux qui veulent parvenir à dominer et à soumettre les tribus, s'inspirent des mêmes principes dans un milieu social demeuré semblable à lui-même. La constitution d'un petit noyau solide, résistant, aveuglément dévoué au chef, associé à ses intérêts, demeure en toutes circonstances la condition nécessaire du succès. Même lorsque de grandes pensées religieuses ou une sorte de sentiment national parviennent à se faire jour dans la masse fractionnée des républiques berbères, il faut au prophète ou au conquérant l'appoint positif que représente la force d'un clan ou d'une tribu, pour briser les résistances particulières et orienter les efforts de toutes les petites communautés vers l'unique fin qu'il propose à leur activité.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

L'existence de ce groupe central de frères et de fidèles nous permet d'ailleurs de comprendre l'irrésistible puissance que peuvent atteindre les entreprises berbères de conquête, lorsqu'une force intérieure rassemble de la sorte et dirige l'énergie guerrière des montagnards. Mais elle nous explique en même temps la fragilité de ces étonnantes constructions politiques, capables de retourner au néant aussi aisément qu'elles en sont sorties.

En effet, les grands chefs d'aujourd'hui étaient hier les hommes d'un canton et d'une tribu ; ils gardent intact au fond de leur mémoire, ainsi que tous les compagnons de leur village associés à l'œuvre de conquête, le souvenir des haines intérieures et des vengeances anciennes, dont est faite la vie de leur petite patrie. Chaque embarras de leurs entreprises sera d'ailleurs marqué par le réveil de ces forces hostiles qu'ils ont un instant dominées, dans le voisinage même du modeste hameau dont ils sont sortis, et il leur faudra souvent intervenir avec une implacable ténacité pour les annihiler, sous peine d'être emportés par le retour de leurs ennemis que semble à nouveau favoriser la fortune.

Lors même que l'amghar berbère parviendrait, par un prodige d'esprit politique, à maintenir l'union entre ses frères de canton ou de tribu et à modérer l'inimitié des leffs et des soffs au sein desquels il a grandi, il ne saurait d'ailleurs trouver dans son expérience antérieure l'exemple d'institutions et de lois propres à le diriger dans le gouvernement de son nouvel état. Toute son habileté s'est exercée jusqu'alors dans le cadre étroit d'une assemblée de village ; ce n'est pas dans ces républiques où le souci d'assurer l'équilibre entre l'ambition des « inflas » cupides et obstinés tient lieu trop souvent du sentiment de l'intérêt public, que le chef peut recueillir des leçons de désintéressement et de sagesse.

Ne nous étonnons pas dès lors que cet état berbère ignore les lois de la cité, qu'il n'ait d'autre capitale qu'une forteresse au cœur d'une tribu guerrière. L'esprit de leff, le goût du pillage et du butin tiennent lieu ici d'idéal de justice et de sentiment de fidélité. Ce n'est pas en ce pays qu'on peut voir grandir comme dans notre féodalité d'Occident, cette puissante organisation hiérarchique dont la base est la famille, le roi la clef de voûte, et qui, comme une vaste cathédrale, est capable de survivre pendant de longs siècles, alors même qu'ont disparu les forces qui l'avaient fait naître.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

En Berbérie, l'antagonisme est trop marqué et les haines trop profondes, entre le chef entouré de ses frères et de ses compagnons d'une part, et les sujets lourdement imposés d'autre part ; le poids de la domination de ce maître tyrannique devient très vite insupportable. Aussi, de même que les murs de la maison du seigneur de l'Atlas se lézardent, à peine sortis de terre, de même sa puissance aussitôt fondée donne-t-elle bientôt les signes d'une ruine prochaine. Le père du grand chef a été un amghar victorieux qui a conquis la tribu ; lui-même sait conserver ou étendre les domaines reçus en héritage; mais viendra son fils, qui sera incapable de triompher à la fois des querelles de familles sans cesse multipliées ou des « siba » sans cesse renaissantes ; à peine son petit-fils sera-t-il encore le maître d'un canton. En un demi-siècle, les vaincus d'autrefois auront repris leurs terres et les assemblées auront profité de l'anarchie pour restaurer l'ancien droit, un instant oublié.

Lorsque le Makhzen intervient à temps pour recueillir l'héritage politique du chef berbère, avant que ses descendants ne l'aient laissé se disperser, son gouvernement apparaît frappé des mêmes faiblesses. En vain, le prestige du droit divin, le respect qu'inspire la législation sacrée du Coran, le concours de la force des armées, l'attrait de la civilisation musulmane s'uniront pour organiser et pacifier l'Empire. Les hommes sur lesquels l'autorité chérifienne peut compter n'ont d'autre expérience que celle d'un despotisme sans limite ou d'une anarchie sans frein ; ils gouvernent le peuple comme le cavalier berbère monte son cheval : en épuisant ses forces.

Aussi les dynasties royales sont-elles à peine plus durables que celles des amghars ; l'esprit de cité se révèle impuissant à unir les provinces à leurs capitales. Un rempart crénelé sépare les villes des tribus et marque la limite de deux vies sociales inconciliables et opposées. Si les conquêtes du Sultan parviennent, au cours des siècles à étendre sans cesse plus loin la limite de son Empire, on voit en même temps, par une sorte de loi d'équilibre, la « siba » gagner de proche en proche des espaces plus vastes. Cette lutte millénaire, qui est le drame éternel de la vie politique de la Berbérie et dans laquelle les chefs s'usent plus vite que les tribus, ne prendra fin, en Afrique du Nord, que par la venue d'un ordre nouveau, apporté par la conquête française.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

V. *Les États maraboutiques. Leur stabilité relative.* — On pourrait nous reprocher ici de simplifier à l'excès les aspects de cette opposition des chefs et des tribus, si nous laissions dans l'ombre l'existence des principautés maraboutiques, si florissantes dans le Sous il y a plusieurs siècles et qui ont subsisté jusqu'à nos jours dans les montagnes du Rif et au cœur de l'Atlas central.

Nous n'avons pas cru devoir, dans ces pages consacrées à l'étude des institutions de notre époque, étudier longuement les caractères de ces états religieux, parce qu'ils ont cessé d'avoir dans le sud du Maroc une importance appréciable, en raison des progrès réalisés, au cours des derniers siècles, par l'autorité des chefs temporels et du Sultan. Du moins devons-nous dire comment la présence de ces fiefs, constitués par les maîtres des zaouias et des confréries n'apporte, dans la lutte des Berbères et du Makhzen, aucun élément de conciliation ; elle ne contribue le plus souvent qu'à entretenir les sentiments de résistance des républiques indépendantes, jusqu'au jour où la puissance de l'Empire est assez grande pour rejeter à la limite des oasis du désert ces marabouts regardés par le souverain comme des hommes trop habiles à rassembler les forces des montagnards.

Les exemples ne manquent pas, soit au cours de l'histoire, soit de notre temps, de ces petits états où l'autorité suprême appartient à des personnages respectés, soustraits aux luttes de soffs et de leffs, dont ils sont devenus les arbitres. Ces chefs naturels doivent d'ailleurs leur pouvoir temporel à la sainteté de leurs ancêtres et les tombeaux vénérés de ceux-ci, couverts de tuiles vertes, attirent encore sous nos yeux, lors des grandes foires annuelles, des milliers de visiteurs, désireux de participer aux mérites de leur sainteté.

Nous avons vu dans l'histoire du Sous le rôle joué au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles par la principauté maraboutique de Sidi Yahya chez les Haha et surtout celle de l' « agellid » Sidi'Ali bou Dmeia, petit-fils du grand saint de l'Anti-Atlas Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. Les membres de cette famille illustre ont, nous l'avons dit, tenté de faire revivre, jusqu'à la fin du siècle dernier, ce petit royaume du Tazerwalt, aujourd'hui entré dans une décadence définitive (1).

Le pays des Jbala et du Rif, avant d'être unifié par la rapide conquête d''Abd el Kerim, puis d'être soumis à l'Espagne, a

(1) A partir de la soumission de son chef au Sultan en 1886.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

naguère connu la puissance du chérif Raisouli, maître des tribus qui entourent le sommet sacré du Jbel 'Alam ; non loin vivait au même moment le chérif 'Abd er Rahman Derqawi, dont les Beni Zerwal étaient les serviteurs fidèles; enfin les marabouts Khemalcha étaient devenus les chefs spirituels et temporels des Senhaja de Srair, et c'est l'appui qu'ils prêtèrent au chef rifain, dès les premières heures de la lutte contre l'Espagne, qui facilita les progrès rapides de sa puissance.

Dans le Moyen-Atlas et l'Atlas central, depuis la destruction de la Zaouia de Dila par le premier des Sultans filaliens, d'autres marabouts ont recueilli l'héritage politique et religieux de ces seigneurs dont la puissance s'était un instant étendue jusqu'aux rives de l'Atlantique. A leur imitation ils ont utilisé chez les populations demeurées les plus sauvages et les plus belliqueuses de l'Afrique du Nord, le prestige que leur donnait la connaissance de la religion et de la magie.

Il n'existe pas moins de nos jours dans cette région trois de ces états maraboutiques : deux d'entre eux appartiennent à la vieille famille des Ahansal, le troisième est dirigé à l'instant où nous écrivons ces lignes, par Sidi Mohammed ben Taïbi, demeuré le plus farouche de nos ennemis ; ce dernier tente lui-même d'utiliser à son profit le prestige d'un grand agitateur disparu : Sidi 'Ali Amhaouch, à la fois prophète et marabout, qui s'est montré l'adversaire personnel du sultan Moulay el Hasan et des grands chefs des Zayan.

La politique intérieure des seigneurs religieux s'explique aisément si l'on songe à l'origine de leur pouvoir. Leur famille se trouve, grâce à sa noblesse réelle ou prétendue, soustraite aux luttes fratricides, aux vengeances, aux violentes querelles des leffs qui agitent si profondément la vie des petites républiques de la montagne et dont la présence rend si difficile les débuts du gouvernement d'un amghar; par ailleurs, leur rôle d'arbitre leur donne une supériorité librement acceptée, de telle sorte qu'ils n'ont presque jamais, à l'origine, l'obligation d'imposer par la force une autorité tyrannique; à l'inverse des chefs temporels, ils conservent les institutions oligarchiques des « inflas »; loin de détruire les constitutions locales, ils contribuent à les maintenir et c'est dans leurs zaouias qu'on vient demander la solution des problèmes les plus difficiles que le droit coutumier n'a pas exactement prévus. Enfin

et surtout, comme les dîmes volontaires, les présents et les corvées que leur consentent les tribus permettent aux chefs religieux de devenir promptement maîtres des meilleures terres, ils peuvent éviter les abus du pouvoir et les lourdes contributions qui suscitent fréquemment, chez les sujets des amghars et des caïds, le désir de la « siba » libératrice.

Ces raisons suffisent à expliquer comment les états maraboutiques grandissent le plus souvent sans rencontrer de résistance intérieure ; c'est seulement lorsque la zone d'influence de ces saints personnages s'étend au delà des limites de plusieurs tribus qu'on découvre avec étonnement l'importance qu'ils ont pris. C'est à cet instant aussi que leurs rivalités avec les marabouts des branches cadettes ou des familles religieuses d'autre origine allument brusquement la guerre entre les montagnards, devenus les serviteurs respectueux et les défenseurs dévoués de leurs chefs respectifs.

La politique extérieure des maîtres des grandes zaouias achève de nous faire comprendre comment ils choisissent le plus souvent, dans la lutte du Makhzen et des tribus, le parti de l'indépendance berbère.

L'histoire du Sous nous l'a montré, c'est pendant la période où l'esprit de guerre sainte s'est développé avec le plus de force, à la suite de l'occupation portugaise des côtes du Sud, que les seigneurs religieux ont le plus aisément fondé leurs états dans un pays demeuré anarchique ; c'est que les marabouts se trouvaient soutenus par la puissance diffuse de la foi islamique et qu'ils étaient auréolés du prestige qu'ont toujours chez ces tribus indépendantes les défenseurs du territoire menacé par les conquérants chrétiens. De nos jours encore, les zaouias des chorfa et des marabouts, fondées dans la partie la plus élevée et la plus difficile du pays des Jbala et du Rif, ont conservé leur prospérité jusqu'au moment de la pacification. Leurs maîtres étaient en effet les chefs naturels du « jihad » contre les Espagnols, dont la présence sur quelques parcelles du sol du Maghreb faisait peser, depuis cinq siècles, la menace d'une domination étrangère.

Lorsque le pouvoir chérifien est assez fort pour rétablir l'unité de l'Empire et défendre par ses propres moyens l'intégrité du sol de l'Islam, le prestige des marabouts décroît naturellement. Parfois, il est vrai, le Sultan cherche à utiliser les chefs religieux de la montagne, pour obtenir plus aisément la soumission des tribus loin-

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

taines. Ainsi le faible sultan Moulay Sliman semble avoir cherché, au début du dernier siècle, à obtenir chez les Jbala et dans l'Atlas central l'appui de la confrérie des Derqawa ; sous le règne de Moulay el Hasan, les chorfa et les marabouts du Rif occidental sont les intermédiaires entre les Senhaja de Srair et le Makhzen ; à la même époque, dans le Sous, Sidi Hosein du Tazerwalt et Sidi el Hasan de Timgilcht donnent au souverain des conseils précieux pour le développement de sa politique. Mais, le plus souvent, les chefs religieux savent qu'ils perdront dans leur pays toute autorité en joignant leurs efforts à ceux du Makhzen, et que désormais les dîmes et les ziaras dont ils vivent seront versées plus volontiers entre les mains des marabouts rivaux qui auront su se montrer moins serviles ; aussi pour la plupart, les chefs religieux préfèrent-ils unir leur sort à celui des républiques berbères plutôt qu'à celui des représentants du Sultan.

On ne saurait dès lors s'étonner que les progrès du Makhzen dans le Sous soient liés au constant recul des influences religieuses. Nous avons dit le déplacement vers le Sud des grands centres maraboutiques entre le xve et le xviiie siècles : des Regraga du Jbel Hadid, vers Afoughal, au nord des Haha, puis des Aït Daoud, chez les Ida ou Bouzia ; enfin, à Illigh dans le Tazerwalt; de nos jours les zaouias n'ont plus d'importance politique dans le Haut-Atlas, au pays des caïds de Tagontaft et des Glawa ; c'est à la limite du désert, à Timgilcht près de l'Oued Noun, à Wissaden chez les Souktana, à Tamegrout sur le Dra, dans une région où le nom du Sultan n'est plus prononcé, que se sont réfugiés les saints personnages, seuls capables de maintenir dans la paix les populations sédentaires des oasis et les turbulents nomades du Sahara.

Ainsi, l'histoire aussi bien que l'étude des tribus qui vivent sous nos yeux dans les diverses parties du Maroc, nous conduisent à regarder l'association naturelle des marabouts et des Berbères indépendants comme le signe d'un état d'évolution encore très incomplet des populations du Maghreb extrême. Les chefs religieux sont seulement les propagateurs d'un Islam complaisamment adapté à l'esprit étroit des républiques de la montagne, et qui respecte ou tolère jusqu'aux coutumes les plus contraires aux prescriptions du livre saint; dans leurs domaines, ils n'introduisent ni la langue des Arabes, ni les habitudes du gouvernement des

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

plaines ; leur rôle est de conserver, plutôt que de modifier la structure sociale et politique de la Berbérie.

Peut-être n'est-il pas d'ailleurs impossible de rapprocher le rôle et la situation de ces personnages de celle des fondateurs des premières principautés religieuses orthodoxes ou hérétiques, telles que celles des Idrisides et des Berghouata avant la fondation des Empires almoravide et almohade.

Ainsi associés aux républiques indépendantes, les marabouts participent souvent de leur étonnante stabilité et de la force qu'y conservent les traditions. Certaines dynasties religieuses — celle des Ahansal, que les traditions locales font remonter au XIIIe siècle, celle des chefs du Tazerwalt dont l'ancêtre fut un des disciples du Jazouli à la fin du XVe siècle — parviennent ainsi à conserver le pouvoir plus longtemps que les chorfa maîtres de l'Empire.

L'importance du rôle politique des marabouts chez les tribus demeurées libres, la stabilité de leur domination et les avantages qu'en retirent les Berbères nous permettent de regarder leur présence comme le complément nécessaire de l'organisation des républiques indépendantes. Pacificateurs des guerres intérieures, défenseurs de la religion, ils suffisent à satisfaire l'idéal sans grandeur des montagnards, en leur permettant d'éviter, dans leurs minuscules cantons, les contraintes extérieures et d'élaborer dans le désordre et l'anarchie les constitutions politiques primitives auxquelles ils limitent leurs efforts. Peut-être est-il permis de dire que cet état « pré-makhzen », marqué par la présence des grands fiefs religieux, encore apparent dans le Sous avant le XVIIIe siècle, dans lequel vivent à présent les tribus de l'Atlas central et que le Rif a gardé jusqu'à ces dernières années, nous offre l'image de la vie naturelle de la Berbérie islamisée, lorsqu'elle parvient, dans un isolement volontaire, à rester à l'écart du Makhzen.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la longue influence des chefs religieux dans le passé ne laisse de nos jours d'autres traces, dans une grande partie du Sud du Maroc, que la présence de leurs tombeaux respectés ; leurs descendants vivent sans gloire dans de pauvres villages et le seul rôle qu'ils puissent encore jouer est d'arbitrer de simples querelles de familles. Jadis, ils ont tenté d'arrêter l'évolution du pays menacé par le Makhzen, en exerçant en faveur des tribus une résistance qui leur permettait de fonder des états. Mais au cours du

dernier siècle, les progrès de l'Empire ont rendu impossible l'exercice de leur autorité ; l'histoire des dernières générations ne nous montre plus que le balancement presque régulier des conquêtes du Makhzen et des sibas, l'opposition des chefs et des assemblées. Deux forces irréductiblement hostiles, deux conceptions inconciliables de la vie politique se mesurent dans le Sous comme dans un champ clos, et la médiation des puissances religieuses ne peut plus s'exercer utilement pour atténuer la violence de la lutte.

VI. *Conséquences de la soumission des tribus au Makhzen.* — Malgré les efforts des tribus et les révoltes qui ont suivi la fin des règnes des sultans, le XIXe siècle a été marqué, dans le sud du Maroc, par les progrès constants de la politique du Makhzen. Au cours de la période confuse des premières années de l'occupation française, les grands chefs de la montagne et les caïds des plaines ont en outre, pendant quinze années, poursuivi avec une activité nouvelle la transformation du pays berbère.

Par suite, aucune région du Maroc ne permet, aussi bien que le Sous, d'apercevoir les conséquences qu'entraîne pour les petits états jadis autonomes de la montagne leur entrée dans l'Empire chérifien.

Le seul bien qu'apporte le Makhzen aux tribus berbères est l'ordre intérieur. Sous le gouvernement des caïds, les luttes de soffs et de leffs se trouvent en effet arrêtées ou limitées ; encore ce progrès reste-t-il précaire puisque les passions, comprimées pendant les années où s'exerce sans conteste l'autorité des représentants du Sultan, éclatent à nouveau à la première « siba », avec une violence plus grande encore. La paix dans laquelle vivent alors les nouveaux sujets se trouve achetée par la destruction de la plupart des traditions et des coutumes, des habitudes de gouvernement local et de justice primitive qui sont pour les habitants de la montagne inséparables de leur vie même.

Les marabouts, dont l'arbitrage s'exerçait, non seulement pour arrêter les combats des cantons et des tribus, mais encore pour trancher conformément à l'équité les différents d'ordre privé, disparaissent les premiers ; nous ne les verrons plus intervenir auprès des chikhs et des caïds pour défendre les pauvres et les faibles, ainsi qu'ils en avaient le privilège auprès des sénats d'« inflas » au temps de la liberté. Le vieux droit tribal cesse d'être

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

appliqué et souvent, le jour de la soumission marque celui de son effacement. Il fait place à la justice plus lointaine et plus abstraite des cadis, dont les complaisances pour les nouveaux chefs sont évidentes.

En même temps, la plupart des institutions économiques des petits cantons berbères, dont le fonctionnement régulier exigeait la délibération des représentants des familles, sont frappées de décadence : les agadirs tombent en ruine, les caisses communes sont dilapidées, les corvées d'entr'aide deviennent irrégulières, l'entretien des séguias et des chemins, la protection des cultures même ne sont plus l'objet des mêmes soins qu'autrefois.

Enfin, la propriété du sol, si profondément troublée dans certaines régions voisines des kasbas des grands chefs devient incertaine ; la constitution des vastes domaines des caïds de l'Atlas entraîne, dans un pays déjà trop pauvre pour nourrir ses habitants, la disparition d'un grand nombre de villages et l'exode progressif des Berbères vers des régions où la sécurité des biens et des personnes se trouve mieux assurée.

Lorsque la domination du Makhzen s'établit sans intermédiaires et laisse peser tout son poids sur les tribus, grâce à l'autorité sans limite de chefs étrangers, on voit se développer une profonde misère ; un des principes les plus constants du gouvernement est en effet de maintenir dans le calme les populations les plus turbulentes ou les plus acharnées à reconquérir leur liberté, en les accablant de contributions sans cesse renouvelées.

Il est facile de comprendre que les Berbères, ainsi enfermés dans ce champ de ruines, en arrivent bientôt à associer dans leur esprit le Makhzen à un régime de paix, d'oppression et de misère, cependant que le gouvernement plus troublé des républiques indépendantes leur semble seul capable de conserver la vie des institutions de leurs villages. Le développement de l'anarchie leur apparaît, dans la servitude où ils sont tombés, comme la seule garantie de la prospérité des familles et du respect des traditions. La « siba », la révolte, dont la mort du Sultan est le signal attendu, devient à la fois un mouvement instinctif de défense contre une domination insupportable et un appel aux forces intérieures de libération : on s'explique dès lors que le premier acte de la tribu, après avoir détruit la maison du caïd soit, par une sorte de geste inconscient de la mémoire collective, de rassembler les notables

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

afin de restaurer sous une forme que nous reconnaissons encore, le gouvernement patriarcal des temps anciens.

VII. *L'avenir de la Berbérie marocaine.* — L'établissement de la France au Maroc a entièrement modifié, depuis vingt ans, la situation respective du Makhzen et des tribus indépendantes. Mais c'est surtout depuis l'époque où les progrès de la pacification ont multiplié nos relations directes avec les populations de l'ancien « bled es siba » que le pays berbère a manifesté, en des circonstances parfois tragiques, les signes d'une vitalité dont il ne nous est plus permis désormais de nous dissimuler le sens profond.

Pendant les premières années de notre Protectorat, les problèmes de notre établissement et de l'organisation d'un pays ruiné par les révoltes se sont tout d'abord trouvés associés à la restauration des institutions décadentes de l'Empire chérifien. Le jeu naturel de l'action diplomatique, les obligations des traités internationaux — dont la teneur supposait l'existence d'un Maroc semblable aux États européens, uni, centralisé, régulièrement gouverné selon des lois définies, — nos habitudes d'esprit surtout, nous ont ainsi amenés à établir une complète identité entre le Maghreb extrême et l'Empire. A la vérité, cette confusion n'était justifiée dans une certaine mesure que pour la région des villes et des plaines, dans toute l'étendue du « bled el Makhzen » ; par suite, aussi longtemps que nos efforts s'exercèrent à l'intérieur des anciennes limites dans lesquelles les tribus avaient entièrement oublié leurs institutions passées et s'étaient même pliées aux pratiques de la monarchie musulmane, aucun doute ne s'éleva sur la valeur de notre fiction. Bien plus, son exactitude put sembler prouvée lorsqu'un chef de génie eut compris qu'en recueillant l'héritage politique du prestige chérifien, fondé sur les souvenirs des dernières expéditions guerrières des Sultans au Sous et au Tafilelt, il serait plus facile de vaincre les prétendants et les chefs de guerre sainte, nés de toutes parts sur les frontières du pays soumis ; il fut permis de croire un instant que les succès obtenus avec tant d'habileté et d'efforts justifiaient les prétentions du Makhzen à la constitution d'un État sans frontières intérieures, au sein duquel tous les sujets devaient vivre sans institutions locales, guidés par la seule loi de l'Islam, sous l'autorité de chefs absolus, à l'exemple des monarchies de l'Orient.

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

Certes, il n'avait pas échappé au Résident Général de France au Maroc, dès notre premier contact avec le Moyen-Atlas, que les pasteurs berbères du Maroc central avaient d'autres coutumes que celles des Arabes des plaines ; en 1914, les lois consacrèrent heureusement les institutions et le droit de ces tribus ; on vit même bientôt, dans ces régions, les caïds que nous avions imposés, accepter l'autorité judiciaire des conseils de notables, marquant ainsi l'humble situation du Makhzen dans un pays où les assemblées des chefs de famille étaient restées toutes puissantes. Partout, même dans les parties du pays où nous rencontrions, au cours de la conquête, des chefs temporels puissants — comme ceux des Zayan — les abus du gouvernement chérifien étaient jusqu'alors restés inconnus ; le respect des traditions berbères s'affirmait avec une indéniable vitalité.

Mais en même temps aussi, les Berbères Senhaja et Zénètes du Maroc central, demeurés, jusqu'à cette époque, en dehors de l'Empire, ne cessaient d'offrir à notre avance une résistance acharnée ; la rude conquête des Beni Warain, en 1923, celle des Aït Seghrouchen et des Marmoucha, en 1926, montraient la volonté obstinée des communautés indépendantes de défendre leur liberté; à l'instant où nous terminons cette étude, les grandes confédérations des Aït Sokhman, des Aït Seri, Aït Yahya, Aït Yafelman et Aït Moghrad, établies sur les deux versants de l'Atlas rassemblent leurs forces multiplient dans les plaines soumises leurs attaques et mettent une dernière fois en péril les confins du « bled el Makhzen » ; elles marquent ainsi leur volonté de rester aussi longtemps que possible en dehors de l'Empire, dont elles troublent d'ailleurs profondément la vie.

Chez les sédentaires du sud du Maroc, dont nous avons cherché à connaître la vie, les événements survenus depuis cinq années, tandis que nous poursuivions nos enquêtes en tribu, montrent à l'évidence combien la nature des institutions diffère de celles que la présence des grands caïds nous laissait imaginer à l'origine ; ils nous permettent de comprendre les tendances profondes de cette région dont la pénétration du Makhzen avait changé l'existence et qui s'enfermait dans une morne passivité traversée de révoltes.

Successivement, la disparition des petits états du Gontafi et du Mtouggi, l'affaiblissement constant du prestige des Glawa

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

aux confins du Sahara, l'effort des Berbères demeurés libres à la limite des commandements pour traiter sans intermédiaires avec la France, ont rendu manifeste, en effet, la fragilité d'une construction politique dont les écrivains amateurs d'exotisme avaient déjà imprudemment dessiné l'aspect féodal. En même temps, la soumission des dernières tribus dissidentes de l'Atlas occidental, dans la région du Tichka et des Ida Ou Tanan que nous avons si souvent étudiée pour comprendre la nature des institutions traditionnelles du Sous, nous a donné une preuve nouvelle de l'effort des montagnards pour échapper à l'étreinte des grands chefs dont ils redoutaient à bon droit la domination. On voit déjà, au pays des amghars des Seksawa, se tenir, à la faveur de la paix nouvelle, des assemblées de notables qui tentent, sous l'autorité de la France, de faire revivre ce qui peut être sauvé de l'ancien droit des tribus.

Nous ne redirons pas ici la violence des forces de résistance que la pénétration européenne a fait naître dans le Rif ; sans doute l'esprit de guerre sainte, demeuré si vivace dans le nord du Maroc a-t-il animé, plus qu'un véritable sentiment de patriotisme, la rébellion dirigée par 'Abd el Kerim ; mais il est certain que les énergies berbères habituellement dépensées dans des querelles de villages se sont trouvées d'un seul coup rassemblées, orientées vers une même fin ; de telle sorte que nous avons pu mesurer leur force redoutable. Il nous a été possible en même temps, en observant l'ébranlement propagé par ce mouvement dans toutes les régions de montagne dissidentes ou soumises, depuis l'Atlas central jusqu'au Tafilelt et de l'Atlas occidental aux plaines du Sous, d'apercevoir la puissance destructive que garde le rêve d'indépendance et de « siba » dans lequel les tribus cherchent spontanément et par une sorte d'instinct, le remède de leurs maux.

La Berbérie nous donne d'ailleurs d'autres témoignages plus pacifiques ou plus humbles, mais non moins évidents, de la vie intérieure qui continue de l'animer. C'est ainsi que la force si tenace de ce lien mystérieux par lequel se trouvent unis les habitants d'un même canton, d'une même tribu, ne paraît en rien diminuée jusqu'à présent par les conditions nouvelles d'existence que la paix française a apportées au Sous. Les populations du Dir, par exemple, autrefois concentrées dans leurs villages fortifiés des dernières pentes de l'Atlas, colonisent à présent les vastes plaines

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

qui s'étendent à leurs pieds. Mais les habitants qui quittent ainsi la montagne ne s'établissent pas au hasard et en désordre dans l' « Azaghar ». Le plus souvent nous les voyons se réunir à nouveau en villages qui sont les colonies fondées par les fractions du Dir ; il en résulte que la tribu de plaine se trouve disposée à l'image de celle qui était depuis longtemps fixée dans l'Atlas.

De la même manière, l'émigration temporaire a pris, depuis vingt ans, un essor nouveau ; mais chaque tribu du Sous envoie ses fils dans quelques villes du nord du Maroc de son choix, de telle sorte qu'on les voit se grouper par corporations et par quartiers ; au milieu des étrangers, ils vivent entre eux, parlent leur dialecte, reçoivent sans cesse par les voyageurs les nouvelles les plus précises des événements de leur tribu et continuent d'être reliés par des liens invisibles à leur petite patrie.

Enfin, il n'est pas jusqu'aux colonies de Chleuhs de la banlieue parisienne ou des villes industrielles du nord et du centre de la France dont la répartition ne nous apparaisse comme une carte déformée des divers groupes sociaux du Sous : les tribus de Massat, des Ida Ou Baqil, des Ammeln, des Ida Ou Gnidif se reforment ainsi dans les mansardes d'Argenteuil, de Puteaux et de Saint-Étienne, où la vie s'organise par cantons et par villages (1).

Sans doute, est-ce ici le lieu de rappeler qu'en d'autres régions de la Berbérie, d'étonnantes survivances attestent avec une éclatante évidence la vitalité du droit coutumier des tribus. On sait comment des « Kanoun » Kabyles, rédigés en français à l'insu de nos administrateurs, apportent encore à présent des sanctions traditionnelles aux délits réprimés par les lois françaises ; ces règlements clandestins continuent de régler l'existence des villages du Djurjura en s'adaptant, non sans quelque mérite, aux transformations politiques, économiques et morales de notre temps (2).

En rappelant ici l'existence des forces intérieures qui dominent encore la vie des tribus berbères et survivent longuement à la conquête et à la soumission du Makhzen, nous avons voulu contribuer à indiquer la direction dans laquelle les efforts de la France peuvent, dans l'avenir, rendre moins dure la condition d'un peuple qui a souvent cherché, par d'inconscientes démarches, au cours

(1) Justinard, *Revue des Études islamiques* 1928 p. 477-480.
(2) Milliot, Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles, *Hespéris*, 1926, 4e tr.

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

d'une histoire agitée, à réaliser le rêve contradictoire de la prospérité dans l'anarchie ou de la puissance dans la violence et l'oppression.

Certes, parmi ces énergies cachées, qui demeurent toujours prêtes à se manifester chez les communautés de la montagne, les unes sont seulement capables de détruire et ne peuvent désormais trouver leur place dans un ordre nouveau : ce sont celles qui font appel aux rêves d'indépendance guerrière et de discorde et libèrent un instant les passions renfermées dans les cœurs pendant quelques années d'une paix imposée. Ces forces appartiennent au passé et leur déchaînement s'excuse si l'on pense aux souvenirs de misère qui s'attachent à la domination de l'ancien Makhzen. D'autres tendances, au contraire, orientent vers un avenir meilleur la vie de ces primitifs : l'esprit d'association, si développé et si souple qu'il a pu permettre de fonder des institutions économiques aussi parfaites que les grands agadirs du Sous ; l'attachement le plus durable aux liens de fraternité capable d'unir entre eux les émigrés volontaires, aussi loin qu'ils se trouvent de leur canton d'origine.

C'est certainement par cette fidélité aux mystérieuses notions de leff ou de tribu que les Berbères se distinguent le mieux des cultivateurs des plaines du « bled el Makhzen », si prompts à abandonner leur sol, parce qu'ils n'y sont plus attachés par les traditions anciennes. En vain de nos jours, les routes commencent-elles de pénétrer au centre des régions les plus inaccessibles de l'Atlas ; dans les voitures et les trains rapides qui traversent le Maghreb, les Chleuhs emportent avec eux le souvenir ineffaçable et constant de leur maison, de leur terre, de leurs frères et de leurs ennemis ; ils reconstituent en tous lieux cette tribu et ce canton à l'intérieur duquel s'enferment toute leur vie et leur idéal.

Le chant nostalgique avec lequel ils aiment alors au loin à bercer la tristesse de leur exil nous apporte, jusque dans les villes du Nord, le secret de leur force et de leur faiblesse ; dans cette phrase indéfiniment redite, qui est l'écho des chœurs berbères de la montagne, se livre leur âme ; elle évoque la vie rude de l'Atlas que les poètes savent parer d'un sourire, le charme de la liberté, la simplicité d'une existence étroite, emprisonnée par des traditions immuables, qui imposent obstinément aux hommes les mêmes actes dans les mêmes lieux.

N'ayant d'autre patrie que leur groupe de villages, d'autres lois

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

que leurs coutumes, les Berbères demeurent insensibles à l'orgueil d'appartenir à l'Empire. A l'égard de ce Makhzen dont l'autorité ne leur a jadis apporté que la ruine, ils ne témoignent qu'une fidélité de convention inspirée par la crainte ; c'est de la France qu'ils attendent en silence, avec une patience déjà inquiète parfois, la reconnaissance de leurs simples aspirations de justice et de vie meilleure.

Peut-être n'est-il pas téméraire d'espérer qu'un jour viendra où les tribus de montagne, dont le territoire dessine sur la bordure de l'ancien « bled el Makhzen » de vastes régions naturelles, pourront, grâce à notre appui, s'affranchir, dans une certaine mesure, des liens trop étroits dans lesquels les enserre aujourd'hui la tradition chérifienne. Dans ces provinces éloignées des villes, dont l'histoire du pays suffit à tracer assez exactement les limites, les Berbères prendront conscience avec plus de force, sous un régime administratif adapté à leur existence, des liens si durables qui les unissent à leur sol.

Une telle réforme répondrait au vœu des populations qui manifestent, par de sourds appels, leur désir d'échapper au nivellement économique et social des plaines soumises, ou témoignent par une résistance acharnée à notre avance de leur attachement à leurs coutumes séculaires. Il serait en même temps pour le Maghreb extrême un gage de paix intérieure et une garantie de prospérité.

Déjà, en effet, au spectacle de l'évolution politique de l'Islam, si rapide en d'autres pays, la jeunesse citadine des capitales du vieil Empire se sent invinciblement attirée par de dangereuses nouveautés. Nulle part, sans doute, autant qu'en Afrique du Nord, le brusque conflit des idées les plus modernes et de la vie primitive n'aurait pour conséquence un renouveau du désordre et de la misère des peuples.

Seul, un appel aux puissances de conservation de la Berbérie, demeurées souveraines dans une grande partie du Maroc, permettra dans l'avenir d'atténuer le choc des habitudes du passé et des illusions de l'avenir. Ce pays ne trouvera que dans le respect de ses coutumes, dans l'attachement à ses parlers locaux, dans l'amour de ses traditions, la force de résister au vertige dans lequel se trouvent déjà entraînés les Empires modernisés de l'Orient, sur la voie incertaine et périlleuse de la lutte des nations.

[P 420 is blank]

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

TRAVAUX ET MONOGRAPHIES UTILISÉS

A. Bernard. — *Les confins algéro-marocains*, Paris, 1911.

M. Ben Daoud. — Recueil du droit coutumier de Massat. *Hesperis*, 1924.

M. Ben Daoud. — Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du Sud-Marocain. *Hesperis*, 1927.

M. Ben Daoud. — *'Orf de l'Agadir de Tamellokt* (en préparation).

G.-S. Colin. — Confédération des Senhaja de Sreir (Tribu des Ktama), *Archives D. A. I.* (1) (avril 1926).

G.-S. Colin. — Histoire politique des Senhaja de Sreir, *Archives D. A. I.* (avril 1926).

G. S. Colin. — *Notes sur les Ghomara* (Étude en préparation).

E. Doutté. — Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha, *Bulletin de l'Afrique française*, 1905 (Renseignements Coloniaux).

J. Dumaine. — Les éléments du problème du Rif, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, supplément 2 *bis*, 1926.

A. Ghirelli. — *Monografia de la Cabila de Beni Tuzin*. Madrid, 1923.

E. Geranton. — Les expéditions de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, 1924 (Renseignements Coloniaux, n° 9).

Cdt Justinard. — Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbère. *Hesperis*, 1925.

Cdt Justinard. — Notes d'histoire du Sous au xixe siècle. *Hesperis*, 1925-1926.

Lt Laronne. — Notice sur les Glaoua, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1913.

F. de la Chapelle. — Note sommaire de renseignements sur les tribus du grand Atlas et du Dir dépendant du Caïd Mtouggi, *Archives D. A. I.*, avril 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Le Grand Atlas du Mtouggi. Notes historiques, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les tribus des Nfifa et des Hassein, *Archives D. A. I.* juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Douiran, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Seksaoua, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Demsira, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les Ida ou Mahmoud, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1926.

F. de la Chapelle. — Si Mokhtar Seksawi. *Hesperis*, 1928.

F. de la Chapelle. — Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1928.

F. de la Chapelle. — Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain, *Revue de l'Afrique française*, Renseignements Coloniaux, octobre 1927.

Ch. de Foucauld. — *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris, 1888.

E. Levi Provençal. — Les influences religieuses au Rif et chez les Jbala, *Archives D. A. I.*, février 1926.

Cdt Maillet. — Notes sur les tribus du commandement de Si Hammo Glaoui, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1918.

(1) Direction des Affaires Indigènes.

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

Cne MALVAL. — Les tribus dissidentes de l'annexe de Tiznit, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

Cne MALVAL. — Note historique sur l'annexe de Tiznit, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — Le régime juridique des tribus du Sud-Marocain. *Hesperis*, 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Une tribu berbère du Sud-Marocain, Massat, *Hesperis*, 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Notes historiques sur les Haha, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note historique sur la tribu des Gedmiwa, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note historique sur la tribu des Ouzgita, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Notice provisoire sur l'Ogdemt, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur Tisguine, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1924.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur la haute vallée de l'Asif el Mal, *Archives D. A I.*, janvier 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas. *Hesperis*, 1927.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu des Mzouda, *Archives D. A. I.*, avril 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur les Aït Waouzgit (région du Sirwa), *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La formation du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft, *Memorial H. Basset*. Paris, 1929, p. 169.

R. MONTAGNE. — Les Aït Semmeg, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Quelques aspects de la transformation politique du Rif, *Archives D. A. I.*, octobre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Le Makhzen d'Abd el Kerim et les Beni Ouriaghel, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — Les tribus des Beni Itteft, Beni Bou Frah et Mestassa, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu des Boqqoya, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu des Beni Ouriaghel, *Archives D. A. I.*, janvier 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — La tribu de Targuist, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE. — La Confédération des Senhaja de Srair, *Archives D. A. I.*, janvier 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — Note sur les marabouts et chorfa du Rif et des Jbala, *Archives D. A. I.*, 1926.

R. MONTAGNE et P. PENNÈS. — Carte provisoire du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair, *Archives D. A. I.*, décembre 1925.

R. MONTAGNE et P. PENNÈS. — Les Ida Ou Tanan, *Archives D. A. I.*, novembre 1926.

R. MONTAGNE. — Organisation des tribus berbères indépendantes. Les Ida ou Tanan, *Revue des Etudes islamiques*, 1927.

R. MONTAGNE. — Notice provisoire sur les Ammeln, Ida ou Ktir, Ida ou Gnidif, Ammanouz, *Archives D. A. I.*, juillet 1928.

E. MICHAUX-BELLAIRE. — Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt, *Archives marocaines*, t. XVII.

UBACH et RACKOW. — *Sitte und Recht in Nord Afrika* (Ida ou Zikki, Ida ou Zal, Todgha), Stuttgart, 1923.

Les citations du Kitab el Ibar d'Ibn Khaldoun sont empruntées à la traduction française de M. G. de Slane (Histoire des Berbères), Paris.

[P. 422-A]

INDEX DES TOPONYMES DES NOMS DE GROUPES SOCIAUX ET D'INSTITUTIONS

A

Achir, 401.
Adad Medni, 21.
Adasil, 190, 310, 313, 318, 319, 321.
Adebdi, 279, 2.
Adouz, 192.
Adrar Meqqorn, 20.
Adrar n Tasaft, 277.
Adrar Waklim, 20.
Afella Issen, 353.
Afella Wasif (Ait Mzal), 163.
Afoughal, 35, 89, 410.
Afous, 155.
Agadir (Ighir), 18, 21, 22, 83, 86, 90, 103, 134, 253.
Agadir n Jorf, 86, 99.
Agadir n Gouj, 342.
Agadir n Waddar, 303.
Agellid, 323.
Agergour, 126, 133, 275, 276, 277, 301, 336.
Aggonsan, cf. Ait Waggonsan.
Aghbalou (Massat), 162.
Aghbar (Gedmiwa), 12, 18, 134, 162, 186, 191, 223, 231, 276, 308, 336.
Aghmat, 28, 38, 58, 59, 60, 74.
Aglagal, 91.
Aglou, 21, 139.
Agrao, 62, 175.
Agsel, 156.
Ahansal, 411.
Ahel Sahel, 99.
Ahlaf, 33.
Ait Amer (Anti-Atlas), 19, 137, 202, 292, 330.
Ait Amer (Haha), 35, 130, 222.
Ait 'Abdallah (Anti-Atlas), 20.
Ait 'Abdallah (Beni Ouriaghel), 239.
Ait 'Abdallah (Seksawa), 135, 158, 278.
Ait 'Abdallah (Sirwa), 136.
Ait 'Addi, 126.
Ait 'Aissi (Haha), 35, 47, 74, 130, 155, 159, 388.
Ait Aougga (Seksawa), 158.
Ait Arba'in, 130, 221.
Ait Atman (Ieff), 185, 195, 276, 282, 301, 305, 316, 328, 330, 344.
Ait Atman (Sirwa), 264, 350.
Ait 'Atta, 8, 14, 149, 168.
Ait Ba'amran, 16, 19, 112, 114.
Ait Bou Yahya, 41.
Ait Breher, 158, 355.
Ait Brihim, 202.
Ait Cha'ib, 158, 226.
Ait Daoud (Demsira), 354.
Ait Daoud (Ida Ou Bouzia), 87, 410.
Ait Dris, 159.
Ait Fademt (Ieff), 185, 195, 199, 330.
Ait Fenzer, 202.
Ait Gaïr, 127, 227, 254, 278, 314, 315, 356.
Ait Gassa, 314.
Ait Haddido, 168.
Ait Haddiyous, 40, 1[illegible]. 158, 160 169, 192, 220, 282, 312, 315, 318, 340, 355, 356.
Ait Hamid, 202.
Ait Ihklef (Ieff), 195.
Ait Imini, 350.
Ait Iraten (Ieff), 185, 195, 276, 282, 305, 316, 330, 346, 350.
Ait Lhasen, 135, 158, 273.
Ait Lemsour, 154.
Ait Maghlif, 136, 258.
Ait Mesa'oud, 353.
Ait Mgild, 181, 238.
Ait Mhand Ou Mousa, 355.
Ait Mehand (Seksawa), 158, 159, 281.
Ait Mimoun, 336.
Ait Moghrad, 168, 415.
Ait Mousa (Seksawa), 158, 278, 309.
Ait Mousi, 18.
Ait Mrait, 207.
Ait Mzal, 15, 47, 64, 163, 201, 202, 203, 204, 229.
Ait Ndhir, 181, 238.
Ait Ouazhgi, 290.

[P.422-B]

INDEX

Ait Ou'azzoun, 130, 149, 169, 228, 229, 231, 289.
Ait Oubial, 350.
Ait Oughgoummi, 207.
Ait Oughir, 126.
Ait Ou Hamden, 350.
Ait Oulma, 230.
Ait Oumalou, 367.
Ait Ou Mribet, 138.
Ait Oumzal, 282.
Ait Ousa, 207.
Ait Qalla, 136, 258.
Ait Qasem, 239.
Ait Qodni, 195.
Ait Seddrat, 34, 341, 371.
Ait Seghrouchen, 415.
Ait Semmeg (Anti-Atlas), 35, 336.
Ait Semmeg (Haut-Atlas), 12, 35, 134, 159, 198, 284, 304, 340, 349.
Ait Seri, 415.
Ait Shaq (Seksawa), 158.
Ait Sokhman, 168, 415.
Ait Soual, 279.
Ait Swab, 156.
Ait Tabgao, 313, 378.
Ait Tadrart, 258, 302, 316, 350.
Ait Tagmout, 207.
Ait Tamedlou, 165.
Ait Tammast, 330.
Ait Tamment, 93.
Ait Tawiya, 350, 351, 352.
Ait Tigdi Ouchchen, 350.
Ait Tigidar, 189, 192, 231, 254, 260, 378.
Ait Tigouga, 249, 279.
Ait Tikiwit, 207.
Ait Tiksit, 192, 314, 356.
Ait Tilet, 355.
Ait Tinkert, 130, 169, 289, 291.
Ait Tinmellel, 62, 63, 64.
Ait Tintlet (leff), 195, 315.
Ait Tiyout, 207.
Ait Tisgi, 207.
Ait Tmighat, 207.
Ait Tounert, 161, 180, 226, 282, 312.
Ait Tskawin, 235.
Ait Tzeggout (leff), 185, 199.
Ait Wadouz, 309.
Ait Wadrim, 156, 229.
Ait Waggonsan, 193, 223, 279, 356.
Ait Wagrou, 207.
Ait Waliad, 156.
Ait Wanoukrim, 130, 230, 292.
Ait Wanzig, 230.
Ait Waouzgit, 14, 19, 30, 64, 67, 121, 129, 136, 155, 165, 166, 195, 205, 225, 228, 254, 259, 284, 285, 305, 351 et sqq, 336, 340, 341, 350, 351, 352.
Ait Wartassa, 350.
Ait Wasif Nfis, 70, 133, 185, 232, 340.
Ait Wasif (Ouzgita), 377.
Ait Wasif (Seksawa), 158.
Ait Wignan, 156.
Ait Yafelman, 8, 415.
Ait Yahya, 415.
Ait Yalmazdog, 199.
Ait Yighaz, 64, 67.
Ait Zelten, 74, 381.
Ait Zineb, 330, 335, 350.
Ait Zolit (leff), 185, 193, 194, 195, 199, 280, 357.
Afoughal, 85.
Ajdir, 253, 296, 402.
Akhsas, 201.
Algesiras, 73.
Alhucemas, 241, 295, 402.
Alquel, 89.
Amanouz, 15.
Amasin (Ikhozamen), 40, 264.
Ameskroud, 90, 92.
Amesmatert, 190, 310, 314.
Amesnez, 377.
Amezghouni (Asif), 276, 277.
Amghar, 134.
Amhach, 123, 381.
Amismiz, 12, 38, 39, 46, 126, 133, 250, 261, 313, 314, 328, 337, 369.
Ammeln, 20, 138, 161, 202, 204, 205, 417.
Amzwar (cf. *Mezwar*).
Anebdour, 302, 378.
Anfa, 83, 86.
Angad, 211.
Anmalouz, 156.
Annerni, 313.
Anoual, 296, 402.
Anougal, 259, 313.
Aoggwa (leff), 195, 202, 203, 205, 215.
Aoullous, 317, 319.
Aqqa, 13, 15, 37, 86, 101, 137, 138, 163.
Areksis, 112.
Arghen, 30, 63, 64, 70, 201, 277, 302, 401.
Arousiyn, 340.
Artatein, 276.
Asif el Bour, 377.
Asif el Mal, 18, 88, 186, 189, 259, 260, 308, 313, 378.
Asif n Igezzoulen, 380.
Asif n Qahira, 259.
Asif Nefis, 186, 259, 260, 378.
Asif n Saghour, 156.
Asif n Tinkert, 328.

[P.422-C]

INDEX

Asles (Jbel), 74.
Assades, 168.
Assaïs (Ait Tigidar), 189, 231.
Assaka, 109.
Assaka n Ait Ou Hamden, 351.
Assarag, 126, 264, 351.
Assen, 353.
Asserato, 353.
Atbej, 31.
Aureba, 210.
Awines, 158, 273.
Azaghar, 122.
Azaghar n Ait Zelten, 123, 380.
Azemmour, 69.
Azilal (Sirwa), 198, 285, 350, 351.
Azrar, 202.
Azzeg, 12.

'A

'Abda, 386.
'Abid, 103.
'Ain Hajer.
'Alla, 276, 277.
'Amarnat, 33.
'Amma, 45.
'Arch, 177.
'Arib, 34.
'Aziza (Lalla), 49, 235, 251, 314.

B

Bab Chari', 67.
Badès, 209, 241.
Bani, 8, 13, 15, 20, 41, 204.
Banou Masifra, 199.
Ben Takemous, 92.
Beni Ahmed (Jbala), 206.
Beni Amret, 295.
Beni 'Abd el Wad, 69.
Beni Bou Frah, 176, 295.
Beni Bou Nsar, 173.
Beni Bouzra, 176.
Beni Gmil, 176, 240, 295, 367.
Beni Gorfet, 211.
Beni Goumi, 74.
Beni Grir, 177.
Beni Hasan, 28, 208, 210.
Beni Ider, 211.
Beni Ifran, 29, 60.
Beni Ittelt, 176, 294.
Beni Jabir, 31.
Beni Khaled, 177.
Beni Khennous, 173.
Beni Merin, 28, 69.
Beni Mesdwi, 252.
Beni Messara, 208.
Beni Oumghar, 87.
Beni Ouriagel, 209.
Beni Ouriaghel, 175, 211, 252, 296, 402.
Beni Rzin, 177.
Beni Selman, 177.
Beni Snassen, 211.
Beni Touzin, 175, 402.
Beni Waraïn, 415.
Beni Zedjel, 177.
Beni Zerwal, 207, 208, 294, 408.
Beni Ziyat 177.
Beni Zouli, 194, 199.
Berada, 93.
Berghwata, 27, 29, 30, 31, 58, 208, 323.
Bibaoun, 74, 129.
Bigoudin, 74.
Biougra, 107.
Boqqoya, 175, 176, 210, 295, 402.
Borkou, 25.
Botres, 26.
Bouaboud, 114, 122, 133, 227, 332, 346.
Boughni, 213.
Bou Hamara, 295.
Bou l 'Ajlat, 12, 39.
Bou Regreg, 26.
Bou Riqi, 111, 369, 386.
Bou Roumman, 86.
Bou Taradin, 308, 346.
Bou Zougga, 126.
Brahim du Kik (Moulay), 49, 51.
Branès, 26, 207, 210, 221, 237.

C

Casablanca, 114.
Canaries (îles), 22.
Cantin (cap), 25, 57.
Canton (*taqbilt*), 152, 180.
Carthage, 25.
Chadilya, 91.
Cherarda, 370.
Chawiya, 338, 378.
Chebbanat, 32, 76, 80, 97, 101, 370.
Cherradi (Zaouia), 106.
Chichawa, 85, 369.
Chinguit, 101.
Chtouka, 16, 18, 30, 33, 39, 42, 96, 99, 106, 109, 113, 114, 156, 165, 202, 205, 252, 277, 337, 371.
Confédération, 164.
Chyadma, 75, 85.

[P. 422-D]

INDEX

D

Dadès, 8, 13, 14, 25, 30, 41, 99, 108, 121, 144, 194, 330, 332, 340, 341, 371.
Dar Akimah, 192.
Darat, 57.
Dariens, 57.
Debiha, 292.
Demnat, 9, 12, 15, 30, 110, 330, 339.
Demsira, 30, 71, 85, 90, 91, 134, 135, 154, 161, 185, 193, 309, 332, 333, 337, 340, 353, 354, 355.
Deren, 11, 12.
Dila, 97, 99, 408.
Dir, 12.
Djochem (Cf. Jochem).
Dnasa, 12, 378.
Dou Ighris, 377.
Doukkala, 27, 30, 66, 106, 208.
Dou Taourirt, 350.
Dra, 24, 25, 41, 68, 73, 99, 108, 111, 121.
Dwi Hasan, 32, 73, 80.
Dwi Menia, 168.
Dwiran, 39, 134, 162, 192, 337.

E

Erdouz, 18, 313.
Ergita, 30, 135, 193, 223, 357.
Espagnols, 100.
Ethiopiens, 25, 27, 57.

F

Feija, 108, 110, 316.
Ferkla, 25, 332.
Ferqelma (col), 288.
Fes, 85, 90.
Fetwaka, 194, 341.
Fidoust, 20.
Freja, 89.
Frouga, 92, 337, 340.

G

Gedmiwa, 39, 62, 63, 67, 70, 72, 77, 129, 135, 155, 165, 185, 192, 223, 228, 338, 340, 352, 375, 399.
Genfisa, 30, 62, 63, 70, 129, 155, 161, 167, 169, 199, 312.
Getules Autololos, 57.
Gezzoula, cf. Igezzoulen.
Gharb, 11, 67, 113, 142, 238, 386.
Ghassasa, 209, 210.
Gheghaia, 185, 304.
Ghezawa, 208.
Ghighaya, 17, 70.
Ghojdama, 194, 341.
Ghomara, 28, 29, 58, 172, 176, 208, 209, 215, 295, 323, 402.
Ghomara (lef des Jbala), 206.
Ghozz, 64.
Glawa, 17, 30, 46, 113, 114, 121, 305, 341.
Gokten, 276.
Goulimin, 13, 14, 46, 105, 109.
Gouz, 59.
Guanches, 22.
Guir (cap), 18, 21.
Gzennaya, 295.

H

Habt, 97, 172, 206, 237, 248.
Hadid (Jbel), 84.
Had des Ait Mzal (El), 250.
Haha, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 27, 33, 35, 38, 42, 46, 67, 72, 73, 74, 76, 84, 85, 89, 92, 95, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 108, 110, 112, 123, 155, 159, 165, 166, 193, 194, 200, 221, 252, 259, 367, 377, 378.
Hammam (Jbel), 295.
Haraten, 25, 45.
Haret, 31, 32, 76, 83.
Hargha (cf. Arghen).
Harjan, 86.
Haut Dra, 8, 14, 15, 25, 73, 195, 371.
Haut Ghis, 252.
Haut Guir, 235, 236.
Hazen (El), 202.
Heskoura (Cf. Skoura).
Hilaliens, 31.
Hintata, 30, 62, 63, 64, 66, 70, 72, 78, 88, 166.
Hollandais, 99.
Howara, 33, 86, 112, 194, 339, 371.

I

Iberdaten, 313, 378.
Iberouten, 130, 230.
Iberqaqen, 138, 201.
Ibouban (Seksawa), 158.
Ibouncharen, 239.
Ichkajen, 282.
Ichouken, 294.
Ida Ou Baqil, 417.
Ida Ou Blal (Marrakech), 304, 370.

[P.422-E]

INDEX

Ida Ou Blal (Sahara), 138.
Ida Ou Bouzia, 35, 87, 130, 155, 159, 380, 410.
Ida Ou Finis, 64, 207.
Ida Ou Gelloul, 337, 380.
Ida Ou Gersmouk, 229.
Ida Ou Gnidif, 12, 15, 138, 169, 204, 229, 417.
Ida Ou Gourd, 381.
Ida Ou Gwailal, 12, 20.
Ida Ou Izimmer, 59, 311, 312, 355.
Ida Ou Kensous, 12, 15, 96, 201, 207.
Ida Ou Ktir, 163, 202.
Ida Ou Kwaïs, 356.
Ida Ou Limit, 64.
Ida Oultit, 12, 20, 138, 201.
Ida Ou Martiyn, 207.
Ida Ou Merzoug, 332, 361.
Ida Ou Mhamoud, 30, 40, 85, 135, 154, 161, 191, 193, 227, 254, 282, 340.
Ida Ou Msattog, 12, 154, 156, 193, 279.
Ida Ou Mout, 162.
Ida Ou Nadif, 30, 64, 201.
Ida Ou Nifi, 378.
Ida Ou Semlal, 16, 58.
Ida Ou Tanan, 14, 19, 94, 106, 109, 113, 127, 129, 144, 154, 155, 159, 165, 168, 185, 193, 200, 221, 223, 229, 230, 258, 288, 290, 291, 380.
Ida Ou Tghoumma, 130.
Ida Ou Zal, 193, 279, 287, 340, 357.
Ida Ou Zeddagh (leff), 185, 192, 193, 194, 195, 280, 356, 357.
Ida Ou Zeddagh (tribu), 12, 198.
Ida Ou Zeddout, 30, 64.
Ida Ou Zekri, 30, 64, 201.
Ida Ou Ziki, 126, 333, 337, 340, 352, 357, 388.
Idma, 135, 158, 275, 278, 315, 355.
Id Mansour (Ida Ou Tanan), 159.
Id Mansour (Talemt), 279.
Id Nouh, 186.
Ifesfasen, 169, 229, 289.
Ifni (Côte Atlantique), 21, 111.
Ifni (lac d'), 17.
Ifran, 13, 100, 202.
Ifri, 59.
Ifriqiya, 31.
Igdad, 18.
Igerwan, 181, 238.
Igezzoulen, (Gezzoula), 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 46, 60, 66, 67, 87, 89, 104, 124, 139, 205, 229, 258, 324.
Igezzoulen (leff), 36, 193, 194, 195, 201, 203, 204, 205, 215, 316, 350, 357.
Igheddioun, 202.
Ighil Mgoun, 8, 9, 11.
Ighil n Ogho, 350.
Ighri, 194, 202, 284.
Ighzer Amqran, 173.
Igli, 58, 59.
Igoudachen, 192, 193.
Igountar, 309, 355.
Ihengirn, 279.
Ihouziyoun, 80, 195, 336, 340, 349.
Ikhozamen, 136, 258, 350, 351, 352.
Ikourran, 158.
Ilalen, 20, 44, 138, 201, 203.
Ilemti (Ait Tigidar), 189.
Ikhs, 43, 218.
Illigh, 46, 99, 101, 106, 112, 139, 204, 324, 410.
Imarighen, 377.
Imedlaoun, 154, 156, 158, 223.
Imegdal, 301.
Imghartiyn, 202.
Imgrad, 200, 222.
Imeghran, 41, 194, 330, 332, 341.
Imelwan, 315, 356.
Imirgen, 336.
Imider, 13.
Imini, 19.
Imi n Tanout, 12, 15, 38, 39, 46, 70, 92, 126, 338, 377.
Imi Wasif, 378.
Imouzzer (Ida Ou Tanan), 169.
Imsifern (leff), 185, 189, 192, 193, 199, 263, 273, 287, 302, 308, 311, 314, 315, 335, 356, 357.
Imswan, 21.
Imzran, 230, 290.
Inadghertit, 199.
Inda Ouzal, 15, 20, 64, 202, 277, 336.
Indghertit (leff), 185, 186, 189, 192, 193, 199, 263, 278, 302, 308, 311, 313, 314, 315, 355, 357.
Ind Maghous, 189, 190, 192, 310, 312, 314, 315, 318, 356, 378.
Ind Ou Nadif, 207.
Ind Ou Zal, 30.
Indrifen, 156.
Inemzel (leff), 195, 199, 316, 330, 335, 350.
Inflas, 130, 221.
Inflas el Khir, 200, 222.
Ingisat, 66, 81.
Inmarakht, 351.
Inmighern, 377.
Intaoun, 202.
Intedan (Seksawa), 158, 278, 281, 315.
Irasen, 207.

[P. 422- F]

Iregharn, 74.
Irohalen, 249, 312, 353.
Isaffen, 138, 201.
Isk n Tghazout, 292.
Isqalen, 276.
Isouktan (Souktana), tribu, 155, 194, 350.
Isouktan (leff), 36, 40, 194, 195, 201, 202, 204, 205, 215, 316, 340, 357.
Issouqal, 230.
Iwonsekten, 190, 310, 356.
Iwoulla (Seksawa), 158.
Izayan, 8, 168, 408, 415.
Izayan d'Oulmès, 181, 238.
Izazen, 202.
Izoggweir, 126, 351,
Izoughar, 8, 9, 13.

J

Jaya, 206, 210.
Jbala, 144, 170, 205, 207, 215, 236, 237, 294, 409.
Jbel 'Alam, 208, 294, 408.
El Jema'a (Ait Daoud), 250.
Jochem, 31, 34, 73.
Juby (cap), 112.
Juifs, 45, 46.

K

Kabyles, 402.
Kabylie, 27, 41, 140, 144, 177, 211, 212, 241, 242, 243, 297, 402.
Kasba' Amejjout, 369.
Kelabiya, 32.
Kerdous, 124.
Kest, 16, 20, 129, 139, 156.
Khandeq el Wed, 369.
Kharaj, 72.
Kharejites, 58.
Khela Tifernin, 8.
Khemalcha, 94, 175.
Khlot, 69, 210.
Khoms, 155, 171.
Khoms n Ougadir (Ait Mzal), 163.
Kik, 12, 35, 70, 180.
Korcimat, 340.
Kost (El), 67.
Kouko, 298, 401.
Koutama, 208, 209, 210, 401.

L

Lakhes, 32, 76.
Lamta, 27, 28, 29, 32, 59, 67.
Leben (Oued), 86.
Leff, 144 et *passim*.
Lemmwè, 287.
Lemtouna, 28, 29, 60, 67, 76.
Likoumt, 17.
Lixites, 25.
Louh, 256.

M

Maghrawa, 38.
Marabouts, 294, 333, 407.
Marmoucha, 415.
Marrakech, 15, 17, 18, 37, 60, 90, 119, 339, 370, 375.
Masmouda, 26, 27, 61, 186, 193, 215.
Masmouda (Jbala), 208.
Masatates, 57.
Massat, 21, 59, 60, 76, 86, 99, 139, 154, 162, 222, 417.
Mauritanie, 114.
Mauritanie Tingitane, 26.
Mazagan, 27.
Ma'der, 139.
Ma'qil, 31, 32, 33, 44, 44, 51, 69, 73, 80, 83, 109, 122, 205, 370.
Meghafra, 103.
Maghrawa, 207.
Mejjat (Anti-Atlas), 201.
Mejjat (Marrakech), 313, 340.
Meknès, 86.
Menabbha, 33, 194, 370.
Mentaga, 135, 193, 223.
Mérinides, 18, 31.
Mesgina, 30, 130, 161, 333, 337, 340.
Mesfiwa, 340.
Metalsa, 210.
Mestasa, 295.
Mezziat, 210.
Mezgita, 137, 292, 330, 341, 371.
Mezwar (fonction), 62, 222.
Mgouna, 341.
El Mkhazen, 91, 368.
Mneizla, 39, 287.
Mogador, 15, 18, 21, 22, 37, 103, 367, 377, 380.
Moqaddem, 132, 224.
Mouda, 151, 218.
Mouldirt, 276, 302.
Moulouya, 31, 207.
Moyen Dra, 340.
Mtiwa (Rif), 173, 176, 177, 209, 211.
Mtougga, 67, 85, 105, 109, 110, 122, 193, 340.
Mzouda, 39, 135, 159, 162, 185, 192, 226, 271, 337, 340, 387.

[P. 422-G]

N

Nader, 31.
Nasiriya (Oulad Naser), 121.
Nefis (Oued), 15, 17, 18, 58.
Nefis (ville) ou Neffis, 38, 59.
Nefzawa, 210.
Neknafa, 333, 337, 357.
Nekor (Nkor), 207, 209, 211, 295, 296.
Nfifa, 90, 332, 333, 337, 340, 352, 353, 377.
Ngisa (cf. Ingisat).
Noul Lemta, 59.
Noun, 13, 15, 21, 41, 103, 104, 107, 111.

O

Ogdemt, 18, 162, 186, 260, 304, 308, 336, 338.
Onein, 12, 80, 134, 195, 279, 283, 305, 340.
Oudaya, 367.
Oulad Ben (ou bou) Seba, 33, 34, 313, 340.
Oulad Bou Slama, 211.
Oulad Dlim (Sahara), 33, 370.
Oulad Dlim (Marrakech), 304.
Oulad Jerrar, 202.
Oulad el Mahalli (leff), 194.
Oulad Mota (ou Mta), 88, 370, 340.
Oulad Yahya (Dra), 34.
Oulad Yahya (Sous), 33, 194.
Oulghas (Oued), 109, 110.
Oulili, 59.
Oum er Rbi'a (Oued), 26, 27, 30.
Ouneila, 329, 331, 335.
Ounzen, 202.
Ourika, 17, 18, 185.
Ouringa (Oued), 173.
Oussoud, 249.
Ouzgita (du Kik), 17, 135, 166, 185, 276, 304, 336, 340, 377.

P

Peignol, 91.
Peñon de la Gomera, 209.

Q

Qala, 401.
Qadiriya, 91.
Qehira (El), 75, 90, 92, 369.
Qosenus (fleuve), 57.
Qsabi, 13.
Qsob (Oued), 18, 38, 88, 166.

R

Regraga, 27, 66, 67, 84, 87, 208.
Reghiwa, 210.
Rehamna, 371.
Rhouna, 208, 210, 211.
Rif, 89, 94, 100, 144, 175, 205, 211, 215, 238, 239, 240, 252, 293, 295, 296, 335, 337, 407, 409.
Roha, 34.
Rokna, 74.

S

Safi, 85, 106.
Saghro (Jbel), S.
Salé, 27, 28, 86, 97.
Santa-Cruz de Mar Pequeña, 86, 88, 112.
Saoura, 96.
Sbouiya, 111, 113.
Sebou, 28.
Seddrata (cf. Ait Seddrat).
Segharna, 137, 371.
Seguiet el Hamra, 33, 73.
Sekrat, 273, 307
Seksawa, 11, 18, 30, 67, 73, 76, 85, 90, 92, 127, 135, 154, 185, 186, 188, 191, 192, 220, 223, 234, 273, 278, 282, 310, 312, 338, 340, 350, 354, 355, 356, 376, 399, 416.
Selatites, 57.
Semlala (cf. Ida Ou Semlal).
Sénégal, 22.
Senhaja, 26.
Senhaja (Atlas central), 14, 168.
Senhaja (leff des Jbala), 172, 176, 206, 209, 215.
Senhaja de Gheddo, 207, 208.
Senhaja au litham, 25.
Senhaja de Msobah, 208, 209.
Senhaja de Srair, 144, 173, 207, 208, 210, 211, 294, 410.
Senhaja de Tanger, 28, 208.
Sijilmassa, 68, 73, 80, 90, 374.
Sirwa, 198, 264.
Skoura, 9, 15, 30, 34, 46, 64, 68, 72, 73, 74, 88, 121, 164, 167, 194, 341, 371.
Snada, 294, 295, 404.
Soff, 196, 211.
Soff Bou Adda, 212, 216.

[P.422-H]

Soff Outella, 209, 212.
Sofian, 32, 34, 69, 73, 83.
Soudan, 99, 101.
Souktana (deff) (cf. Isouktan).
Souktana (tribu) (Anti-Atlas), 12, 14, 20, 121, 126, 155, 194, 198, 201, 204, 205, 336, 249, 350, 352.
Souktana (de Marrakech), 35, 304.
Soumata, 210.
Sous el Adna, 27.
Sous el Aqsa, 22, 27.
Sous (embouchure), 21.
Sous (région), 6, 9 et passim.
Sous (vallée), 13, 14.

T

Taberbourt, 283, 317.
Tabia, 309.
Tadderi, 177.
Tadert, 74.
Tadla, 27, 28, 31, 60, 85, 88.
Taferghoust, 301, 302.
Tafersit, 295.
Tafilelt, 13, 97, 101, 102, 103, 113, 121, 416.
Tafraout, 156.
Tafraoutan (Ait Mzal), 163.
Tafounan, 350.
Tagadirt n Baoun (Demsira), 159.
Tagadirt n Bour, 70, 126, 328.
Tagadirt (Ind Maghous), 313, 315.
Tagadirt n Oumious, 277.
Tagaost, 89, 100, 109.
Tagemout (Asif Nefis), 277, 284.
Taghzout, 174, 209.
Tagist, 67.
Tagmadert, 87.
Tagontaft, 70, 122, 275, 276, 302, 303, 319, 341, 344, 346.
Tahanaout, 12, 369.
Tajammalt, 86.
Takhorbant, 350.
Talat n Ya'qoub, 122, 203, 305, 328, 342, 344, 346.
Talekjont, 12, 39, 135, 192, 193, 318, 356.
Talemt, 12, 135, 193, 282, 304, 318, 356.
Taliwin, 126, 350, 352.
Tamanart, 15, 163, 202, 204.
Tamassint, 296.
Tamarout, 355.
Tamda, 287.
Tamedakht, 316, 330, 335, 336, 350.
Tamedelt, 58, 59.
Tamegrout, 121, 410.
Tamellokt, 255, 256.
Tameloukt, 86, 96.
Tamenougalt, 330.
Tamerwout, 277.
Tameslouht, 87.
Tamezouart, 74.
Tamiyz, 63, 65, 167.
Tamjerjt, 350.
Tamsoult, 190.
Tanammert, 190.
Tanger, 22, 27.
Tansest, 80, 81.
Taouloukoult, 347.
Taounghast, 227.
Taourirt (Warzazat), 126, 331.
Tarfaya, 112, 113.
Targa n Ait Iraten, 176.
Targa n Izouggwaghen, 12.
Tarjicht, 13.
Targist, 240, 252, 295, 403.
Taroudant, 15, 37, 46, 59, 60, 80, 81, 89, 92, 100, 101, 102, 109, 287, 375.
Tasgint (Ida Ou Mhamoud), 40.
Taskemt, 363.
Taskourt, 378.
Tassa (Ait Haddiyous), 40, 158, 311.
Tassedremt (Ida Ou Tanan), 289.
Tassenoult (Massat), 162.
Tatta, 15, 138, 202.
Tazenakht, 14, 195, 315, 317, 330.
Tazert, 126, 331.
Tazerwalt, 84, 87, 99, 100, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 124, 137, 201, 203, 324, 376, 382, 411.
Tazoult, 202, 350.
Tekna, 105, 109, 370.
Telwet, 9, 121, 126, 137, 331, 346.
Temsaman, 176, 402.
Tensift, 10, 19, 38, 85, 86, 166.
Tensita, 89.
Tenveves, 89.
Teskawin, 119.
Tétouan, 110, 112.
Tibesti, 25.
Tichka (Seksawa), 11, 18, 67, 70, 129, 131, 228, 311.
Tidighin, 173, 208.
Tidili, 19, 284, 351.
Tidsi, 13, 89.
Tifnout, 17, 19, 80, 126, 264, 284, 303, 350, 351.
Tifoultout, 350.
Tigemmi Igiz, 309.
Tigouga, 154, 156, 192, 356.
Timgilcht, 306, 410.
Timlilt, 277.
Tinchouft, 163.

[P.422-I]

INDEX

Tinghir, 226, 251.
Tinider, 264.
Tinisk, 328.
Tinmel, 18, 200, 276, 301, 303, 321.
Tinmellel, 60, 63, 67, 69, 71, 221, 401.
Tinoubga, 190.
Tinzoulin, 34, 199.
Tisekht (Zenaga), 80.
Tisgin (Gedmiwa), 12, 39, 133, 192, 250, 286.
Tisint, 13, 37, 101, 137, 138, 202.
Tit, 28, 85.
Tizi Macho, 15, 17, 18, 86, 92, 128, 134, 186, 194, 249, 321, 369.
Tizi n Fedghat, 9, 15, 17, 108.
Tizi n Imiri, 63, 302, 328.
Tizi n Taraqatin, 15.
Tizi n Tgodicht, 288.
Tizi n Telwet, 15, 17, 108, 113, 128, 194, 321.
Tizi n Test, 15, 17, 37, 128, 249, 321.
Tiznit, 16, 107, 112, 114, 122, 123, 139, 229, 337.
Tizounin, 163, 202.
Tiwazwin, 156.
Todgha, 13, 121, 144, 226, 238, 251, 332, 340, 341.
Tombouctou, 99.
Touaregs, 25.
Touggana, 341.
Toug el Khir, 276.
Toufiq, 178.
Tounan, 202.
Tres Forcas (cap), 209.
Tribu, 159.
Troglodytes, 25.
Tsoul, 207.

W

Wadras, 237.
Wanoukrim (Adrar), 11, 17, 18, 63.
Wanzid (Seksawa), 158, 159.
Warzazat, 137, 194, 330, 331, 341.
Worgha, 29, 174, 208, 209.
Wichedden (Adrar), 63.
Wigit, 276, 277.
Wijjan, 13.
Wirgan, 377.
Wissaden, 410.

Y

Yallich, 211.
Youtanan, 168.

Z

Zagmouzen, 14, 19, 24, 85, 126, 137, 194, 195, 202, 285, 350.
Zaouia Cherradi, 367.
Zayan (cf. Iyayan).
Zeggen, 32, 7[illegible], 76.
Zemmour, 181.
Zemran, 137, 331, 340.
Zenaga, 12, 14, 20, 27, 75, 89, 121, 137, 202, 205, 292, 340, 350.
Zenata, Zénètes, 26, 27, 28, 30.
Zerhoun, 239.
Zerqot, 240, 252.
Zettata, 249, 321.
Zgonder, 80.
Zilaout, 378.
Zirara, 370.

[P.422-J is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P.422-K]

INDEX DES NOMS DE PERSONNES ET DE FAMILLES

A

Abou l Abbas Ahmed ben 'Abdallah el Mahalli, 96.
Abou Amer ben Yousef, 73.
Abou 'Abdallah (des Beni Oumghar), 85.
Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed Jazouli, 100.
Abou 'Abdallah Moha mmed ben Ousa'doun, 91.
Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed es Sghir el 'Amri, 86.
Abou 'Ali ben Abou Sa'id (Merinide), 74, 80.
Abou 'Amar, 94.
Abou Debbous, 69, 80.
Abou Faris, 92.
Aboul Qasem, Idris, 58.
Abou Ishaq ben Ahmed (de Tamesloht), 96.
Abou 'Inan (Mérinide), 75, 78.
Abou l Hasan (Mérinide), 74, 75.
Abou l Hasan 'Ali ben Abou Qasem Es Sandjai, 95.
Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli (Sidi 'Ali), 97, 99, 100.
Abou Hassoun (cf. Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli).
Abou Mohammed ben 'Abdallah el Hasani, 87.
Abou Mohammed 'Abdallah el Kouch, 94.
Abou Mohammed 'Omar Ajana, 86.
Abou 'Otman Sa'id el Hartanani, 85.
Abou Sa'id 'Abd er Rahman Regragi, 85.
Abou Sa'id (Mérinide), 74.
Abou Salem (Mérinide), 78.
Abou Tabet (Mérinide), 74.
Aghennaj (Mohammed ben Yahya), 106, 203, 204.
Ahansal, 408.
(Caïd) Ahmed n Ait Sa'doun Mtouggi, 333.
Ahmed Anflous Neknafi, 114.
(Chikh), Ahmed Agzal, 354, 355.
Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed (de Taghennoust), 330.
Ahmed ben Mahrez, 101.
(Caïd), Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, 337.
Ahmed el 'Arj (Saadien), 89, 90.
Ahmed el Mansour (Saadien), 92, 370, 374.
Ahmed el Mezwari (Amghar), 329.
Ahmed en Nasiri, 107.
(Moulay) Ahmed Er Raisouli, 294.
(El Hajj) Ahmed n Ait Lhasen Gontafi, 276.
Ahmed Ou Bihi, 278, 307, 309.
Ahmed Ou Malek, 304, 306.
Ahmed Ou Mansour, 280.
Ahmed Ou Moulid, 169, 311, 312, 355, 382.
(Sidi) Ahmed Ou Mousa, 49, 51, 84, 87, 91, 95, 203, 235, 251, 324.
(Caïd El Hajj) Ahmed Ouzgiti, 277.
Ahoukar, 67.
Ait Ammo (de Takhorbant), 285.
Ait Bacha (de Taberbourt), 317.
Ait Bazzi (de Talekjont), 279, 303, 304, 356.
Ait Ben 'Ali, 330, 331.
Ait ben Haddo, 330.
Ait Bihi, 105.
Ait el Bazz, 312.
Ait Ja'far, 356.
Ait Mousa, 105, 133.
Ait Oumghar (de Tassedromt), 291.
Akensous, 107.
(Amghar) Akherraz, 289, 290.
Almoravides, 29, 59.
Amhaouch, 106.
(Amghar) Aqqai, 282.
(Caïd) Azerwal Er Rehamani, 330.

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

INDEX

422L

'A

El 'Abbas (Moulay) (Saadien), 99.
'Abdallah (Fqih), 90.
(Moulay) 'Abdallah (Filalien), 368, 369, 371.
Abdallah ben Idris ben Idris, 58.
'Abdallah ben Sa'id (Sidi), 92, 93.
'Abdallah Ibn 'Omar Seksawi, 75 77.
(El Hajj) 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, 109, 110, 114, 123, 130, 134, 260, 280, 332, 349, 353, 357, 375, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 388.
'Abdallah Tamachot, 304.
'Abd el 'Aziz (Mérinide), 79.
(Moulay) 'Abd el Aziz (Filalien), 114, 115, 295, 327, 338, 385, 386.
'Abd el 'Aziz ben Sa'id el Mezwari, El Ouzgiti, 92.
'Abd el 'Aziz Mohammed Hintati, 78.
'Abd el 'Aziz Mohammed Ibn 'Ali Hintati, 75.
'Abd el 'Aziz Et Tebba', 86.
'Abd el Hafid (Filalien), 114, 121, 338, 339.
(Mohammed ben) 'Abd el Kerim, 175, 295, 296, 297, 299, 402, 403, 404, 416.
'Abd el Kerim el Fellah, 94.
'Abd el Kerim Ibn 'Isa Gedmiwi, 77.
'Abd el Malek Mtouggi, 114, 122, 333 et sqq., 353, 386, 398.
'Abd el Malek Sba'i, 86.
'Abd el Moumen el Goumi, 29, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 299, 401.
(Emir) 'Abd el Qader, 314.
(Moulay) 'Abd er Rahman (filalien), 107, 108, 115, 184, 261, 286, 313, 370, 380, 385.
(Cherif) 'Abd er Rahman Derqawi, 408.
'Abd er Rahman Gellouli, 123.
'Abd er Rahman Ibn Yedder, 74.
(Amghar) 'Abderrahman Irro, 356.
'Abd es Semed, 298.
(Amghar), 'Abd el Wahad Zanifi 316, 350.
El 'Adel ben el Mansour, 68.
(Caïd el Hajj), 'Addi Mtouggi, 333.
'Addi Ibn Hennou, 74.
'Aisa ben 'Omar Abdi, 386.
(Sidi) 'Ali Amhaouch, 408.
'Ali ben Boujja, 353.
(Caïd) 'Ali ben Lhasen Ouzgiti, 304.
'Ali el Hajj, 105.
(El Hajj) 'Ali Hammo, 273.
'Ali Ou Hammo, 287.
'Ali n Ait Bazzi, 280.
(Amghar) 'Ali Ou Naser, 292.
(Amghar) 'Ali de Tamedakht, 316, 335, 350, 361.
(Sidi) 'Ali du Tazerwalt, succ. de Sidi Hachem, 109, 367, 407.
'Ali Ibn Yedder, 32, 69, 80.
'Ali Ya'ich, 74.
'Amer Ibn Mohammed Hintati, 77, 78, 79, 399
'Amer Seksawi, 77.
(Ibn) 'Askar, 83, 91, 94.
(Ibn) 'Attouch, 69.
El'Ayachi, 97.
(Caïd) El 'Ayadi Rahamani, 338.

B

(Caïd) Baddoh, 307.
Ba Hmad, 114, 122, 334, 335, 337.
Banou Salih, 209.
(El) Beidaq, 62, 199.
Beirouk (Oulad), 109.
(El) Bekri, 26, 208.
Beni Abes, 401.
Beni Khettab, 73.
Beni Ouriaghel, 403.
Beni Sa'd (Saadiens), 87, 211.
Beni Yedder, 32, 73, 80.
(El Hajj) Beqqich, 295, 296.
Bethencourt (J. de), 22.
(Sidi) Bibi, 251.
(Amghar) Bihi Achao, 292.
Bihi Ajerram, 332.
(Sidi) Bouagaz, 89.
Bou l' Achrat, 376.
Boucheta el Baghdadi, 295.
(Sidi) Boudmeia, cf. Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli.
Bou Hamara, 114, 327, 337, 386.
(Caïd) Bou Houch, 287.
(Amghar) Bou Naser, 302.
Bou 'Otman (Sidi), 115, 339.
Si Bou Slem bel Housin Mtouggi, 333.
(Sidi) Brahim Ou'Ali, 94, 129, 169, 230, 235, 289, 291, 292.
Brahim el Grawi, 110, 111, 286, 287, 302, 304, 375.
(Caïd) Brahim Ouzgiti, 278, 301.
(Sidi) Bouxima, 89.

C

(El) Cheger Mousa Mtouggi, 333.
Chehid (Ibn Ech), 68.
Chénier, 373.

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

INDEX

4222M

Chorfa filaliens, 98.
Chorfa d'Wezzan, 294.
Corap (Colonel), 403.

D

Dadda 'Atta, 149.
Daoud ben 'Abd el Moumen, 92.
Derqawa, 294.
Devaux (Cne.).
Doutté, 239.

E

Edrisi, 25, 26.
Erckmann, 376.

F

El Fadel (frère d'Abou 'Inan), 75.
Fatimides, 401.
De Foucauld, 137, 138, 201, 259, 292, 316.
Roland Fréjus, 100.

G

Ghaleb Billah (Mohammed ben Abdallah), 91.
(Imam el) Ghazzali, 60.
Ghilan, 97, 101.
(Caïds) Glawa, 137, 185, 194, 202, 263, 280, 284, 316, 321, 357, 415.
(Caïds), Gontafa, 278, 311, 316, 357, 398, 399, 415.

H

(Sidi) Hachem (ou Hicham) du Tazerwalt, 107, 109, 139, 203, 204, 324, 367.
(Caid El) Hachmi Ez Zemrani, 330.
Haddo ben Yousef (Seksawi), 72, 76, 78.
(Si) Haddouch el Maghousi, 190, 310, 314.
(El Hajj) Hafid des Idma, 275, 278, 281, 311, 317.
Hafsides, 71, 88.
(Caïds) Haha, 371.
Haida Ou Mwis, 123, 280.
(Amghar) Hajj Mbarek, 303.
(Caïd) Hamida el Menebbhi, 333, 353.
Hamidi Ibn Yedder, 80.
Ha Mim, 58.
(Si) Hammadi Glawi, 331.
(Caïd Si) Hammo (Glawi), 121, 340.
(Si) Hammo el Maghousi, 315.
Hammo Ou Bella, 273.
Hannon, 22, 25.
Hanoteau et Letourneux,. 211.
El Harran (Frère de Moulay Isma'il) (Filalien), 101.
El Harran (Saadien), 90.
(Sidi) el Hasan de Timgilcht, 306, 410.
Hasan el Foudoudi, 78.
(Moulay el) Hasan, Filalien, 110, 112, 113, 134, 231, 284, 306, 314, 327, 332, 333, 334, 367, 368, 371, 376, 385, 408.
Hérodote, 25.
El Hiba, 114, 115, 124, 287, 339, 340, 363.
(Moulay) Hicham (Filalien), 106, 313.
(Amghar) Hijjo, 304.
(Sidi) Hosein ben Hachem (du Tazerwalt), 109, 112, 113, 316, 324, 383, 410.
El Housin ben El Cheger (Mtouggi), 333.

I

Ibn 'Askar, 83, 91, 94.
Ibn Hauqal, 26.
Ibn Khaldoum, 26, 27, 28, 36.
Ibn Toumert, 29, 60, 62, 70, 71, 167, 299, 401.
Ibn Sa'd Allah, 313.
Id Mhammed de Tamjerjt, 285.
Idris, 401.
(Moulay) Idris (chef des Haha), 109, 260, 280.
(Moulay) Idris Hintati, 88, 90.
Idris le fatimite, 58.
Idrisi, 209.
Idrisites, 38.
Ihebban, 317.
Ishaq, frère d'El Mortada, 69.
(Moulay) Isma'il, 101, 369.

J

(Imam) Jazouli Mohammed ben Sliman, 84, 85.
(Chikh) Jorran Gedmiwi, 287.
Juba, 22.

2:MONTAGNE mW11 SHLUH

422N

K

(Caïd) Kabba, 287.
Kerroum el Hajj, 99.
Khalid ben Yahya El Masmoudi, 94.
Khemalcha, 294, 408.
(Amghar) Khorsa, 354.

L

Léon l'Africain, 38, 166.
Lhasen Bou Naga, 289, 291.

M

Mackensie, 112, 113.
(Si el) Madani Glawi, 113, 114, 121, 188, 329, 331, 332, 335, 338, et sqq., 349, 386, 399.
Ma el 'Ainin, 114.
El Mamoun Ibn el Mansour, 68.
Mangin, 115, 339, 364.
Masqueray, 297.
Mbarek Anflous, 333.
Mbarek Chtittihi, 278, 279, 285, 307, 308, 311, 334, 361.
(Sidi) Mehend Gou'azzoun, 149.
Merebbi Rebbo, 124.
Mérinides, 18, 31.
Mesa'oud d'Aqqa, 295.
(Caïd) Mesa'oud Mtouggi, 333, 353.
Metzara, 72.
Mezwar du Dra, 34, 88, 89, 90, 92.
Michaux-Bellaire, 171, 210.
El Moezz le Fatimite, 401.
Mohammed Anflous, 123.
Mohammed 'Abdallah (des Ijaounen), 295.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben 'Abdallah (Filalien), 103, 373, 375, 385.
Mohammed ben 'Abd el Moumen, 66.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben 'Abd er man (Filalien), 110, 111, 123, 134, 375, 386.
(Amghar) Mohammed Achefar, 284, 302, 303, 304, 361.
Mohammed ben Echcherif, 374.
Mohammed bel Housin Mtouggi, 333.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben Taïbi, 408.
Mohammed el 'Alem, 102.
Mohammed Echcheikh El Asghar, 374.
Mohammed el Qaim (Saadien), 89.
Mohammed en Naser (Almohade), 61.
(Amghar) Mohammed Ibibat el Mezwari, 110, 137, 305, 329, 330, 331.
(Caïd) Mohammed Mtouggi, 333, 353.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Hasein. 302.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Lhasen Gontafi, 110, 111, 276, 277, 282, 284, 301, 302, 303, 306, 318, 319, 327, 328.
(Caïd) Mohammed n Ait Mousa Mtouggi, 332.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Qaid 'Ali El Maghousi, 313, 318.
Mohammed Ou Ben 'Ali, 286, 287.
Mohammed Ou Hammo, 308.
Mohammed Ou Mansour (Seksawi), 376.
(Cherif) Mohammed Raisouli, 403, 408.
(Amghar) Mohammed de Taghennoust, 361.
(Amghar) Mohammed Zanifi, 331.
(Caïd El) Moizz Mejjati, 314.
Mokhtar Seksawi, 273, 278, 284, 305 et sqq., 311, 319, 319, 354.
El Mortada (Almohade), 69.
El Motammid (Mérinide), 78.
(El Hajj) Moulid, 310, 318.
(Chikh) Moumen, 89.
Moustapha Kemal, 403.
(Caïds) Mtougga, 273, 278, 280, 308, 309, 311, 332, 357, 359, 371, 380, 388, 398, 415.

N

Nasiriya, 306.

O

Oqba ben Nafi', 31.
Oulad el Beqqal, 294.

'O

Obeid Allah, 401.
'Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, 74, 76.
'Omar Hintati (Abou Hafs), 71.
'Omar Ibn 'Abdallah, 79.
'Omar el Khayyat, 67.
'Omar el Maghiti Chiadmi (Es Seyyaf), 86.
(Caïd El Hajj) 'Omar Mtouggi, 333, 349, 353.
'Omar Seksawi, 67, 361.
(Caïd) 'Omar Touzzalti, 301, 302, 313.

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

INDEX

4220

R

(Moulay) Rechid (Filalien), 99, 100, 367.
Regraga, 410.
Roustem, 401.
Ruyter (Amiral), 100.

S

(Caïd) Sa'id el Korimi, 333, 353.
(Caïd) Sa'id Gellouli, 163, 337.
(Sidi) Sa'id ou 'Abd en Na'im, 49, 251.
Saugnier, 324.
Sidi Ou Sidi, 49.
(Moulay) Sliman (Filalien), 106, 115, 370, 379.

T

(Si) Tayeb Gontafi, 260, 303, 306, 308, 328, 335, 336, 338 et sqq., 349, 386.
Tayeb n Ouchefar, 305.
Tednest, 76, 89, 378.
(El Hajj) Thami Glawi, 120, 122, 338, 340.

W

(Abou Hasan ben) Waggag, 65.
Wanudin (Abou Mohammed ben), 68.

Y

(Sidi) Yahya Abou Zakaria, 93, 96, 97, 371.
(Sidi) Yahya ben 'Abd en Na'im (des Ait Tamment), 251.
Yahya ben Naser, 69.
Yahya ben Tahfouf, 88.
Yahya el Sahrawi, 67.
Ya'qoub el Mansour, 31, 61.
(Abou Yousef) Ya'qoub (Mérinide), 69, 71, 73.
Ya'ich Ibn Ya'qoub, 74, 80.
(Abou Ya 'qoub) Yousef, 61, 66.
Yousef ben Tachfin, 29.
Yousef Ibn 'Ali 'Ayyad, 74.
Yousef Ibn 'Ali (Hintati), 68.
Yousef el Mostanser (Hintati), 68.

Z

Ez Zayani, 102.
(Moulay) Zidan ben Isma'il, 102.
(Moulay) Zin el Abidin (Filalien), 103.

[P. 422-P is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P. 422—Q]

ERRATA

Page 6, ligne 26. Au lieu de *entraine*, lire *entraînent*.
Page 12, ligne 22. Au lieu de *on*, lire *On*.
Page 15, ligne 27. Au lieu de *l'Atlas et*, lire *l'Atlas ou*.
Page 28, ligne 27. Après *Aghmat*, supprimer *etc.*
Page 29, ligne 13. Après *Gezzoula*, mettre une virgule.
Page 31, ligne 14. Au lieu de *Nafia*, lire *Nafi'*.
Page 36, ligne 25. Au lieu de *aux temps*, lire *au temps*.
Page 43, ligne 28. Au lieu de *village est habitée*, lire *village, est habité*.
Page 46, ligne 27. Au lieu de *jadins au*, lire *jardins du*.
Page 58, ligne 10. Après *Berghwata*, mettre une virgule.
Page 67, ligne 19. Au lieu de *Sahraw*, lire *Sahrawi*.
Page 86, ligne 29. Au lieu de *mouhajid*, lire *moujahid*.
Page 96, ligne 30. Supprimer *rivale*.
Page 142, ligne 28. Au lieu de *organisée*, lire *inorganisée*.
Page 153, ligne 21. Après *seulement*, mettre une virgule.
Page 161, ligne 22. Au lieu de *nomades qui*, lire *nomades et qui*.
Page 163, ligne 28. Après *état de division*, supprimer la virgule.
Page 201, ligne 29. Après *L'autre groupe*, supprimer la virgule.
Page 225, ligne 35. Au lieu de *dans*, lire *par*.
Page 248, ligne 24. Après *communauté musulmane*, fermer les guillemets.
Page 254, ligne 27. Au lieu de *quelques*, lire *dans quelques*.
Page 254, ligne 28. Au lieu de *et les Aït Gaïr*, lire *et chez les Aït Gaïr*.
Page 265, ligne 2. Après *pays*, supprimer la virgule ; ligne 3, après *disparaître*, mettre une virgule.
Page 282, ligne 8. Au lieu de *a'chour*, lire *'achour*.
Page 306, ligne 15. Après *Timgilcht*, mettre une virgule.
Page 318, ligne 31. Au lieu de *influences*, lire *influence*.
Page 320, ligne 26. Après *amghar*, mettre une virgule.
Page 320, ligne 11. Après *moineau* », mettre une virgule.
Page 337, ligne 17. Après *Ilmad*, mettre une virgule.
Page 354, ligne 35. Au lieu de *a'chour*, lire *'achour*.
Page 367, note 2, ligne 6. Lire *Mort du Rogui*.
Page 375, ligne 21. Au lieu de *écrire*, lire *dire*.
Page 378, note 2. Au lieu de *deffa*, lire *diffa*.
Page 393, ligne 22. Après *historique*, mettre un point-virgule.
Page 403, ligne 33. Au lieu de *tribus*, lire *tribu*.

[P. 422—R is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P.422-S]

TABLE DES CARTES

La province du Sous..... 24
Les grandes divisions politiques du Sud Marocain..... 146
Tribus et fractions dans les Confédérations des Haha et des Ida ou Tanan..... 168
Aspect des Leffs du Haut-Atlas Occidental et du Sirwa..... 200
Schéma des Leffs de l'Anti-Atlas..... 202
Les deux Leffs du nord du Maroc au xxe siècle..... 208
La vallée du Nefis au xixe siècle..... 278
La région des Seksawa..... 308

[P.422—T is blank]

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P.423]

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

AVANT-PROPOS..... I-XVI

LIVRE PREMIER

Le Sous dans le Maghreb et dans l'histoire

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — *Les conditions générales de la vie humaine.* 1

I. Les grandes régions politiques du Maroc. — II. Le Sous microcosme politique. — III. Les limites de la province du Sous. — IV. Le climat et le régime des eaux dans les plaines. — V. Le climat et le régime des eaux en montagne. — VI. L'attirance des grandes vallées irriguées. — VII. Les chemins de l'Atlas et de l'Anti-Atlas. — VIII. Les massifs montagneux. — IX. La mer.

CHAPITRE II. — *La population du Sud du Maroc*..... 24

I. Le peuplement ancien du Sous (jusqu'au XIe siècle). — II. Les luttes ethniques du XIe et du XIIIe siècles. — III. La domination et la décadence des Arabes. — IV. Les déplacements intérieurs. — V. Conséquences de la fixation au sol sur la cohésion des groupes sociaux. — VI. Forme des groupements humains (villes, villages, hameaux). — VII. La maison. — VIII. La famille. — IX. Les classes sociales. — X. La vie économique. — XI. La vie religieuse. — XII. La vie intellectuelle.

CHAPITRE III. — *La province du Sous au cours de l'histoire (des origines au XVe siècle)*..... 55

I. L'histoire ancienne du Sous. — II. Les premiers essais d'organisation musulmane. — III. La poussée des Senhaja almoravides. — IV. L'épopée masmoudienne des Almohades. — V. Une organisation berbère à la base d'un Empire. — VI. Les éléments de résistance. — VII. La désagrégation de l'Empire almohade. — VIII. La domination mérinide dans le Sous. — XI. L'organisation des tribus de l'Atlas sous les Mérinides. — X. Un grand caïd au XIVe siècle. — IX. Le royaume indépendant du Sous.

2:MONTAGNE MW11SHLUH

CHAPITRE IV. — *La province du Sous au cours de l'histoire (du XVe siècle à nos jours)* 82

I. La première réaction maraboutique, ses caractères généraux. — II. Les Regraga. — III. L'Imam el Jazouli et ses disciples. — IV. Les chorfa et le début des Saadiens. — V. L'attitude des tribus sous les premiers Saadiens. — VI. Le règne d'Ahmed el Mansour. — VII. La grande crise maraboutique. — VIII. Les principautés maraboutiques du Sous. — IX. La vie des tribus pendant la période maraboutique. — X. Les chorfa filaliens reprennent la lutte contre les marabouts. — XI. Le gouvernement du Makhzen dans le Sous sous les Filaliens. — XII. Le règne de Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah et la fondation de Mogador. — XIII. Faiblesse du gouvernement chérifien sous le règne de Moulay Sliman. — XIV. Insuffisance des sources historiques au XIXe siècle ; nécessité d'enquêtes directes. — XV. La politique du Makhzen sous Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman. — XVI. Le règne de Sidi Mohammed. — XVII. Moulay Hasan et les expéditions du Sous. — XVIII. Le développement de l'anarchie ; le Protectorat.

LIVRE II

Les républiques berbères

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — *Les types d'organisation politique* 119

I. Les grands commandements du Sud du Maroc. — II. L'organisation intérieure des grands commandements. — III. Les îlots indépendants en haute montagne. — IV. La vie des républiques berbères. — V. Le Haut-Atlas avant le développement du pouvoir des grands chefs. — VI. L'Anti-Atlas dissident. — VII. Les phases successives de la transformation du Sud du Maroc. — VIII. La transformation politique du Sous, image de celle de la Berbérie.

CHAPITRE II. — *Les petits états berbères : canton, tribu, confédération* 147

I. Les unités sociales. — II. Hameau, village, sous-fraction. — III. La « taqbilt » fraction ou canton. — IV. L'existence des « taqbilt » ou cantons est générale dans tout le Sous. — V. Dimensions constantes du territoire de la « taqbilt ». — VI. La tribu : difficulté de définir sa nature. — VII. Équilibre des fractions à l'intérieur de la tribu. — VIII. Diverses catégories de confédérations. — IX. Les confédérations historiques. — X. Les confédérations factices. — XI. Le « canton » est dans le Sous l'unité politique essentielle. — XII. Les unités sociales chez les Jbala occidentaux. — XIII. Importance du « khoms ». — XIV. Tribus et cantons chez les Senhaja de Srair. — XV. Les « khoms » dans le Rif anarchique. — XVI. La « taddert » et l'« arch » kabyles. — XVII. Importance du canton, cellule politique des états berbères.

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

CHAPITRE III. — *Les alliances de tribus et de cantons*..... 182

I. Les leffs du Haut-Atlas ; difficultés d'étude. — II. Aspect ancien des leffs des Masmouda. — III. Rôle des leffs chez les Masmouda. — IV. Force et stabilité de l'institution. — V. Les leffs pendant la paix. — VI. Limites géographiques des leffs des Masmouda. — VII. Liaison entre les leffs des Masmouda et ceux de l'Anti-Atlas. — VIII. Le soff, alliance de familles. — IX. Recherches sur l'origine des leffs du Haut-Atlas. — X. Aspect des leffs de l'Anti-Atlas. — XI. Rôle politique des leffs. — XII. Hypothèses historiques sur la formation des deux leffs. — XIII. Les leffs des Jbala et du Rif. — XIV. La formation des leffs des Ghomara et des Senhaja. — XV. Les Soffs de la Kabylie. — XVI. La Kabylie a connu des leffs semblables à ceux de l'Atlas des Masmouda. — XVII. Hypothèse générale sur la formation des leffs berbères.

CHAPITRE IV. — *L'organisation républicaine. Les institutions politiques*..... 217

I. Les institutions du Moqda'. — II. Le conseil du canton. — III. Les inflas ; leur origine magique. — IV. Le moqaddem. — V. Le partage des amendes. — VI. Les conseils de cantons ou de tribus sans moqaddem. — VII. Les tournées de justice. — VIII. Les guerres intérieures et extérieures. — IX. Les fêtes et les danses. — X. Les républiques berbères du Haut-Guir, des Jbala, des Branès. — XI. L'anarchie rifaine. — XII. Les républiques de la Kabylie.

CHAPITRE V. — *L'organisation républicaine* (suite). *Les institutions économiques*..... 245

I. L'hospitalité. — II. L'entr'aide et les contributions. — III. Absence de propriétés collectives. — IV. Les marchés et les foires. — V. Les magasins collectifs du Sous. — VI. Développement de l'institution des agadirs dans le passé. — VII. Décadence des républiques berbères du Sous.

LIVRE III

La naissance et le développement du pouvoir personnel

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — *La naissance du pouvoir personnel. L'amghar chef de canton*..... 269

I. Conditions générales de la naissance du pouvoir personnel. — II. La lutte des soffs et l'apparition de l'amghar. — III. Les premières ressources financières du chef. — IV. Les débuts de l'amghar de Tagontaft (1850-1860). — V. L'amghar El Hajj Hafid des Idma (1905-1925). — VI. Les amghars des Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). — VII. Le gouvernement de la fraction par l'amghar. — VIII. Les

2:MONTAGNE MW11 SHLUH

amghars et la politique des leffs. — IX. Les amghars grandissent à l'écart du Makhzen. — X. Les petits chefs des Ida Ou Tanan. — XI. Les petits chefs des oasis du Sud. — XII. Les amghars du Rif. — XIII. Les chefs de la Kabylie.

CHAPITRE II. — *Le développement du pouvoir personnel ou la conquête de la tribu* 300

I. L'amghar de Tagontaft conquiert l'Asif Nefis (1860-1876). — II. L'amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). — III. Un petit état des sommets (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). — IV. Les amghars des Ind Maghous (1840-1880). — V. Les petits chefs des Ait Waouzgit. — VI. Le chef de tribu s'élève au-dessus des leffs. — VII. Nouveaux aspects du pouvoir de l'amghar : la prison et la kasba. — VIII. La décadence des leffs. — IX. Les chefs de l'Atlas sont-ils les « seigneurs des cols ? » — X. L'amghar ne détient pas de pouvoir magique.

CHAPITRE III. — *Les grands caïds berbères de la montagne* 326

I. Le premier caïd de Tagontaft (1876-1883). — II. Les débuts des caïds de Telwet (1858-1894). — III. Les caïds des Mtougga avant l'anarchie marocaine (1850-1894). — IV. Les grands chefs de l'Atlas à la conquête des tribus (1894-1902). — V. Les grands caïds pendant l'anarchie de l'Empire (1902-1913). — VI. La soumission à la France. — VII. L'organisation intérieure d'un grand commandement. Les kasbas. — VIII. Les compagnons du grand chef. — IX. Les ressources financières ; le caïd maître des terres. — X. La transformation des mœurs. — XI. La politique de conquête des grands caïds. — XII. La conquête d'une tribu (les Aït Waouzgit). — XIII. La pénétration progressive (les Demsira). — XIV. Les zones d'influence (les Seksawa). — XV. Conséquences des conquêtes pour l'institution des leffs. — XVI. Existe-t-il une féodalité berbère ? — XVII. Fragilité du pouvoir des grands chefs.

CHAPITRE IV. — *La domination du Makhzen et la transformation du pays* 365

I. Le Sultan et sa cour. — II. L'armée chérifienne. — III. Les tournées d'impôts. — IV. La politique berbère du Makhzen. — V. Le fractionnement nouveau des tribus soumises. — VI. Un grand caïd au service du Makhzen. — VII. Les abus. — VIII. « La siba ». — IX. La disparition des institutions berbères.

CONCLUSION

L'évolution politique de la Berbérie sédentaire

I. Les républiques berbères. — II. Les grands commandements de l'Atlas. — III. Les royaumes berbères de l'Afrique du Nord. — IV. Fragilité du pouvoir des chefs temporels. — V. Les États maraboutiques : leur stabilité relative. — VI. Conséquences de la soumission des tribus au Makhzen. — VII. L'avenir politique de la Berbérie. 393

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh

[P.427]

Vu le 27 juin 1929,
le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres
de l'Université de Paris
H. DELACROIX

Vu et permis d'imprimer,
le Recteur de l'Académie de Paris
S. CHARLETY

Fontenay-aux-Roses. — 1930
Imprimerie des Presses Universitaires — Louis Bernard. — 1.532.

3: Dupas G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

Note on the Collective Storehouses of the Western High Atlas
(Tribes of the Ida ou Mahmoud and the Seksaoua)
[Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut-Atlas Occidental
(Tribus des Ida ou Mahmoud et des Seksaoua)]

Pierre Dupas

Paris: 1929
Hespéris, Archives berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut
des Hautes-Études marocaines
Vol. 9, pp. 303-322

Translated from the French by Helen Bluhm

Human Relations Area Files
1973

[Title page]

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

102
361
343
112

/304/

3: Dupas--2 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./

343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/From p. 307 in the original source./

343
712

Fig. 1. -- Agadir of Ikis. Surrounding wall.

Fig. 2. -- Agadir of Ikis. Entrance gate.

/From p. 309 in the original source./

343
712

Fig. 3. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

Fig. 4. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, [685] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf. [184]

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

[358] Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to maintain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/From p. 313 in the original source./

343
712

Fig. 5. -- Agadir of Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), entrance gate.

[417]

Fig. 6. -- Agadir of Tanout. The terraces.

343
712
417

/From p. 315 in the original source./

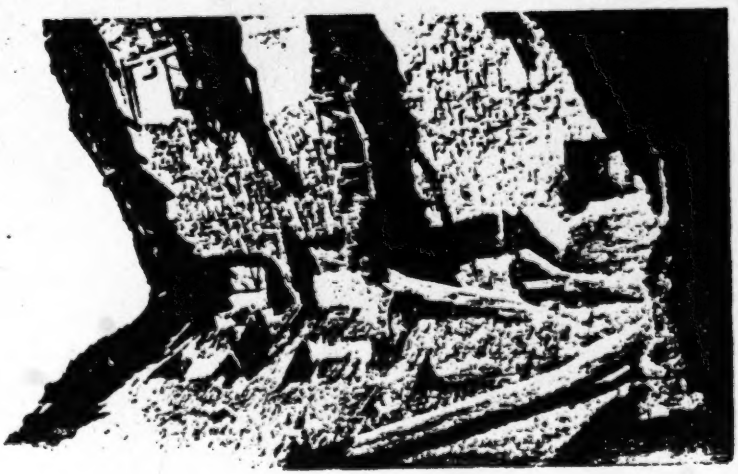


Fig. 8. -- Agadir of Annoums (Ida ou Izimmer). Interior.

Fig. 7. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf. Interior.

/From page 317 in the original source./

343
712

[291]
[411]

Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

/From page 319 in the original source./

343
912

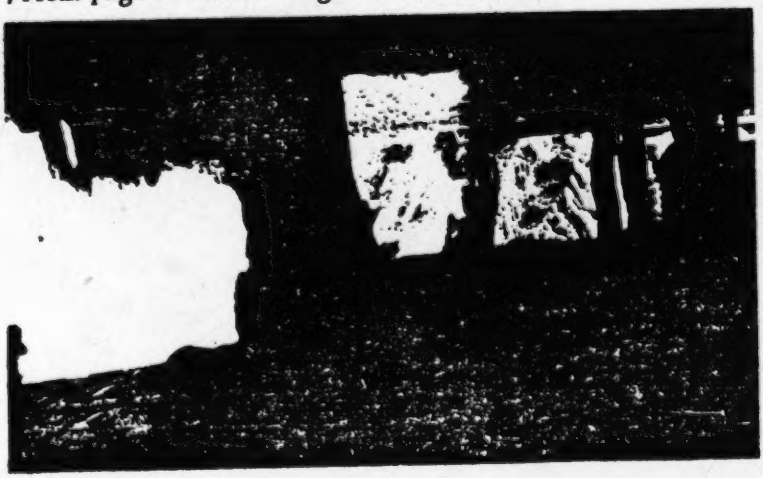


Fig. 12. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Ait Dris).

[291]

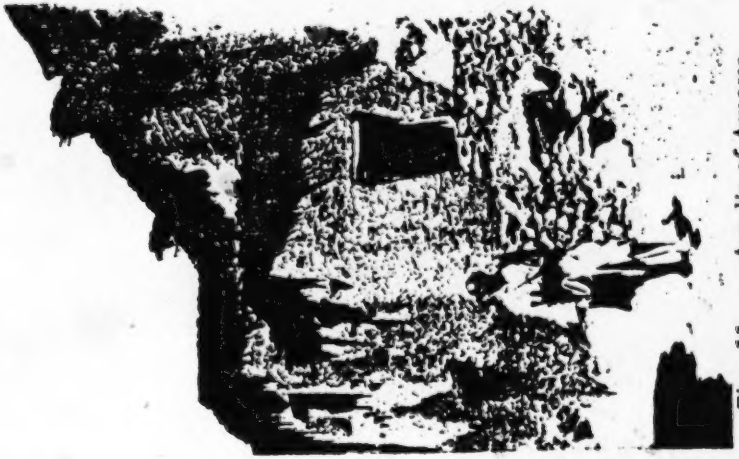


Fig. 11. -- Agadir of Amassa (Ait Dris).

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

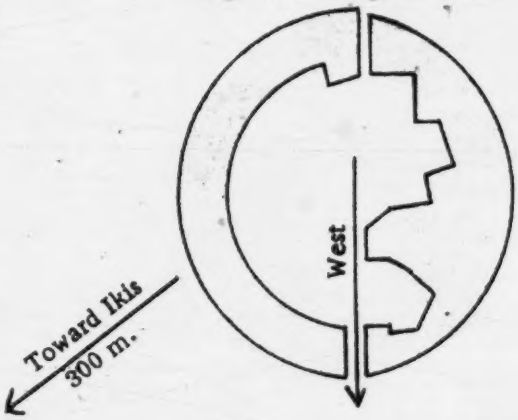
Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

3: Dupas--15 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
712

Fig. 13. -- Agadir of Ikis.



343
712
625

Fig. 14. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.

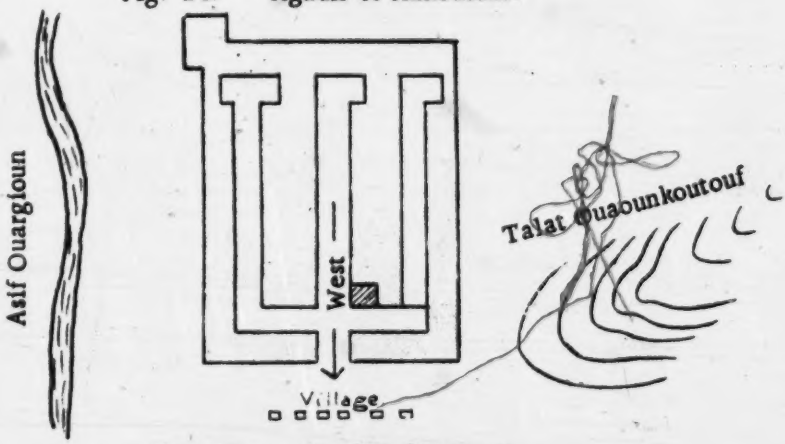
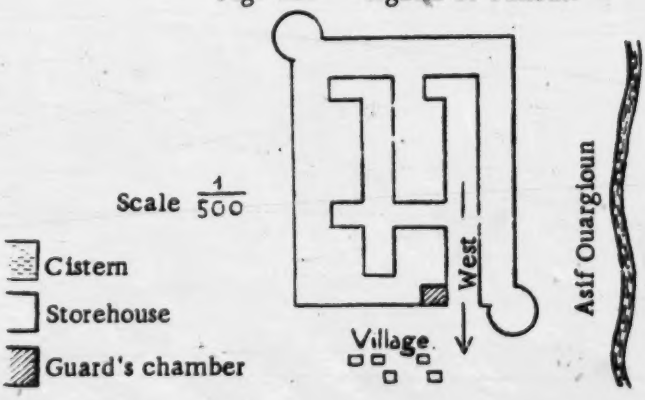


Fig. 15. -- Agadir of Tanout.



3: Dupas--16 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

Fig. 16. -- Agadir of Talmakant.

343
712
312

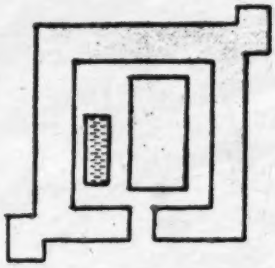


Fig. 17. -- Agadir of Assaka.

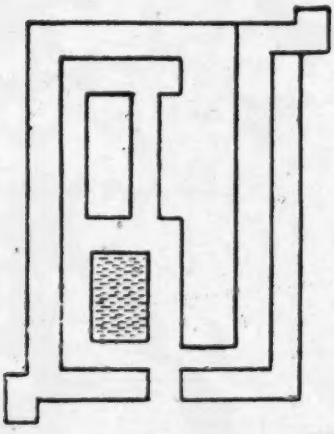
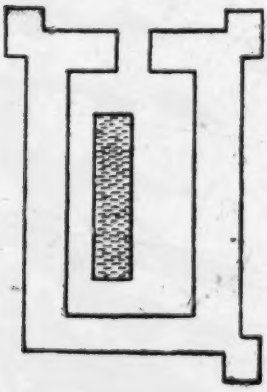


Fig. 18. -- Agadir of Azar.



3: Dupas--17 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
712
625

Fig. 19. -- Agadir of Tizzirt.

Fig. 22. -- Agadir of Amassa.

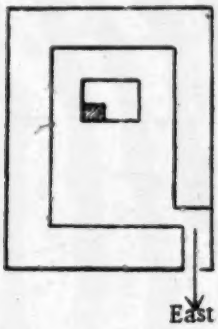


Fig. 20. -- Agadir of Annoums.

Fig. 23. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella.

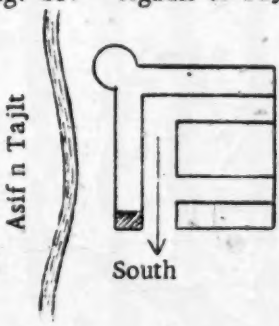
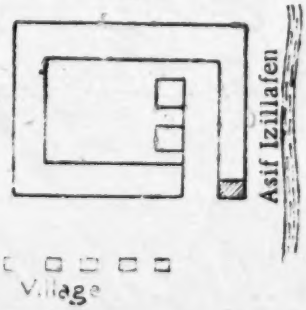


Fig. 24. -- Agadir of Meggount.

Fig. 21. -- Agadir of Tamjlojt.



3: Dupas MW11 Shluh

HESPÉRIS

ARCHIVES BERBÈRES et BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT DES HAUTES-ÉTUDES MAROCAINES

ANNÉE 1929

TOME IX

LIBRAIRIE LAROSE, PARIS
11, RUE VICTOR-COUSIN, Ve

MDCCCCXXIX

[Title Page]

3: Dupas MW11 Shluh

[P·303]

NOTE SUR LES MAGASINS COLLECTIFS
DU HAUT-ATLAS OCCIDENTAL

(Tribus des *Ida ou Mahmoud* et des *Seksaoua*)

Au cours de ses voyages effectués de 1902 à 1907, au pays des Seksaoua et des Ida ou Mahmoud, dans le Haut Atlas Occidental, Brives avait signalé l'existence de magasins collectifs utilisés dans ces hautes vallées par les Berbères (1). Alors que ces forteresses, auxquelles on donne le nom d'*agadir* et qui sont destinées à conserver les provisions de grains et de fruits des montagnards, ont presque toutes disparu dans le reste du pays, elles ont, en effet, subsisté intactes jusqu'à nos jours dans cette région voisine des sommets.

Après la soumission de ces tribus à la France, en 1927, il nous a été possible, au cours de tournées effectuées pour réorganiser le commandement local, de visiter les villages et les agadirs. Sans chercher à faire ici une étude complète de cette institution des magasins collectifs, difficile à mener à bien en un temps trop limité, il nous a paru intéressant de décrire l'aspect et la disposition de ces curieuses constructions.

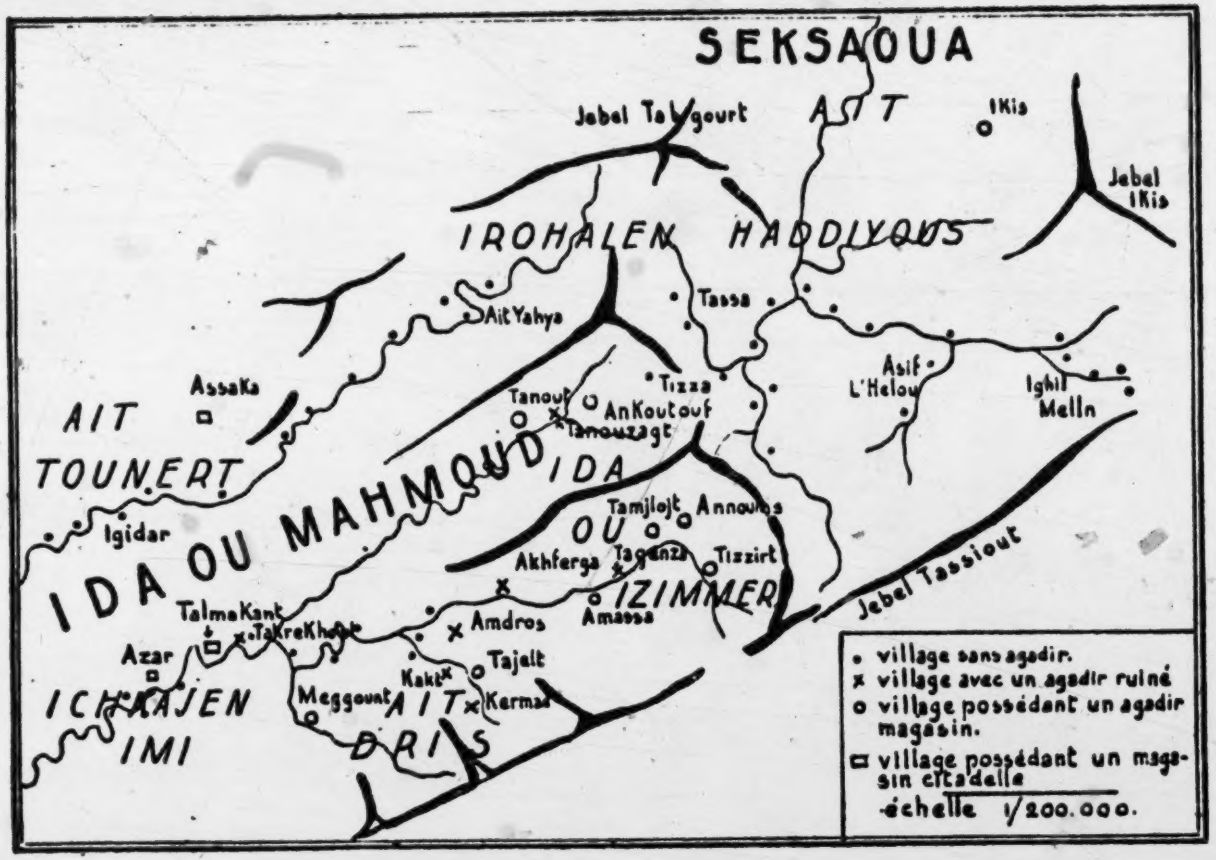
Les magasins collectifs sont presque tous ruinés jusque dans la partie la plus élevée de l'Asif des Seksaoua. On ne trouve d'agadir encore utilisé qu'à Ikis, dans la fraction des Ait Haddiyous. Par contre, dans la tribu des Ida ou Mahmoud, ils sont restés très nombreux. Ce sont, dans la fraction des Ida ou Izimer, ceux d'Ankoutouf, de Tanout, de Tizzirt, d'Annoums et de Tamjlojt, encore occupés et entretenus ; ceux de Tanouzekt et de Tagenza, en ruines (2). Dans la fraction des Ait Tounert, on trouve ceux de Talmakant et d'Assaka encore utilisables, ceux de Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout en ruines.

(1) Brives, *Voyages au Maroc*, Alger, 1909.
(2) Chaque village a ainsi le sien dans cette fraction.

3: Dupas

P. DUPAS

MW11 Shluh



3: Dupas MW11 Shluh

Chez les Ichkajen Imi, il reste un seul agadir utilisé : celui d'Azar ; un autre, qui se trouve à Arg, est en ruines depuis huit ans. Enfin, chez les Ait Dris, il y a encore trois agadirs occupés : ceux d'Amassa, de Tajelt Oufella, de Meggount ; d'autres sont en ruines depuis longtemps à Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad et Kakt.

Ces agadirs sont de deux sortes. Il en est qui servent uniquement de magasins, ce sont les plus nombreux ; d'autres sont utilisés à la fois comme magasins et comme réduits pour la défense en cas d'attaque du village. Ces derniers sont, en général, plus vastes et possèdent à l'intérieur une place assez étendue permettant aux vieillards, aux femmes, aux enfants et aux animaux de se tenir à l'abri tandis que les hommes valides occupent, pour la défense, les quelques magasins percés de créneaux et les terrasses. Une citerne existe toujours à l'intérieur de ces agadirs-forteresses. Dans cette catégorie rentrent les magasins de Talmakant, d'Assaka et d'Azar.

En général, l'agadir est construit avec du schiste qui donne de bonnes dalles rendant la construction facile : on assemble les pierres avec du mortier de terre. Les murs sont épais, aveugles et élevés. La forme générale est carrée ou rectangulaire, sauf à Ikis où l'on trouve un agadir ovale. Les terrasses, débordantes, comme partout en montagne, sont étagées, étant donné la déclivité du terrain et la hauteur constante des murs. A l'intérieur, une série de couloirs étroits donne accès aux différents magasins ; de ces couloirs montent des échelles constituées simplement par un tronc d'arbre entaillé d'encoches sur lesquelles on pose les pieds. Devant la porte de chaque magasin situé en étage, une petite plateforme fait saillie, qui permet d'appuyer la partie supérieure de l'échelle venant du bas et de poser la partie inférieure de l'échelle donnant accès à l'étage supérieur. Ces plateformes servent aussi au propriétaire du magasin à stationner avant de pénétrer dans sa pièce. Chaque chambre n'a qu'une porte et pas de fenêtre.

Nous n'avons pu obtenir communication d'aucun règlement écrit de droit coutumier de ces agadirs. Il est cependant à peu près certain qu'il en existe d'anciens, surtout chez les Ida ou Mahmoud, et avec un peu de patience et de persévérance, il sera possible de les voir. Mais la coutume est connue de tous et il suffit d'interroger les usagers pour obtenir sur elle les renseignements et éclaircissements désirables.

Agadir d'Ikis (1) (fig. 1, 2, 3, 4 et fig. 13). — Il renferme 71 chambres, sur deux ou trois étages ; dans la cour intérieure poussent dix amandiers. En bon état, il n'est cependant plus utilisé depuis dix ans ; il servait à emmagasiner les noix, raisins, pêches et amandes. Les mauvaises récoltes successives causées par les gelées d'une part, le renchérissement de la vie d'autre part, ont obligé les indigènes à vendre une plus grande quantité de leurs produits sur le souq pour se procurer des cotonnades, du sucre, du thé et des céréales ; l'agadir est donc moins utile depuis ces dernières années, mais si une bonne récolte de fruits survenait, comme on n'en a pas vu depuis longtemps, le magasin collectif serait de nouveau utilisé.

L'agadir est la propriété commune des gens d'Ikis. Chacun d'eux y possède, en vertu de droits anciens, une, deux ou trois chambres ; il y a dix ans, lorsque le magasin était utilisé, quelques chambres étaient vendues — très rarement — ou hypothéquées. Chaque propriétaire possède les clefs de ses chambres. En période calme, la clef de la porte d'entrée était déposée chez le fqih de la mosquée qui la confiait aux usagers en cas de besoin. En période troublée, on plaçait deux hommes de garde à l'agadir. Ils étaient fournis à tour de rôle par les propriétaires selon le nombre de chambres qu'ils y possédaient, ou bien encore, ils restaient à demeure et étaient alors payés par tous les usagers. L'agadir, sis à 300 mètres du village, se trouvant au centre d'un cirque formant résonateur, les gardiens percevaient tous les bruits suspects ; ils tiraient, en ce cas, quelques coups de fusil et du secours arrivait du village ; les rôdeurs prenaient alors la fuite. On ne se souvient pas qu'un vol ait été commis dans cet agadir.

Agadir d'Ankoutouf (fig. 6, 7 et fig. 11). — Il a 90 chambres, dont 60 utilisées, et trois étages. Il est particulièrement bien construit et entretenu. C'est l'agadir du village d'Ankoutouf (18 feux). Chaque feu possède de une à trois chambres ; des actes de propriété constatent ces droits. Quatre pièces sont hypothéquées, pour un prix qui va de 8 à 15 douros, à des indigènes de Tizza, village qui n'a pas d'agadir.

Chaque propriétaire possède la clef de ses pièces. Le gardien, qui habite avec sa famille à l'intérieur de l'agadir, a la clef de la porte extérieure. Il est nommé, en principe, pour un an et changé en octobre ; en général,

(1) Ikis est un village de 35 feux ; c'est en même temps le village le plus important de la sous-fraction des Ait Hadhiyous constituée par Ikis et les villages Ida ou Gerioun.

[P. 307]

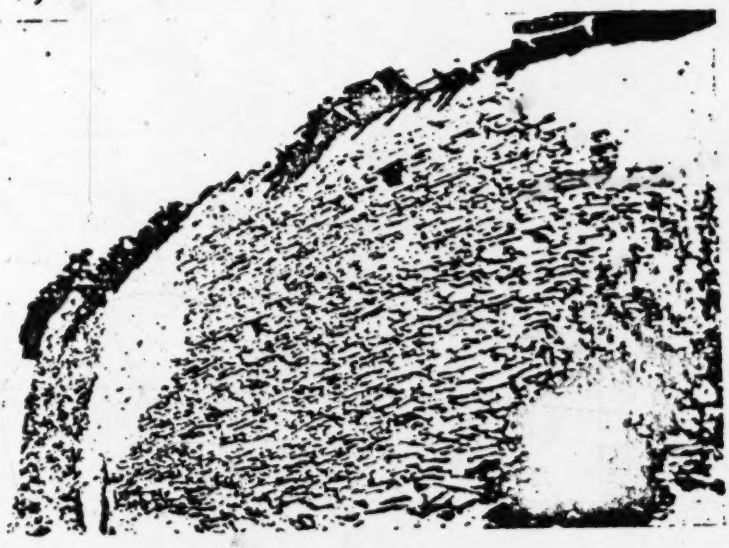


Fig. 1. — Agadir d'Ikis. Mur d'enceinte.

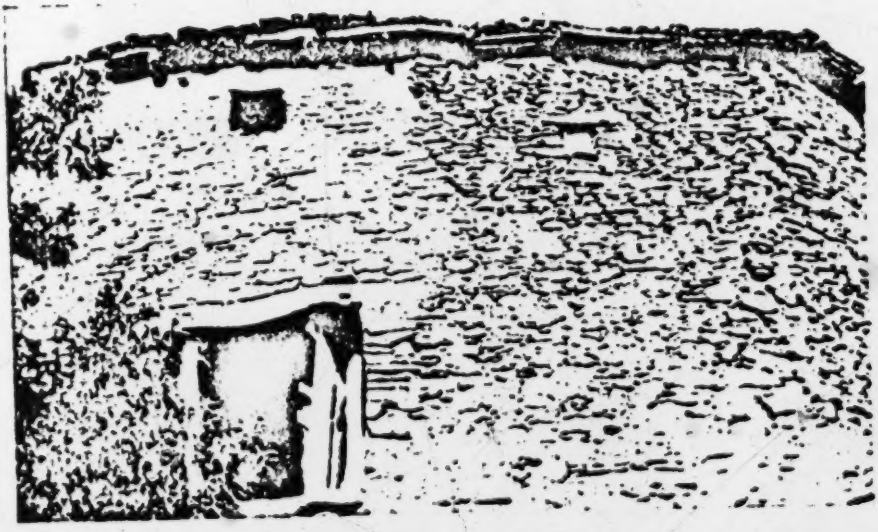


Fig. 2. — Agadir d'Ikis. Porte d'entrée.

[P. 308 is blank]

[P. 309]

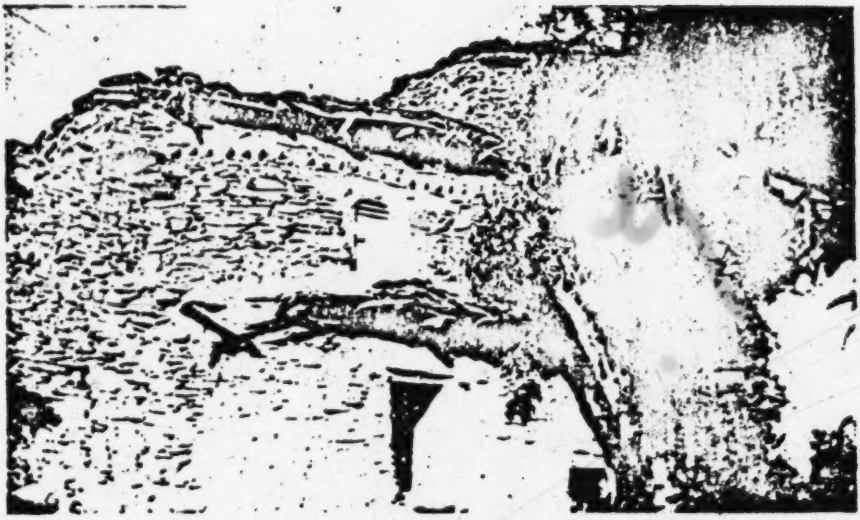


Fig. 3. — Agadir d'Ikis. Vue intérieure.

Fig. 4. — Agadir d'Ikis. Vue intérieure.

[P. 310 is blank]

il reste plus longtemps si l'on est satisfait de ses services. Il touche un rba d'orge par an et par chambre occupée. En cas de vol, le voleur s'il est découvert, rembourse le montant du vol et paye 50 douros d'amende. La responsabilité du gardien n'est engagée que si le vol a été commis après effraction de la porte extérieure — et, dans ce cas, c'est lui qui rembourse le montant du vol et paye 50 douros d'amende ; mais si le voleur s'est introduit par une brèche pratiquée dans le mur, le gardien n'est pas inquiété. L'amende est répartie entre les propriétaires des pièces. Aucun contrôle n'étant tenu des quantités emmagasinées dans les pièces, la victime doit, en cas de vol, jurer avec 21 co-jureurs pour certifier ce qui lui a été enlevé.

Agadir de Tanout (fig. 5 et fig. 15). — Appartient au village de Tanout (57 feux). Il contient 70 chambres, en deux ou trois étages. Les deux borjs sont vides.

Mêmes dispositions intérieures et fonctionnement qu'à Ankoutouf.

Agadir de Tizzirt (fig. 19). — Appartient au village de Tizzirt (50 feux). Certains habitants y possèdent jusqu'à cinq chambres.

Mêmes dispositions et fonctionnement qu'à Ankoutouf.

Le gardien est habituellement un homme. Exceptionnellement, cet emploi a été confié, en 1928, à une veuve.

Agadir d'Annoums (fig. 8 et fig. 20). — Il appartient au village d'Annoums (65 feux).

Cinq étages, 80 chambres toutes occupées ; le gardien touche une kharrouba d'orge par chambre et par an. En cas de vol, la coutume est la même que pour l'agadir d'Ankoutouf.

Agadir de Tamjlojt (fig. 21). — Il appartient au village de Tamjlojt (45 feux). 60 chambres, quatre étages. Le gardien touche un tmen d'orge et une kharrouba de maïs par pièce et par an. On a donné exceptionnellement ce poste à une femme l'année dernière.

Agadir de Talmakant (fig. 16). — Il appartient au village de Talmakant (40 feux) et comporte 52 grandes pièces sur deux étages. Il peut servir à la fois de magasin et de réduit pour la défense en cas d'attaque, à cause de sa citerne et de sa disposition intérieure.

Il est en partie ruiné ; on ne l'utilise plus depuis vingt-cinq à trente ans parce qu'un assassinat y a été commis.

Agadir d'Assaka (fig. 17). — Il servait à la fois, comme le précédent, de magasin et de forteresse.

Il a été en partie détruit à la suite de luttes intérieures en 1925, et l'on projette de le remettre en état. Il sert actuellement à abriter les nombreux exilés revenus en tribu depuis la soumission et qui ont trouvé leurs maisons démolies.

Agadir d'Azar (fig. 18). — Il appartient au village d'Azar (28 feux). Il sert normalement de magasin et, en période troublée, de forteresse. Les pièces s'hypothèquent de 5 à 20 douros. Le gardien, changé chaque année, perçoit une kharrouba d'orge, 1 kharrouba de maïs et une livre d'amandes.

En cas de vol, si le voleur est découvert, il doit, indépendamment de la sanction pénale qui lui est infligée par l'amghar de la fraction, indemniser ses victimes. Si le vol a été commis par un trou pratiqué dans la muraille et si le voleur n'est pas découvert, le village au milieu duquel est construit l'agadir est tenu pour responsable et doit indemniser les victimes du vol. Si le vol a été commis après effraction de la porte d'entrée, le gardien tenu pour responsable, doit indemniser les victimes du vol. Ces dernières doivent amener 24 co-jureurs pour certifier les quantités qu'elles déclarent leur avoir été volées.

Agadir d'Amassa (fig. 10, 11, 22). — Il appartient aux gens d'Amassa (80 feux), contient 80 chambres dont 3 au cinquième étage, toutes sont utilisées ; la plupart des portes sont peintes et ouvragées. Une pièce s'hypothèque de 10 à 50 douros et se vend jusqu'à 100. Le gardien touche une kharrouba d'orge par an et par pièce, sauf des trois pièces du cinquième étage qui ne paient rien. En plus, le gardien est nourri, comme l'est actuellement le fqih de la mosquée en pays berbère. Trois repas par jour lui sont fournis, chaque propriétaire prenant son jour à tour de rôle ; les trois pièces du cinquième ne paient rien, mais en revanche, elles n'ont droit à aucune indemnité en cas de vol.

Chaque propriétaire est tenu de faire les réparations nécessaires pour maintenir sa chambre en bon état. C'est ainsi que le propriétaire d'une

[P. 313]

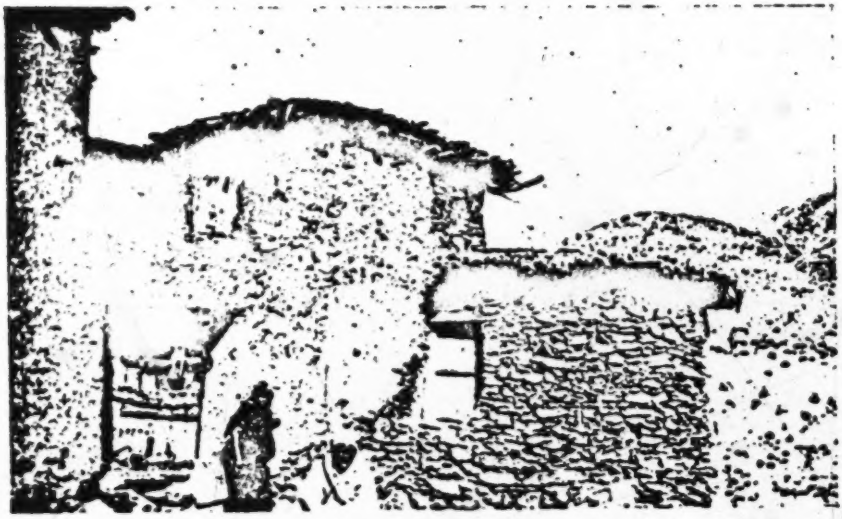


Fig. 5. — Agadir de Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), porte d'entrée.

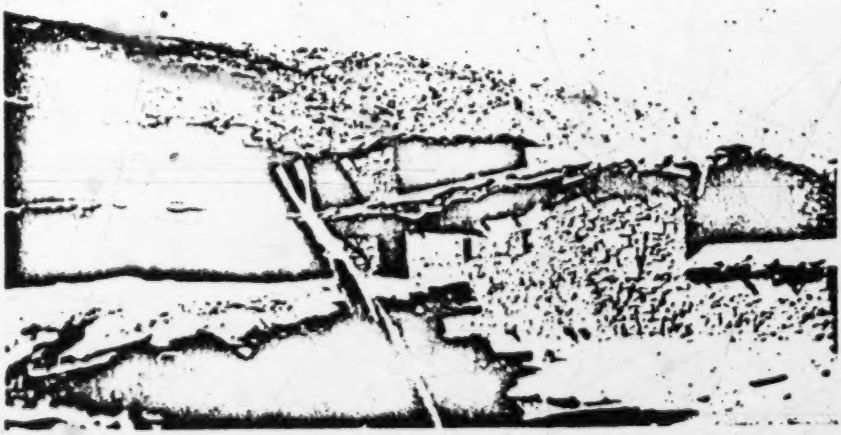


Fig. 6. — Agadir de Tanout. Les terrasses.

[P. 314 is blank]

[P. 315]

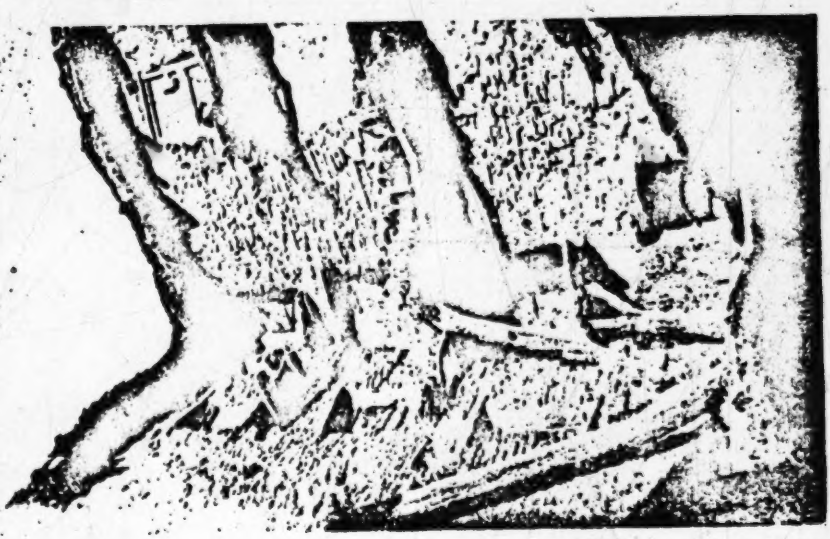


Fig. 8. — Agadir d'Amanous (Ida ou Izimmer). Intérieur.

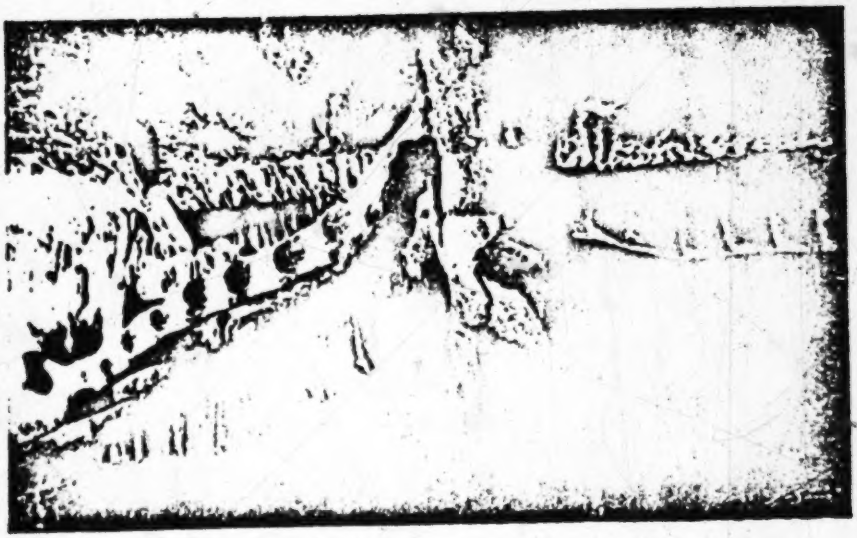


Fig. 7. — Agadir d'Ankoubouf. Intérieur.

[P. 316 is blank]

[p. 317]

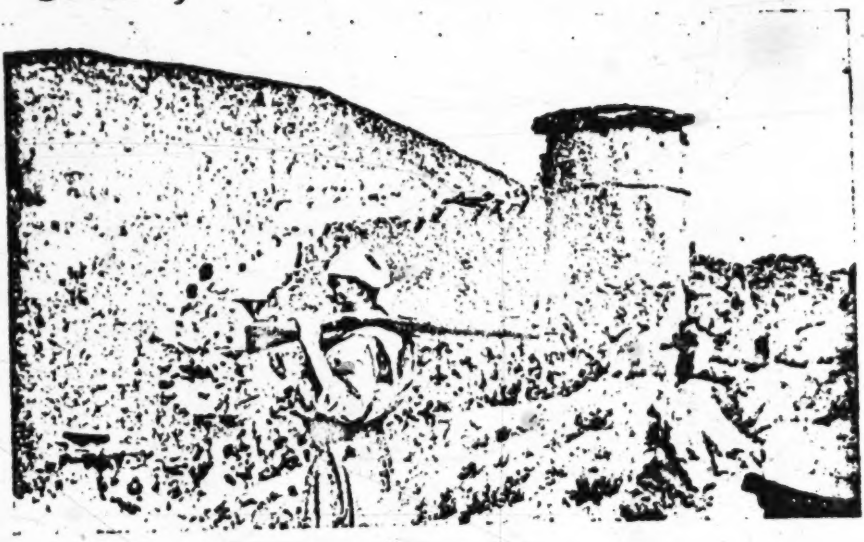


Fig. 9. — Agadir d'Amdros (Ait Dris).

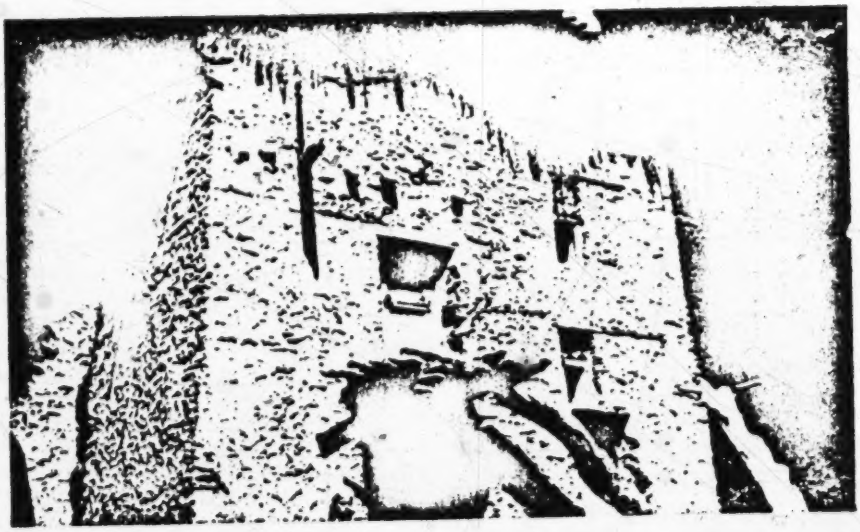


Fig. 10. — Agadir d'Amassa. Intérieur.

[p. 318 is blank]

[P. 319]

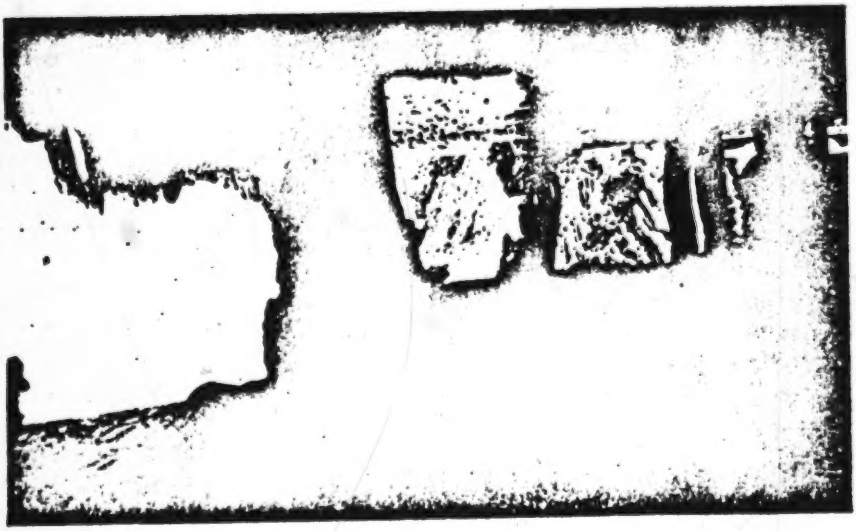


FIG. 12.—Agadir de Tajelt Oufella (Ait Dris).

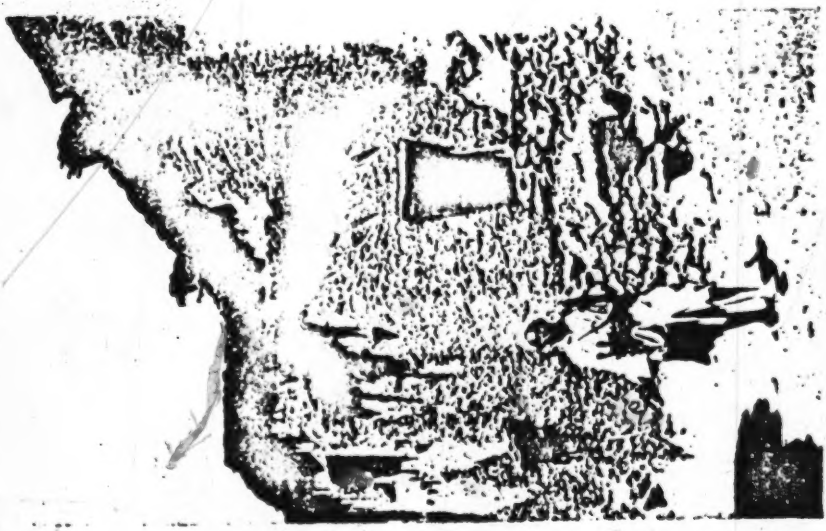


FIG. 13. — Agadir d'Amassa (Ait Dris).

[P. 320 is blank]

chambre peut se retourner contre celui de celle du dessous si elle vient à s'effondrer, ou contre celui de la pièce supérieure si elle laisse passer l'eau venant de la terrasse. En cas de vol, la coutume est la même que pour l'agadir d'Ankoutouf.

Agadir de Tajelt Oufella (fig. 12 et fig. 23). — Il appartient au village de Tajelt Oufella (33 feux). Il comporte 60 pièces et quatre étages.

Le gardien est un volontaire qui reste aussi longtemps qu'il le désire si les usagers sont satisfaits de ses services. On lui donne chaque année une demi-kharrouba d'orge par pièce utilisée ou non ; de plus, il est nourri par les propriétaires des chambres. Le tour est fixé ainsi : s'il y a 3 pièces en hauteur, chaque propriétaire assure à son tour les 3 repas d'un jour ; s'il y a 4 pièces en hauteur, les propriétaires de la plus haute et de la plus basse assurent ensemble un jour, le lendemain ce sont les propriétaires des chambres du milieu. On suit les mêmes règles qu'à Amassa pour la responsabilité respective des usagers en cas d'effondrement ou d'infiltration d'eau. Le gardien n'est responsable que des vols commis après effraction de la porte extérieure ; non pas de ceux qui ont été faits par une brèche dans le mur. Le voleur, s'il est découvert, rembourse le montant du vol et donne une vache qui est partagée entre les propriétaires en tenant compte du nombre de chambres ; la même règle est appliquée à l'encontre du gardien s'il est responsable. Les victimes du vol fournissent 21 co-jureurs.

Agadir de Meggount (fig. 21). — Il appartient aux habitants du village de Meggount (80 feux). Les règles de fonctionnement sont les mêmes qu'à Tajelt Oufella en ce qui concerne le mauvais entretien et le vol.

***

Dans tous ces magasins collectifs, si des réparations intéressant l'agadir lui-même et non pas seulement une pièce, deviennent nécessaires, tous les co-propriétaires sont solidaires. Ils exécutent le travail en commun et supportent, selon le nombre de boutiques qu'ils occupent, les frais occasionnés par cette réfection, pour l'achat du bois, le salaire des ouvriers ou toute autre dépense.

Imi n Tanout, le 15 *mars* 1928.

Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

[P. 322 is blank]

Fig.13._Agadir d'Ikis.

[P.322-A]

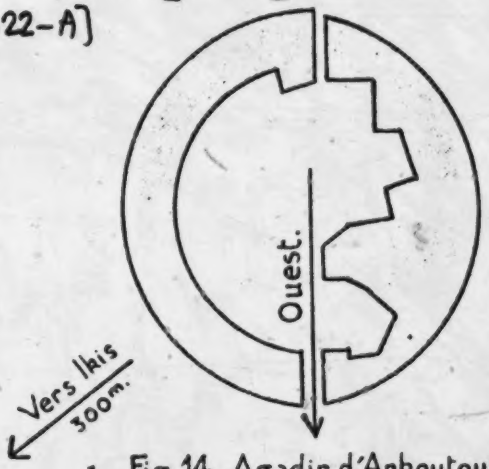


Fig.14._Agadir d'Ankoutouf.

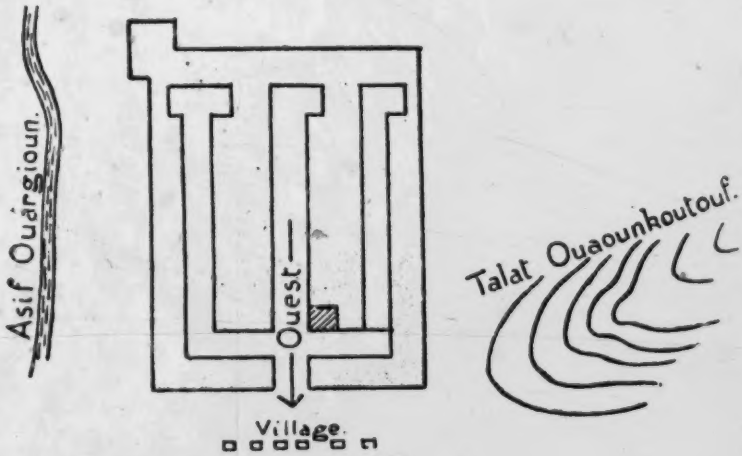


Fig.15._Agadir de Tanout.

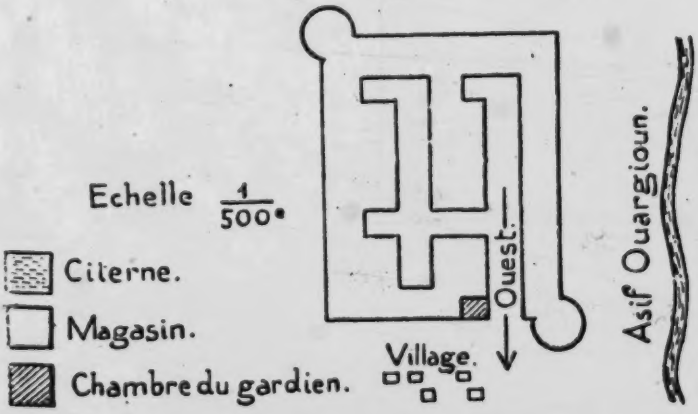


Fig.16.-Agadir de Talmokant.

[P322-B]

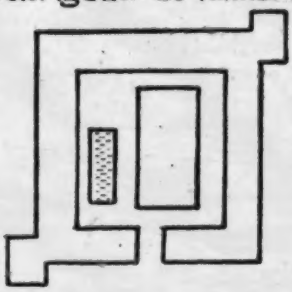


Fig.17.-Agadir d'Assaka.

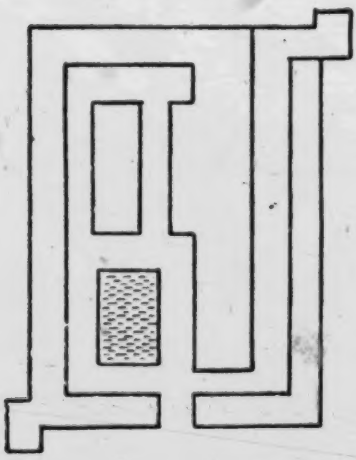


Fig.18.-Agadir d'Azar.

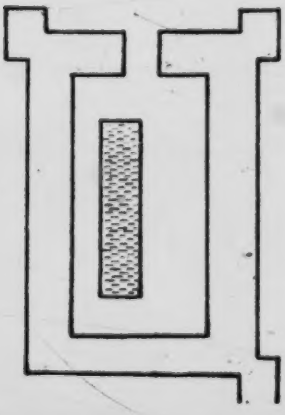


Fig.19.. Agadir de Tizzirt.

[P 322-C]

Fig.20.. Agadir d'Annoums.

Fig.21.. Agadir de Tamjlojt.

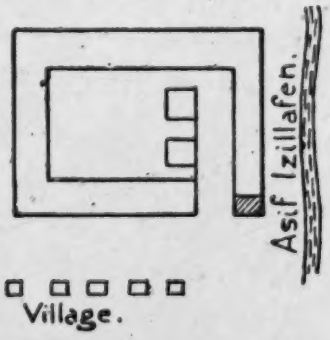


Fig.22.. Agadir d'Amassa.

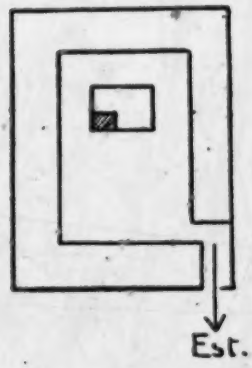


Fig.23.. Agadir de Tajelt Oufella

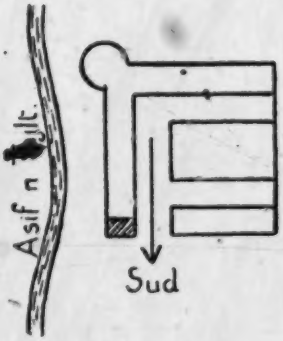


Fig.24.. Agadir de Meggount

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

THE STRUCTURE OF TRADITIONAL MOROCCAN RURAL SOCIETY

ooo

by

BERNARD G. HOFFMAN

[Title Page]

1967
MOUTON & CO.
THE HAGUE · PARIS

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fezzala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language - generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber - and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth 342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified 343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
312
137
132

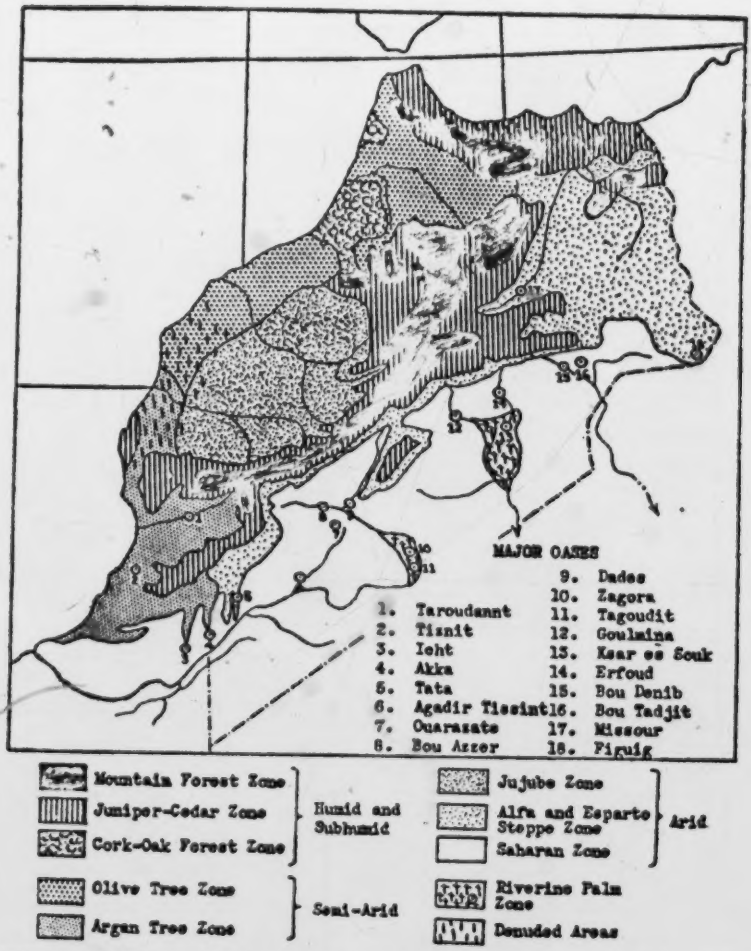


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

[1], [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirà (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14). 000 342 351 361 [137] [343]

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first 137 133 [132] [241] [361] 101 131 [312] [361] 241 233 197 361

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

197
361

two are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, and the last completely nomadic. The Arabic-speaking Oulad Jellal are completely nomadic. Some of the nomadic tribes, the Ida Oublal in particular, migrate great distances into the Sahara (Capot-Rey, 1942; Cauneille, 1950; Delaye, 1944; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 143-161; Flores Morales, 1946, pp. 87-111; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 171-175; Jannes, 1953, pp. 109-116; Joly, 1948a, pp. 90-96; 1948b; Madras, 1948, illust. between pp. 25-61; Montagne, 1930; Monteil, 1948; 1948b; Robichez, 1946, pp. 53-71; Thibert, 1948).

2. *Imazighen or Beraber*

000 The Berabers, numbering approximately 500,000, reside principally in the mountains of Central Morocco – the eastern High Atlas, their southern slopes, and the Middle Atlas. All speak the Taberberit dialect of Tamazight, while Arabic is a common second tongue among the southern pre-Saharan groups (Grandidier, 1934, Pl. 6; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 163-167).

The dominant feature of Beraber life is transhumance – a type of pastorialism characterized by the movement of livestock through successive seasonal pasturage. Unlike the sedentary Shluh, who must modify their agricultural base to make it conform to the requirements of a specific local environment, the Beraber turn the environmental differences of their country to their benefit, wintering their flocks or herds in the warm plains or steppes, moving them to the higher pastures in the mountains during the spring and summer, and retiring through new pasturage ahead of the descending snowline (Celerier, 1927, pp. 53-58; Joly, et al, 1949, pp. 83, 84-86).

Beraber transhumance has been classified into three distinct types – winter transhumance, summer transhumance, and double transhumance. The type practised by any particular tribe depends largely upon the location of its permanent residence. Winter transhumants own permanent houses (*taddart*) and collective granaries (*ighrem* or *tighremt*) which are located in the mountains, and most of the members therefore migrate with the herds to the winter pastures in the valley. Parts of the Ait Yafelmane confederation (428-

[pp. 27-43 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both [591]
customarily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps [361]
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very recently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority [175]
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jij*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
692
171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562] out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described...

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE III

Names of Social Units Found Among Three Beraber Groups

Social Groups	Groups		
	ZEMMOUR (Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22)	AIT ATTA DU SAHARA (Spillman, 1936, pp. 44, 47)	BENI MTIR (Abes, 1917, pp. 163, 184-190)
Nuclear Family	*kanoun* ("fire" or "hearth")	(fire)	(family)
Patrilineal Extended Family	*adham*, *ikhs* ("bone")	(family)	*rif* ("edge")
Minor Lineages	*asoun*	(no name given)[1] (no name given)[1] (no name given)[1]	*tigemmi* or *adouar* *tighst*[1]
Major Lineage or Commune	*fakhda*	*ikhs* ("bone")	*ikhs* ("bone")
District			*khums* ("fifth") *neefs* ("twos")
Tribe	*qabila* ("tribe")	*taqbilt* ("tribe")	*taqbilt* ("tribe")
Sub-Confederation	*rebaa* ("fourth")	*khums* ("fifth")	
Confederation	*khums* ("fifth")	(no name)	(no name)
Super-Confederation	(no name)		

[1] Occurs only occasionally.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wari- 000
yaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family 596
elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on 42
a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held [562]
by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in 596
some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually 597
persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell 735
their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt 609
assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and may sometimes be only semi-localized (see Murdock, 1949, pp. 65-78, for a definition of a clan). 613

Among the Berbers the minor lineage characteristically consists of from two to four extended families which trace their origin from a common ancestor, and which usually reside in more or less close proximity. The minor lineage forms a geographical and administrative unit, is represented in the public eye by its wealthy elders, and derives its name from its founding ancestor, its locality or location, or from some geographical landmark (Deverdun, 1942, p. 304).

In the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (99) the minor lineage is a collection of widely scattered households forming part of a diffuse "village", a situation which has been described by Hart:

... A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living members; it may number some 200 living people, distributed through ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *hauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing., *azdif*, "head") are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqin* in one village to be related to each other.

Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* [extended families] and endogamy within the *thārfīqth* [minor lineage]. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqin* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*)...

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow, and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rif; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to [have] been more often a result of the function of

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jaris*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qaḍīs*...

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijājgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfīqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfīqin* of their own...

In the Wuryāghli sense of being a "whole family", the internal solidaity of the *thārfīqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfīqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfīqth* of a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfīqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence... (Hart, 1954, pp. 60-62).

613 [71] 613 621 Among the Shluh the minor lineage is of equal importance, and many of the features described for the Rifīians also hold true. However, the complex and almost haphazard connection between a minor lineage and a village, or part of a village, is particularly prominent. An *ikhs* may constitute part of a hamlet or village, together with other such units; it may constitute an entire village by itself; or parts of it may be distributed through several villages, sharing these with other lineages. No set pattern apparently exists, and there is no close relationship between this pattern and the political or administrative units. This situation is reflected by great confusion in the sources – a confusion which can be best be avoided by carefully differentiating between units defined primarily by kinship (though also by geographical proximity in the higher levels), and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est 000 particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

ration est parfois importante: ainsi les a[it]. Mh'nd (600 hab.). Elle peut aussi ne consister qu'en un "écart" de deux ou trois maisons. Ainsi à Ighilan, face à Buteghradin: une vaste portion de pente est occupée par une série de petits quartiers, chacun se ramassant à part des autres. Naturellement, les préoccupations de défense ont prévalu sur les commodités. Même sur celle de l'approvisionnement en eau... Mais la stratégie n'a pas seule conditionné l'installation. Parfois même elle est négligée...

Le chleuh [Shluh] ne distingue pas le hameau du bourg déjà presque urbain. Il emploie toujours le mot *lmud'a* "localité", exotique apport arabe, d'un vague tout suspect. En règle générale, nulle coïncidence entre l'unité politique, la *taqbilt*, et l'unité d'habitat aggloméré. (On n'en trouve, dans notre secteur, qu'un cas isolé, celui des a. Mh'nd). Ni avec l'unité sociale, l'*ikhs*. Pourtant il arrive parfois que des éléments de tout un *ikhs* habitent à part, ou plus fréquemment que le village se décompose en quartiers, comme à T'abya. Mais ce qui compte, c'est plutôt l'indifférence de l'habitat quant aux structures sociales et à l'ordre agraire. L'enchevêtrement des *ikhs*-s entre hameaux du même canton, et de leurs terres dans les différents quartiers, sans autré correspondance avec les divisions de l'habitat que cette complexité même, est bien plutôt la règle.

Pourtant, l'agglomération comme telle peut revêtir une signification: c'est quand les proportions excessives de la *taqbilt* font éclater ses *ikhs*-s en tronçons, lesquels mèneront une vie de plus en plus indépendante dans chacun des villages où ils s'installent, combinés avec d'autres éléments...' (Berque, 1955, pp. 31-33).

Among the Beraber the minor lineage has a slightly different character deriving from the more nomadic nature of existence. During the residence of its members in their permanent villages, the minor lineage may correspond either to a village-segment or, less frequently, to an entire village; its more characteristic and traditional form, however, appears during the seasonal migrations, when it manifests itself as a "camp-circle", with each component extended family having several adjacent, inward-facing tents along a portion of its arc. This "camp-circle" is a self-governing, practically autonomous tent community whose members nominate their own council, which passes or modifies its own laws. The extended families which form it have no autonomy in their own right, and their political strength depends solely upon the nature of their representation on the council. If the minor lineage is large, the "camp circle" may have a mosque and a Koranic school for the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 611 601 595

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

613
Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the 621
commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particu- 184
larly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613
these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621
prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346]
granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343]
that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [X4]
forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423]
they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313]
unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a repre- [623]
sentative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [622]
functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the ooo
Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

... In the minds of the tribepeople the *fariqath* is ultimately a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *fariqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *fariqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfīqin* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton [i.e., commune] together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque (*thamzida n khuṭbath*) to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements... (Hart, 1954, p. 66).

621 613 It should be noted that in some small tribes, communes are absent, all local social and political functions being assumed by the minor lineages and the village organizations (Berque, 1955, p. 65).

The commune or *ikhs* of the Beraber may at times be equivalent to a major lineage, with all of its components tracing descent from a common ancestor; usually, however, some of the lineages are unrelated to others, and the unit is held together more by sense of geographical proximity and common destiny than by relationship. The sense of unity is symbolized by the use of the term "brother" between the male members. The autonomy of the individual lineages is so strong, however, that these may join another commune, or even another tribe, if they so desire. The commune affirms its existence, and expects loyalty from its members, only in time of common danger or crisis (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 152-153; Querleux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The commune seems to have a greater significance, even if symbolic, among the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata.

... L'originalité de la "ferqa" se trouve toutefois mise en relief par l'existence, à l'intérieur de chacune de ces fractions, d'un "ighss" qui revêt entre tous les autres la qualité d'"Ait A'ouwâm". Semblables aux "inflâs" [notables] du Soûs, les "Ait A'ouwâm" incarnent dans les graves occasions l'honneur de la fraction toute entière dont ils ont pour tâche

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, 634 customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages [619] because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") [192] used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and [114] Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or 634
three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics:

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor, is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great [166]
internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe 634
(589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor 613
lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe 166
(559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154). 634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16). 619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169). ooo

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, 623
Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of 634
superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are 635
designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic [171]
ejjemaa. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer [192]
to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest 621
groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* 623
inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "not- [554]
able" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired autho- [561]
rity, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 000
96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11*
(ca. 1900)

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village
621 customarily has its own representative council composed of repre-
623 sentatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is
635 equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus
634 the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el 'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils commonly meet at district or tribal market places. 623 634 366 368 635

b. *Function*

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive, 623 635 634

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

623 legislative, and judicial functions. The council concerns itself with
635 the maintainance of internal equilibrium between individuals by
634 dispensing and enforcing the customary law, modifying it if necessary; maintains relations with outside groups, and conducts wars against them; administers the communal institutions (mosque, saints' tombs, mosque school, communal granary and cemetery, and irrigation system); distributes water according to the local pattern of water rights; administers and distributes communal lands both for purposes of agriculture and grazing; fixes the schedule for agricultural operations or nomadic or transhumant migration; and in some cases also manages the local market (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-109, 112-114; Deverdun, 1942, p. 307; Doutté, 1905; Hart, 1954, pp. 65-66; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33; Laoust, 1934, pp. 140-146; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 14-15).

The *jemaa* generally carries out its functions by appointing or electing executors of various sorts and delegating power and authority to these individuals. The most important of these is the president of the council itself, known as an *amghar* or *sheikh* if head of a district or tribal council, and otherwise as a *moqaddem*. Other functionaries include the administrator of communal labor (particularly on irrigation projects), the administrator or distributor of water, the communal policeman, the religious teacher, and specialists in the administration of customary law (known as *anezzarfou*, pl., *inezzourfa*), though the council reserves the power to revise and modify this legal code (Berque, 1955, pp. 107, 112; Hart, 1954, p. 65; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 14).

671 c. *Customary Law*

Traditionally, all disputes among the Berbers, both of a civil or criminal nature, were settled through reference to traditional customary law (*azrif*), which was largely uncodified and showed slight variations from tribe to tribe. Although replaced among the plains populations by the Moslem *Shari'a*, Berber customary law is still functional in civil cases throughout the Middle and High Atlas (1957), partly through French intervention on its behalf (Coudino, 1942, p. 431; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 230-231).

The local and communal aspects of the *azrif* are known variously

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases [177]
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.),
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

695 great *baraka* (religious power or blessing) – such as the Koran, the mosque itself, or a saintly shrine. In Berber customary law, however, the oath is employed not only for its supernatural consequences, but also as a legal device, that is, the oath is used in judicial proceedings as a means of establishing the guilt or innocence of a person accused of a crime, and may be taken either by the accuser or by the accused, or by certain other persons who, in addition to
695 the latter, swear to his innocence as conjurators. This procedure,
171 which is also found in Moroccan Moslem law, has been described by Westermarck (1926, Vol. 1, pp. 509-510):

> In Fez, for example, if a person (A.) accuses another person (B.) of theft and the latter disputes the accuracy of the charge, A. says to B., "Come then with me to the governor". The governor asks A. if he can produce witnesses, and if he can do so, sends a soldier with him to hear the evidence. If more than two persons bear testimony to B.'s guilt he has to compensate A. for his loss and pay a fee to the soldier or is otherwise thrown into prison; but the witnesses do not appear before the governor, nor are they sworn in. If they simply testify that B. has stolen something from A. without stating the amount, the latter has to confirm his accusation on oath. Again, if A. declares that he cannot produce witnesses, the governor says to B., *Ḥälf lû*, or, *A'téh ḥaqq lláh*. If B. obeys and swears to his innocence he is acquitted and has nothing to pay. On the other hand, if he refuses to swear, saying, *Qläbtsû álih*, "I turned it on him", the governor asks A. if he is willing to swear that B. is guilty. If he swears, B. has to pay or, if he does not pay, is put into prison; but it may be that A. has to swear twice, since B. may insist that A. shall not only swear to his guilt but also confirm by oath the amount he has stolen. If A. says that he cannot take the oath demanded of him because he did did not see the commission of the theft but only heard of it, or that he strongly suspects B. of it, then B. has to swear or, if he refuses to do so, is compelled to pay or is thrown in prison...

695 Among the Berber tribes the number of conjurators varies according to the gravity of the alleged offense, and includes the accused person himself and male members of his kin, including young boys – this being a consequence of the concept of the collective responsibility of kindred and their duty of mutual assistance. Thus, among the Beni Sadden (64),

> ... the *imggilla* [conjurators], as they are called, are five in case of theft, and one of them, called *amnqqar*, is chosen by the accuser. The latter decides where and how the oaths are to be made, how many and who

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

among the *imggilla* have actually to swear, and who is to swear first; 695
and it may be that only one of them is required to swear. In the case of homicide the *imggilla* are fifty, out of whom ten, called *immqqarn*, are chosen by the accuser. If any of these refuses to swear, the suspected person is considered guilty of the crime; hence it frequently happens that the accuser by bribery induces some kinsman of the latter to refuse to act as conjurator. If a theft has been committed the evidence of witnesses is accepted, but they must actually have seen the commission of the theft and they must all be men. In the case of homicide, on the other hand, testimony can bring about conviction only if the perpetrator of the crime is publicly known... (Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 511-513).

Not only did the nature of the alleged crime determine the number [692]
of required conjurators, but also the nature of the adjudicating body. Thus Coon (1931, pp. 99-106) found the following division
of responsibilities among the councils of the Rif.

Village Council

Theft of eggs and of poultry,
Theft of maize,
Illegal cutting of maize in adjoining terraces,
Breaking branches of fruit-trees,
Trampling vegetable gardens,
Theft in orchards,
Illegal starting of grape picking,
Illegal picking of windfall olives,
Theft of olives,
Trespassing in order to pick grass,
Letting stray goats and cattle in the cemetery,
Failure to repair irrigation ditches,
Failure to provide for exiles from other *fifths*,
Failure to contribute to entertainment of councillors of other tribes,
Entering council chamber unbidden,
Conversing with women,
Entering a cemetery occupied by women,
Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women,
Fighting with the hands,
Speaking to the enemy.

Commune Council

Failure to support village council,
Entering a women's market,
Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act,
Theft of livestock,
Fighting with sticks,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

•••Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All
[685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions
[623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according
[634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to
[635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the
[171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This
692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

•••... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

fractions, chaque "afous" rassemble tout d'abord dix Ait Arba'in ["Sons of the Forty"] qui désignent un représentant. Les quinze délégués des "afous" ainsi nommés délibèrent à part et forment le conseil des "imzran," tandis que la masse des Aït Arba'in de toutes les fractions réunies constitue une force de police capable de faire exécuter toutes les décisions. Le tout prend le nom d' "ajom'a" des Ait Ou'azzoun. Ainsi formée l'"ajomo'a" se transporte tout d'abord chez les Ait Wanzig qui sont les "inflas el khir" ou "porte-bonheur" de la tribu des Aït Ou'azzoun. Pendant un jour et une nuit, le conseil examine tous les cas de vol ou de meurtre commis pendant l'année et dont le compte a été tenu avec soin par les notables et que le taleb a notés par écrit. Les coupables sont convoqués, entendus, condamnés à l'amende, et ils versent sur-le-champ des gages constitués par un certain nombre de fusils. Si les coupables sont des marabouts, qui n'ont pas de fusils, ils paient une amende sous forme d'animaux destinés aux repas en commun. Le lendemain, l'"ajmo'a" se déplace en suivant un itinéraire traditionnellement fixé, et stationne deux ou trois jours, selon l'importance des fractions. Une nuit se passe à la zaouia de Sidi Brahim Ou 'Ali, centre religieux de la confédération, où l'on offre au saint un sacrifice solennel. Enfin, la tournée de justice s'achève dans les cantons du nord et le dernier, à la zaouia d'Issouqal, les coupables viennent verser les amendes et retirent les fusils qu'ils avaient mis en gage. Les marabouts qui ont joué le rôle de conciliateurs ou de conseillers reçoivent des cadeaux, et un sacrifice est offert au saint d'Issouqal. Puis, l'argent qui reste est aussitôt partagé en deux moitiés; l'une revient aux "imzran", l'autre aux fractions representées par les Aït Arba'in... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 229-230).

Among other Shluh groups, as well as among the Beraber and Riffians, the matter is not usually handled so satisfactorily. Thus, among the latter group, Coon found that,

... when one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If a man and his *bone* [minor lineage] refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which refused has no allies, it seldom wins, but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* – these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs held office for only one year; though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of office, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual generally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein (40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenib (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is customarily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate 635
completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally 554
in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the schedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the [701]
military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority [72]
to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibi- [623]
lities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

635 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which
631 in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the
669 representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of
175 the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority.

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-56

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

571 609 574 754 171 192

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*taimat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 754 punishment could place himself in the protection of a prominent person by entering his tent or grasping the tent-pole at the entrance and exclaiming, "I am in God's *'ar* and your *'ar*," or, "I am seeking refuge with your children." The owner of the tent is then obliged to assist him, at least by acting as an intermediary between him and his pursuer, or by speaking to the *caid* or governor on his behalf. The pursuer, in such a case, cannot try forcible to remove the fugitive, but must apply to the owner. A similar custom prevails among the sedentary populations residing in houses. A fugitive could also place himself in the *'ar* of a woman by touching her, sucking her breast, sitting down in front of her, or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill; her husband and family then being obliged to help him. He could also place himself under the protection or *'ar* of an entire village to which he has fled by crying, "I am seeking refuge with God and You, O Community", or by seeking refuge in the village mosque. Mosques generally, however, are not as safe as saints' shrines, for an individual seeking refuge in a shrine came under the *'ar* of the saint. In the Arabic-speaking area a fugitive frequently used *'ar* to obtain a pardon from the authorities.

571 754 695 This alliance mechanism could, however, be used not only by the defendant in a civil or criminal case, but also by the plaintiff. Persons who had suffered damage or injury, or had had a relative murdered, and were unable to protect themselves or obtain vengeance, secured aid by casting *'ar* upon other individuals or upon various social groups. This could be done by hanging an earthenware pot around the neck and entering another person's tent or house; by turning the handmill in this person's tent or house; by placing a saddle upside-down at his door or sacrificing an animal there; or, in the case of women, by cutting the hair, blackening the face, covering oneself with rags and cow-dung, and passing from village to village asking for aid – the latter being a particularly powerful form of casting *'ar* which cannot be refused. Among the Beraber a person may cast an extremely compulsory kind of *'ar* by taking his little son or daughter to the house of the leading man of a village, or to the mosque, laying the child across the door, holding a knife over the artery of the neck, and threatening to kill it if the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried 571
daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying 754
that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner 695
of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in [627]
civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term 571
ameqqon ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* 563
("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relation-
563 ship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If
[621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the al-
628 liance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur;
571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic
628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see
571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most
171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afengant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171
lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628
teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

107
571
616
634
635

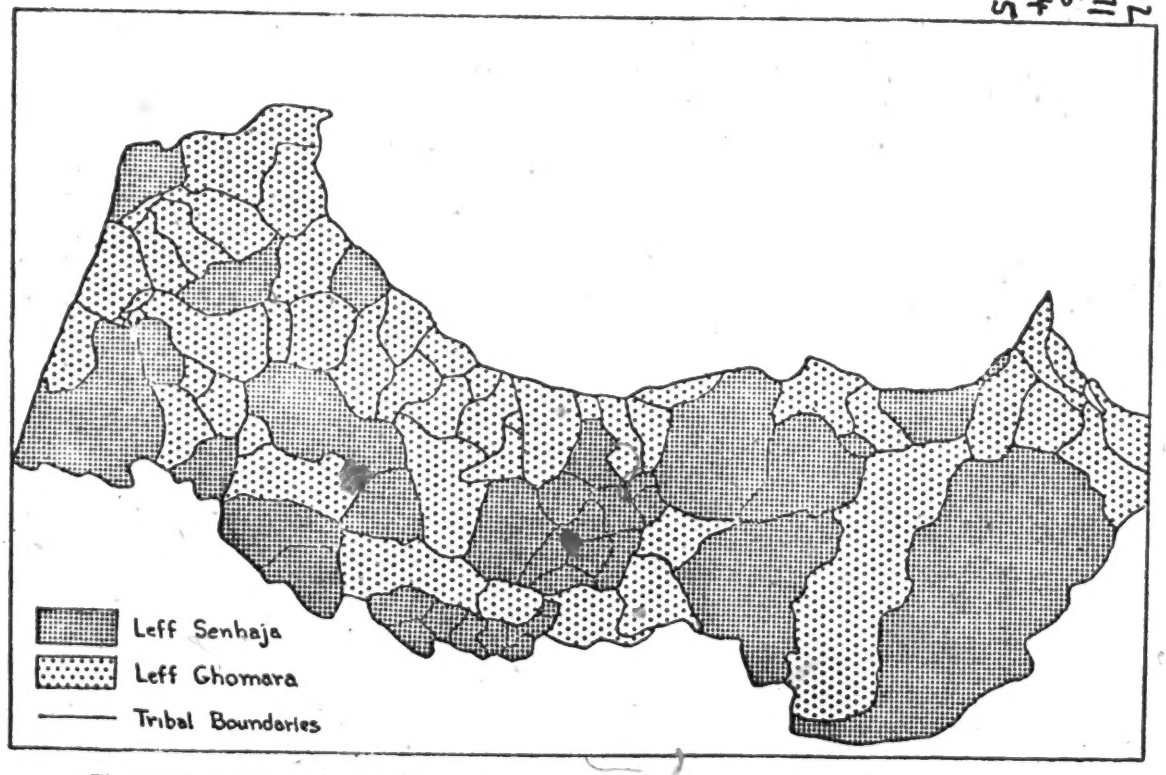


Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

616 in the area around the mouth of the Moulouya, and weakest in the
171 central Rif. In the area of the Beni Uriaguel (99), in fact, the *leff* structure was already at this time of only historical interest and expressed itself only as a mild antipathy towards the opposing group. The primary function of the *leff* as it is known in the southern areas, that of defense against aggressors, is here handled by simple intervention – a point completely missed by Murdock (1956, p. 143) in his discussion of Riffian *lfuf*. The interveners assume this role largely on the basis of their proximity to the area of disturbance, without regard to their *leff* affiliation (as can be seen by comparing Coon's list of interveners with the *leff* structure as given by Montagne and shown in fig. 7); their motivation to take such action springing as much from a desire to secure a share of the fine imposed upon the errant group as from a desire to restrict the conflict and maintain the peace.

600 ... If a lively internal war has broken out in the tibe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal council (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* [districts] five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place [sic] and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its differences quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton* [commune], and from each *bone* [minor lineage]. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reinforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

its share of the fines paid as each of the other *cantons* submits. In this way all defeated *cantons* pay, and all but the last, which pays the most, receive shares of the spoils (Coon, 1931, pp. 106-107).

3. *Rural Government in the Bled el Makhzen*

In contrast to the relatively democratic and uncentralized political organization of traditional Berber society, that of the Arabic-speakers of the pre-Protectorate *Bled el Makhzen* was cast in a mold heavily influenced by Arab concepts of a centralized State, with absolute political power theoretically concentrated in the hands of the ruler. Within this system the lines of command, of authority, and of control, were relatively direct and simple.

In the *Bled el Makhzen* three social bodies could be distinguished on the basis of their relative position within the power structure – the *Makhzen*, the *guich* tribes, and the remainder of the population. The *Makhzen*, or central government of the Sherifian dynasty, constituted an aristocratic power elite headed by a Sultan who was both *Imam*, the religious ruler, and *Emir el Mouminin*, or Commander of the Faithful, upon whose *baraka* ("supernatural power" or "blessing") – deriving both from his *shurfa* origin and from the act of assuming the sultanate – the welfare of the country depended. The power and authority of the *Makhzen* also rested upon the temporal support of Arab retainers – the so-called *guich* tribes – who provided the manpower both for the central administration and for the armies which protected the palace and the imperial cities, and collected the taxes, if necessary. For these services they were given land in usufruct and were generally tax-exempted (Deverdun, 1942, pp. 319-324; *Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 31-32, 37; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 38-39).

Makhzen control of the rural *Bled el Makhzen* had both temporal and religious aspects, for the regime not only strove to achieve military and political domination by policies of "divide and conquer", but also actively sought to secure its position by forwarding the Arabization and Islamization of the inhabitants. These goals were accomplished not only through the use of local administrative officials (chiefs, deputies, governors of cities) and Koranic judges, but also through the manipulation of the innumerable *shurfa* and

[pp. 110-200 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

[P.201]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Aagesen, Aage, "Fès, en Maroccansk By", *Kulturgeografi, Tidsskrift for Befolkingsgeografi*, København, Vol. 10, No. 56 (Feb. 1958), pp. 13-20.

Abes, M., "Monographie d'une Tribu Berbère: Les Aît Ndhir (Beni Mtir)", *Les Archives Berbères. Publication du Comité d'Etudes Berbères de Rabat*, Rabat, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1917), pp. 149-194; Vol. 2, No. 3 (1917), pp. 337-416; Vol. 3, No. 4 (1918), pp. 321-345.

Adam, André, "La 'Bidonville' de Ben Msik à Casablanca. Contribution à l'étude du prolétariat musulman au Maroc", *Algiers, Université, Institut d'études orientales, Annales*, Vol. 8 (Algiers, 1949-1950), pp. 61-199.

——, "La prolétarisation de l'habit dans l'ancienne Médina de Casablanca", *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc*, Rabat, Vol. 12, No. 45 (1950), pp. 247-256; Vol. 13, No. 46 (1950), pp. 44-50.

——, *La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de Anti-Atlas* (= *Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, Collection Hespéris*, No. 13) (Paris, Larose, 1951) [i.e., 1952].

——, "Les Berbères", *Ecrits de Paris: Revue des Questions Actuelles*, Paris, Numéro Special: *Le Maroc* (April, 1953), pp. 20-39.

Anderson, J. N. D., "Muslim Procedure and Evidence", *Journal of African Administration*, London, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July, 1949), pp. 123-129; No. 4 (Oct., 1949), pp. 176-183.

Applegate, Joseph, "Berber Studies, I: Shilha", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington D.C., Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 324-327.

Ashford, Douglas E., *Political Change in Morocco* (= *Princeton Oriental Studies, Social Sciences*, 3) (Princeton, University Press, 1961).

Aspinion, Robert, *Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier berbère marocain: Étude sur les coutumes des tribus zayanes*, 2nd edition (Casablanca, A. Moynier, 1946).

Ayache, Albert, *Le Maroc; bilan d'une colonisation*. Préf. de Jean Dresch (Paris, Éditions sociales, 1956).

Barbour, Nevill, *A Survey of Northwest Africa (The Maghrib)* (London, Oxford University Press, 1959).

Barennes, Yves, *La modernisation rurale au Maroc* (= *Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Rabat, Collection des centres d'études juridiques*, vol. 26) (Paris, Libraire générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1948).

Basset, André, *La Langue berbère* (= *Handbook of African Languages*, Pt. 1) (London, Published for International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1952).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113 Beneitez Cantero, Valentin, *Sociologia Marroqui*. 1st ed. (= *Publicaciones del Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Arabe*, Tetuán, 1952).

Benet, Francisco, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands", in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, edited by Karl Polanyi et al. (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1957), pp. 188-217.

Berque, Jacques, *Etudes d'histoire rurale maghrebine* (Tangier-Fez, Editions internationales, 1938).

——, *Les Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas*. 1st ed (= *Bibliothèque de sociologie contemporaine*. Serie B: *Travaux du Centre d'Études Sociologiques*) (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

Boulhol, Pierre, "Une riche région forestière: le pays Haha-Chiadma", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 29, Nos. 3-4 (1945), pp. 10-16.

Bourrilly, Joseph, *Eléments de l'ethnographie marocaine* (= *Bibliothèque de Culture et de Vulgarisation Nord-Africaines*) (Paris, Librairie coloniale et orientaliste Larose, 1932).

Bousquet, G. H., "Islamic Law and Customary Law in French North Africa", *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, London, Third Series, Vol. 32, pts. 3-4 (Nov. 1950), pp. 57-65.

Bovill, E. W., *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London, Oxford University Press, 1958).

Brockelmann, Carl, *History of the Islamic Peoples. With a Review of Events, 1939-1947, by Moshe Perlmann*, Translated by Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947).

Bruno, H., "La justice indigène", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 413-430.

Bruno, H.; Bousquet, G.-H., "Les pactes d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc Central", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, Vol. 33, Nos. 3-4 (Paris, 1946), pp. 353-370.

Brunot, Louis, "La politesse et les convenances chez les marocains", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 247-274.

——, *Au Seuil de la Vie Marocaine. Ce qu'il fait savoir des coutûmes et des relations sociales chez les Marocains* (Casablanca, Libraire Farairre, 1950).

Capot-Rey, R., "Le nomadisme pastoral dans le Sahara Français", *Travaux de l'Institut de recherches Sahariennes*, Vol. 1 (Algiers, 1942), pp. 63-86.

Carte Internationale du Monde au 1:1,000,000,e (1940-1942), NH-28, 29, 30; NG-28, 29, 30.

Catroux, Georges, *Lyautey le marocain* (Paris, Libraire Hachette, 1952).

Cattenoz, G., "L'organisation de la zône française de l'empire Cherifien", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 341-369.

Cauneille, J., "Les nomades Regueibat", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Vol. 6 (Algiers, 1950), pp. 83-100.

Célérier, Jean, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Paris, 1927), pp. 53-68.

——, "La montagne au Maroc. Essai de définition et de classification",

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Hespéris, Achives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Vol. 25, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 109-180. 113

Célérier, "L'économie montagnarde dans le Moyen Atlas", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1939), pp. 57-67.

——, "La personnalité de l'Afrique du Nord", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 147-160.

——, "Les conditions biogéographiques, et les genres de vie au Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 170-180.

——, "La pacification du Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 110-123.

——, "La modernisation du paysanat Marocain", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 31, No. 1 (1947), pp. 3-29.

Chaumeil, Jean, "Histoire d'une tribu maraboutique de l'Anti-Atlas: Les Ait 'Abdallah ou Sa'id", *Hespéris, Achives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 39, Nos. 1-3 (Paris, 1952), pp. 197-212.

Chouraqui, André, *Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord; Marche vers l'Occident*, 1st edition (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

Cid Kaoui, S., *Dictionnaire français-tachelh'it et français-tamazir't (dialectes berbères du Maroc)* (Paris, [n.p.], 1907).

Cintas, Pierre, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 56) (Paris, Arts et métiers graphiques 1954).

Clarke, Bryan, *Berber Village. The Story of the Oxford University Expedition to the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco* (London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1959).

Colin, Georges S., "Le parler berbère des Ġmāra", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 43-58.

——, "Linguistic Survey [Morocco]", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*..., edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), Vol. 3, pp. 597-604.

——, "Origine Arabe des grands mouvements de populations berbères dans le Moyen-Atlas", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 25, Nos, 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 265-268.

Coon, Carleton Stevens, *Tribes of the Rif* (= *Harvard African Studies*, No. IX) (Cambridge, Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931).

——, *Flesh of the Wild Ox, A Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles* (New York, W. Morrow & Co., 1932).

——, *The Races of Europe* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1948).

——, *Caravan, The Story of the Middle East* (New York, Henry Holt, 1951).

Coudino, A., "Fonctionnement de la justice Berbère", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 431-446.

Crepin, R., "L'Amélioration du régime des eaux au Maroc à l'aide de petits travaux hydrauliques", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géogra-*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113

phie Marocaine, Casablanca, Vol. 25, Nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1941), pp. 13-21.

Dabancens, J., "Les Ait Abdi du Moyen Atlas et leurs réactions au contact des étrangers", *Cahiers d'Outre-mer*, Bordeaux, Vol. 4, No. 14 (April-June, 1951), pp. 101-118.

Daoud, Ben, "Recueil du droit coutumier de Massat, exemplaire des Ida ou Mout", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Paris, 1924), pp. 405-439.

Darre, M., "L'économie montagnarde chez les Ait Youssi de l'Amekla", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1939), pp. 69-78.

Delawarde, J. B., "Inesane. Un example d'organization de la vie indigène au Maroc", *La Géographie*, Paris, Vol. 71, No. 4 (April, 1939), pp. 193-204.

Delaye, Theophile-Jean, "Dessins et croquis des villes impériales du Maroc", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1944), pp. 17-25.

——, "Types et demeures de l'Ouarzate et du Dades", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1944), pp. 15-23.

Delisle, Stephane, "Le prolétariat Marocain de Port-Lyautey", in *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie: L'Evolution sociale du Maroc*, edited by Jean Etienne, et al. (Paris, Peyronnet & Cie., [1950]), pp. 109-228.

Despois, Jean, *L'Afrique blanche française*. Vol. 1: *L'Afrique du Nord* (= *Colonies et empires*, 4. ser.: *Géographie de l'Union française*, 1) (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

D'Etienne, Jean, "Une famille Marocaine", in *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie: L'Evolution sociale du Maroc*, edited by Jean d'Etienne, et al. (Paris, Peyronnet & Cie [1950]), pp. 5-51.

Deverdun, M., "Les formations sociales", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 302-327.

Domenech Lafuente, Angel, *Del Territorio de Ifni. Algunos de sus Aspectos* (Madrid, Ediciones del Gobierno del Africa Occidental Española, 1946).

Donkin, R. A., *Geographical Report: Three Studies in the Geography of Morocco* (Extract from the report of the Durham University Exploration Society's Expedition to French Morocco, 1952) (Newcastle-on-Tyne, Durham University Exploration Society, 1956).

Doutté, M. Edmond, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha", *Comité de l'Afrique française, Bulletin mensuel*, Paris, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January, 1905), Supplement, pp. 1-16.

Draque, G., "Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc, confréries et zaouias", *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie*, Vol. 2 (Paris, J. Peyronnet, 1951).

Dresch, Jean, *Commentaire des cartes sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 35) (Tours, Arrault & Cie, 1941).

——, "Les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif du Toubkal", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1939), pp. 29-56.

Dupas, Pierre, "Notes sur les magasins collectifs du Haut-Atlas occidental (Tribus des Ida ou Mahmoud et des Seksaoua)", *Hespéris, Achives Berbères*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Paris, 1929), pp. 303-321. 113

Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer, Special Issue: *Morocco, '54* (Paris, 1954).

——, *Maroc: Les Villes* (Paris, 1956).

Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evans, *The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (London, Clarendon Press, 1940).

Falgueras y Ozaeta, Ignacio, *Estudios sobre sociologia y derecho de Marruecos* (Madrid, Impr. de la Revista de Legislacion, 1909).

Fischer, Roger, "Essai sur le paysage agraire du plateau de Meknes", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1948), pp. 121-146.

Flamand, Pierre, *Un mellah en pays berbère, Demnate* (= *Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Rabat, *Collection "Notes et Documents"*, No. X) (Paris, Libraire general de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1952).

Flores Morales, Angel, *El Sahara Español: Ensayo de Geografia, Fisica, Humana y Economica* (Madrid, Ediciones de la Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, 1946).

Fogg, Walter, "The Economic Revolution in the Countryside of French Morocco", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, London, Vol. 35, No. 139 (April, 1936), pp. 123-129.

——, "The Importance of Tribal Markets in the Commercial Life of the Countryside of North-West Morocco", *Africa*, London, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Oct. 1939), pp. 445-449.

——, "Tribal Markets in Spanish Morocco", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, London, Vol. 38, No. 152 (July, 1939), pp. 322-326.

——, "Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations Concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco", *The Sociological Review*, London, Vol. 32, Nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr., 1940), pp. 85-107.

——, "Beliefs and Practices at, or in Relation to, a Moroccan Tribal Market", *Folk-Lore*, London, Vol. 51, No. 2 (June, 1940), pp. 132-138.

——, "A Moroccan Tribal Shrine and Its Relation to a Nearby Tribal Market", *Man*, London, Vol. 40, Nos. 123-139 (July, 1940), pp. 100-104.

——, "Changes in the Lay-Out, Characteristics, and Functions of a Moroccan Tribal Market, Consequent on European Control", *Man*, London, Vol. 41, Nos. 70-83 (Sept.-Oct., 1941), pp. 104-108.

Foucauld, Charles Eugène de, *Reconnaissance au Maroc, 1883-1884* (Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1888) (Nouveau tirage, 1934).

——, *Reconnaissance au Maroc; journal de route conforme à l'édition de 1888 et augmenté de fragments inédits rédigés par l'auteur pour son cousin, François de Bondy* (Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1939).

Fournel, Henri Jerome Marie, *Les Berbers. Etude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes...* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1875-1881).

Fraquier, De, "La Crise du nomadisme et de l'élevage sur les Hauts Plateaux algériens", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 9, Part 1 (1953), pp. 70-97.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113 Garcia Barriuso, P. Patrocino, *Ecos del Magrib* [Echoes of the Maghreb] (Tetuán, Instituto Franco, 1939).

García Figueras, Tomás; Roda y Jimenez, Rafael de, *Economia social de Marruecos* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950-1955).

Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice, *Muslim Institutions*. Translated from the French by John P. Macgregor (London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1950).

Gautier, Émile Félix, *Les Siècles Obscurs dans l'Histoire du Maghreb* (*L'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord*) (Paris, Payot, 1927).

——, *Sahara, the Great Desert*. Translated by Dorothy Ford Mayhew (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935).

——, *L'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Payot, 1942).

Gellner, Ernest, "Independence in the Central High Atlas", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 237-252.

Gendre, F. "Tafilalet", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4 (May-Aug., 1942), pp. 43-57.

Goulven, Joseph Georges Arsène, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Salé* (Paris, Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1927).

Grandidier, G., *Atlas des Colonies Françaises. Protectorats et territoires sous mandat de la France* (Paris, Société d'Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1934).

Great Britain, Naval Staff, Naval Intelligence Division, *C. B. 908. A Handbook of Morocco and the Spanish Sahara* (*Rio de Oro*) (London, Naval Intelligence Department, [1919]).

Gsell, (Charles Emile) Stéphane, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Hachette, 1913-1928).

Guernier, Eugène Leonard, *La Berbérie, l'Islam et la France* (*Le destin de l'Afrique du Nord*) (Paris, Editions de l'Union Française, 1950).

Haas, William S., "The Zikr of the Rahmaniya Order, a Psycho-physiological Analysis", *The Moslem World*, Hartford, Conn., Vol. 33, No. 1 (Jan., 1943), pp. 16-28.

Hardy, André, "Les Tanneurs de Salé", *Société d'Études Économiques, Sociales, et Statistiques, Bulletin Économique et Social du Maroc*, Rabat, Vol. 5, No. 21 (July, 1938).

Hart, David Montgomery, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryāghil", *Tamuda Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Tetuán, 1954), pp. 51-86.

Heffening, W., "Wakf", in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 4 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1934), pp. 1096-1103.

Herber, J., "Une fête à Moulay Idris (Janvier, 1916): les Hamadcha et les Dghoughiyyin", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Paris, 1923), pp. 217-235.

Homo, J.-P.; Hugonot, R., "Ich, Oasis de montagne", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 9, Part 1 (1953), pp. 99-124.

Hooton, Earnest Albert, *The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands* (= *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. 7) (Cambridge, Mass., Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1925).

Ibn Khaldûn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

septentrionale. Traduite de l'arabe par le baron de Slane. Nouv. ed. (Paris, Geuthner, 1925-1926). 113

Ibn Khaldûn, *The Maqaddimah, an Introduction to History*. Translated by Franz Rosenthal (= *Pantheon Series*, 43) (Pantheon Books, 1958).

Institut Géographique National-Annexe du Maroc, *Maroc au 1.500.000e. Carte des Tribus, 1948* (Paris, 1948).

Istiqlal (Independence) Party of Morocco (Parti de l'Istiqlal), *Morocco under the Protectorate: Forty Years of French Administration* (New York, Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation, 1953).

Jannes, Elly, *Solnedgångens land. Resa i Marocko* (Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1953).

Johns Hopkins University, *Area Handbook on Morocco*. Edited by Paul S. Lunt (New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1956).

Joly, A., "L'Industrie à Tétuan", *Archives Marocaines, Publication de la Mission Scientifique du Maroc*, Paris, Vol. 8 (1906), pp. 196-329; Vol. 11 (1907), pp. 361-393; Vol. 15 (1909), pp. 80-151.

Joly, Fernand, "Casablanca. Eléments pour une étude de géographie urbaine", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie de Bordeaux et de l'Atlantique*, Bordeaux, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April-June, 1948), pp. 119-148.

——, "Sur la répartition du Palmier-dattier au Maroc", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 5 (1948), pp. 203-212.

——, "Les Ait Khebbache de Taouz (Maroc Sud-Oriental)", *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers, Vol. 7 (1951), pp. 129-159.

Joly, Fernand, et al., *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris, Libraire delGrave, 1949).

Julien, Charles-André, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord: Tunisie-Algérie-Maroc. Des origines à la conquête Arabe (647 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris, Payot, 1951).

Justinard, L.V., *Tribus berbères*, I: *Les Ait Ba Amran* (= *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, Vol. 8) Published for the Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1930).

Koller, Angelus, *Essai sur l'esprit du Berbère marocain* (Fribourg, Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1946).

——, *Essai sur l'esprit du Berbère marocain*, 2nd ed. (Fribourg, Editions franciscaines, 1949).

——, *Los Berberes Marroquies* (*Estudio Etnografico*). Traduccion del Frances, introduccion y anataciones, glosario Arabe-Berber y bibliografia Hispano-Marroqui del P. Esteban Ibañez (Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigacion Hispano-Arabe (Tetuán, Editora Marroqui, 1952).

La Chapelle, F. de, "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas occidental", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 8, Nos. 3-4 (Paris, 1928), pp. 263-283.

—, "Une cité de l'oued Drâ sous le protectorat des nomades, Nesrat", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 29-42.

——, "Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara Occidental", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 35-95.

Lafond, J., *Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous. Agadir*: En vente chez l'auteur, Chef de Greffe au Tribunal coutumier d'Imin-Tanout (1948).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113 Laget, Paul de, *Au Maroc Espagnol* (Marseille, Le Manoir 1935).

Landau, Rom, *The Beauty of Morocco. An Introduction and a Guide* (London, Evans Brothers Ltd., 1951).

——, *Moroccan Journal* (London, Robert Hale Ltd., 1952).

——, *Morocco* (International Conciliation, No. 483, Sept. 1952) (New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1952).

——, *Moroccan Drama, 1900-1955* (London, Robert Hale Ltd., 1956).

Laoust, Emile, "Le dialect berbère du Rif", *Hespéris, Achives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Paris, 1927), pp. 173-208.

——, "L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central: I, La tente et le douar", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 151-253.

——, "L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central: II, La maison", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Paris, 1932), pp. 115-218.

——, "L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central: III, L'Igerm", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Paris, 1934), pp. 109-196.

Le Tourneau, Roger, "L'activité économique de Sefrou", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 25, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 269-286.

——, *Fès avant le protectorat; étude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'occident musulman* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 45) ([SMLE, Casablanca], 1949).

——, "Social change in the Muslim Cities of North Africa", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, Vol. 60, No. 6 (May 1955), pp. 527-535.

Le Tourneau, Roger; Paye, L.; Guyot, R., "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marrocaines*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1935), pp. 167-240.

Lévi della Vida, G., "Kharidjites", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*..., edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1927), Vol. 2, pp. 904-908.

Lévi-Provencal, E.; Colin, G. S., "Morocco: Population, Social and Economic Life, Religious Life", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), Vol. 3, pp. 590-597.

Levy, Reuben, *The Social Structure of Islam*. Being the Second Edition of *The Sociology of Islam* (Cambridge, University Press, 1957).

Lewis, William H., "The New Nomadism in North Africa", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 269-281.

Loubignac, V., "Le monde berbère et ses institutions", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 275-301.

Madras, Didier, *Au Sud de l'Atlas vers le pays des casbahs* (Casablanca, Editions Paul Bory, 1948).

Maneville, Roger, "L'habitat rural chez les Beni Zéroual", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1939), pp. 91-112.

Marcy, G., "Une tribu berbère de la confédération Ait Warain, les Ait Jelli-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

dasen", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 79-142. 113

Maugham, Robin, *North African Notebook* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1948).

Meakin, Budgett, *The Moorish Empire* (London, S. Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899).

——, *The Moors: A Comprehensive Description* (London, S. Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902).

Mensching, Horst, *Marokko. Die Landschaften im Maghreb* (Heidelberg, Keysersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957).

Mercanton, Jacques; Rouget, Bernard, *Maroc, terre et ciel* (Lausanne, La Guilde du Livre, 1954).

Michaux-Bellaire, Ed., "Makhzen", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by James Hastings, Vol. 3 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), pp. 166-171.

Miege, E., "Du rôle de la montagne dans la biologie végétale". *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 25, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1938), pp. 219-231.

Miege, Jean-Louis, "La nouvelle Medina de Casablanca. Le derb Carlotti", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie*, Bordeaux, Vol. 6, No. 23 (July, Sept. 1953), pp. 244-257.

Montagne, Robert, "Le régime juridique des tribus du Sud Marocain", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Paris, 1924), 313-331.

——, "Une tribu berbère du Sud Marocaine: Massat", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Paris, 1924), pp. 357-403.

——, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Paris, 1927), pp. 1-32.

——, "Le développement du pouvoir des caids de Tagontaft (Grand-Atlas)", in *Mémorial Henri Basset: Nouvelles études Nord-Africaines et Orientales*, Vol. 2 (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Rabat, Vol. 18) (Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928), pp. 169-184.

——, "Un Magasin Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 9, Nos. 2-3 (Paris, 1929), pp. 145-266.

——, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc. Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sedentaires (groupe chleuh)* (Paris, Librairie Felix Alcan, 1930).

——, *Un Magasin Collectif de L'Anti-Atlas: L'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris, Librairie Larose, 1930).

——, "La limite du Maroc et du Sahara atlantique", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1-2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 111-118.

——. "The Power of the Chieftains in Morocco", *Journal of African Administration*, London, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July, 1949).

——, *La Naissance du Prolétariat Marocain. Enquête Collective 1948-1950* (= *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie*, Vol. 3) (Paris, Peyronnet, 1952).

Monteil, Vincent, *Notes sur Ifni et les Ait Ba- c Amrân* (= *Institut des Hautes-*

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113

Études Marocaines, Rabat, "*Notes & Documents*", No. 32) (Paris, Larose, 1948).

——, *Notes sur les Tekna* (= *Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Rabat, "*Notes & Documents*", No. 32) (Paris, Larose, 1948).

Mor., S. G. M., *see* Morocco, Service Géographique du Maroc.

Morestin, Henri, "Les faubourgs indigènes de Rabat", *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie de Bordeaux et de l'Atlantique*, Bordeaux, Vol. 3, No. 9 (Jan.-March, 1950), pp. 66-76.

Morocco, Service Géographique du Maroc, *Carte de reconnaissance du Maroc au 100.000e* (Rabat, 1927-1946).

Morocco, Directeur des affaires indigènes. *Rabat et se région: IV, Le Gharb (Les Djebla)* (= *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, Vol. 6). Published for Affaires indigènes et service des renseignements (Paris, Editions Ernest Leroux, 1918).

Murati, P., "Le maraboutisme ou la naissance d'une famille ethnique dans le région de Tebessa", *Société de préhistoire et d'archéologie de Tebessa, Recueil 1936-1937* (Algiers, 1938), pp. 267-279.

Murdock, George Peter, *Social Structure* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949).

——, "Political Moieties", in *The State of the Social Sciences*, edited by Leonard D. White (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 133-147.

Paniagua y Santos, Jose Maria, "Notas sobre e derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif", *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas), Vol. 2, No. 3 (Madrid, April, 1948), pp. 7-44.

Parfentieff, Boris, "Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 203-213.

——, "Moeurs et coutumes des marocains", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 217-226.

Patai, Raphael, "The Middle East as a Culture Area", *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 6, No. 1 (Winter, 1952), pp. 1-21.

[Pomonti, Catherine Taliaferro (Burrows)], *Moroccan Horizons*, by Catherine Tolliver [Pseud.] (Casablanca, Les Impressions EDITA, 1952).

Querleux, "Les Zemmour (Étude ethnographique d'après le Questionnaire de la Résidence Générale de France au Maroc)", *Les Archives Berbères, Publication du Comité d'Études Berbères de Rabat*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Rabat, 1915), pp. 12-61.

Quirós Rodríguez, Carlos, *Instituciones de religión musulmana* (Ceuta, 1939).

——, *Instituciones musulman. (Escuela malequita). — Con bibliografia de autores musulmanes* (Ceuta, 1942).

——, "El pueblo bereber: Noticias y commentarios", *Archivos de l'Institut de estudios africanos*, Madrid, Vol. 5, No. 16 (Mar., 1951), pp. 75-88.

Rackow, Ernst, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

Ramos Charco-Villasénor, A., *Del Sahara Español: Rio de Oro* (Toledo, Talleres Tipograficos de la Asociacion de Huérfanos de Infantoria, 1935).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113

Raynal, René, "La terre et l'homme en haute Moulouya: Quelques exemples d'évolution récente des genres de vie", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 39, Nos. 3-4 (Paris, 1952), pp. 487-500.

Renision, A., *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif, et des Senhaja de Srair; grammaire, textes et lexique* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 22) (Paris, E. Leroux, 1932).

Ricard, Prosper, "Les métiers manuels à Fès", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Paris, 1924), pp. 205-224.

Rivière, Paul-Louis, *Traité de droit Marocain: législation, coutume, historique, jurisprudence*. (Caen, Éditions Ozanne 1948).

Robaux, A., "L'eau et la vie dans le Sud marocaine", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 25, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr., 1941), pp. 23-32.

Robichez, Jean, *Maroc Central* (Paris, B. Arthaud, 1946).

Roda y Jimenez, Rafael de, *Compendio de Sociologia Marroqui* (Ceuta, 1939).

Rosenthal, Erwin I. J., *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958).

Rossano, Jean, "La colonisation européenne dans le Haouz de Marrakech", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Revue de Géographie*, Bordeaux, Vol. 7, No. 28 (Oct.-Dec., 1954), pp. 342-366.

Sagnes, M., *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc* (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942).

——, "Les races et le peuplement de l'Afrique du Nord", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc.*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 181-200.

——, "Les parles", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunis, 1942), pp. 328-338.

Salem, Elie Adib, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij* (= *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ser. 74, No. 2) (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1956).

Schacht, Joseph, "Shari'a," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al., Vol. 4 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1934), pp. 320-324.

——, *The Origins of Mohammedan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950).

Semach, Y., "Le Saint d'Quezzan et les saints du Maroc", *Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc*, Paris, 25th Year, No. 160 (1938), pp. 281-308.

Sjoberg, Gideon, "The Preindustrial City", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, Vol. 60, No. 5 (March, 1955), pp. 438-445.

Spain, Deposita de la Guerra, Cuerpo de E. M. del Ejercito, *Carta Provisional de la Zona Norte del Protectorado Español en Marruecos* (Escala 1:400.000 1926).

Spillmann, Georges, *Les Ait Atta du Sahara et la pacification du Haut Dra* (= *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 29) (Rabat, Éditions Felix Moncho, 1936).

——, "Les confréries religieuses et les Zaouia ou Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 227-246.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

113 Surdon, G., "Le droit public dans la montagne marocaine", *Revue marocaine de législation, doctrine, jurisprudence chérifiennes*, Rabat, Vol. 2, Nos. 6-7 (1937-1938), pp. 9-16.

Terrasse, Henri, *Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis. Les grandes architectures du Sud Marocain...* (Paris, Éditions des Horizons de France, 1938).

——, "L'histoire musulmane du Maroc", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 51-73.

——, "Les origines de l'Islam et des civilisations musulmanes", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunies, 1942), pp. 39-50.

——, *Histoire du Maroc...* (Casablanca, Editions Atlantides, 1949-1950).

Thibert, J., "Skoura: Etude sur l'utilisation du milieu naturel dans une oasis du Sud Marocain", *Société de géographie du Maroc, Revue de géographie Marocaine*, Casablanca, Vol. 32, Nos. 1-2-3 (1948), pp. 24-72.

Thornton, Philip, *The Voice of the Atlas: In Search of Music in Morocco* (London, Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1936).

Trenga, "Les Branes. Notes pour Servir à une Monographie des tribus Berbères de la région de Fès", *Les Archives Berbères. Publication du Comité d'Études Berbères de Rabat*, Rabat, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1916), pp. 200-218; No. 4 (1916), pp. 293-330.

Usborne, Cecil Vivian, *The Conquest of Morocco* (London, Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 1936).

Vieuchange, Jean, *Smara, The Forbidden City. Being the Journal of Michel Vieuchange while Traveling among the Independent Tribes of South Morocco and Rio de Oro...* Translated from the French by Fletcher Allen (London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1933).

Villème, Louis, "L'Évolution de la Vie citadine au Maroc", in *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie: L'Évolution sociale du Maroc*, edited by Jean d'Etienne, et al. (Paris, Peyronnet & Cie, [1950]), pp. 53-107.

Weisgerber, F., "Le Maroc avant nous", in *Introduction à la connaissance du Maroc*, edited by M. Sagnes (Casablanca, Imprimeries Réunis, 1942), pp. 74-91.

Westermarck, Edward, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

——, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

Wolfel, Dominik J., "Les noms de nombre dans le parler guanche des Illes Canaries (traduit de l'allemand par Raymond Roget)", *Hespéris, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, Vol. 41, Nos. 1-2 (1954), pp. 47-79.

Yver, G., "History [Morocco]", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam...* edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., Vol. 3 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1936), pp. 583-590.

[pp. 213-223 not processed]

4: Hoffman MW11 Shluh MW11

778

[For information on the invocation by an individual of 'ar--a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request--in order to seek asylum or sanctuary, see categories 571 and 754.]

[For additional information on the so-called Shluh "tribe", made up from three to twelve districts, with political leadership under a tribal council "chief", see also category 635.]

[For information on the heads of the tribal and district councils who are frequently referred to in the literature as "chiefs", see categories 619, 634, and see also 635.]

646 Shluh MW11
623

[Information on councils at the district or tribal levels will be found in categories 634, 619, and see also 635.]

/xiv cont./

122 Mr. Steeg, résident général of France in Morocco, kindly gave us the same trust, and it is thanks to his intervention and the interest that he took in our research, with the late Mr. Duclos, directeur des Affaires indigènes, that we were able to finish the necessary investigations.

General Daugan and General Huré, commanding the region of Marrakech, gave us in every circumstance the kindest help in carrying out our missions.

Without risking omissions, we could not here call off the names /xv/ of all the officers of the Direction des Affaires indigènes who facilitated our labors in the regions of Marrakech, Fez, and Taza, and in their commands reserved for us the most confident and cordial welcome. May they be willing to believe in our feelings of deep and friendly gratitude. We must at least mention here the very constant support and very valuable encouragement that were given us by our late friend Captain H. Thraen, of the service des Affaires indigènes, who died on duty at Marrakech in 1927, as well as the useful information collected with Commandant Bourguignon, killed by the enemy at Kechachda in 1927. Our friend H. Basset, the late director of the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/, had kindly interested himself in our work in 1924 and guided our first research with his advice.

-12 We must particularly show our gratitude to our friends: Captain Pennès -- who so often gave us the valuable contribution of his knowledge and courage in the course of aerial missions and the geographical study of the dissident regions -- Lieutenant F. de La Chapelle, to whom we owe such useful studies on the country of the Seksawa (Book III, Ch. II and III), on which we have so largely drawn here; Lieutenant Spillman, Captain Interpreter Ben Daoud, from whom we

/xv cont./

•12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

12 114 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome, so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

/vii/

Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 104 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ᶜ), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an ā.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 104 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./

121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Âli. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Âbdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 124 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it (121) is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered 721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream. At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in [701] conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121] [113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et
[121] Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from
[113] the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly
[184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an
121 anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the
[114] way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from
121 this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures
[114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/94 cont./
174 12 [114]
have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods. t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Afr~~ica.~~ This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/99 cont./

113 114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyara). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/104 cont./

174 648 221 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Besseba^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the sys-
[312] tem of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Besseba^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Abdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 221 121 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./
174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).
221
121

1. It is the sâh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldûn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qâhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sâh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain,

/119 cont./

121 619 634 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 619 132 [571] [137] Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their livestock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation. Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 648 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121] 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest,
in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions
by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific
[787] ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language,
one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/130 cont./

114 121 789 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 171 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

> 1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who . . . ," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

241 796 {121} It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

> 2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these

241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that

796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[954] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/139 cont./

796 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in
241 themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts
184 breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen
• 121 -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

/140 cont./

241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

/142/

III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

121
241
114

1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

/158 cont./

312
114

/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121
182

In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657]

121
182
114

1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [162] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/171 cont./

244 a summit, economically ruinous. As proof, the unfortunate cultivations of turnips and carrots. These roots tend toward gigantism and are as demanding of water as they are miserly in calories.

Everything happens as if the historic coil of a system formerly open to the outside had brought these populations to an agronomy without variety or invention (1).

1. On this notation of decline, J. Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa, 1935, pp. 270 sq.

That, if one wishes, is only a hypothesis. We venture it only for what it is worth. But many traits suggest it, and the attempt at critical judgment that one will bring to bear on the system will feel the effects of it.

Adaptation or Not?

121 The adaptation of a society to its natural milieu is "an old geographical dogma" (2).

2. A. Cholley, Géographia, October, 1951, p. 4.

Healthy, since it is progress over the too-ready disdain as well as over the suspect enthusiasms that, depending on the case, economies different from ours arouse. But also, a simplistic and distorting dogma (3).

3. All the effort of the French geographic school has been to show that the influence of the milieu should not be interpreted in terms of dry determinism and that the initiative of the social and its reaction on the physical milieu itself, as imperious as the conditions of the latter formerly appeared (cf. Vidal de La Blache, Principes de

/171 cont./

121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type; mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

121 182 171 But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest classical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1),

182 171 121 114 1. We choose this example not only as a case "of montagnard analogy," but also because the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

/172 cont./

182
171
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182
121
[171]

nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

/172 cont./

182
121

/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/174 cont./

233 241 182 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering, irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 171 [233] Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

/175 cont./

121
171

/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
(242) posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182
171

Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/218 cont./

114 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the
616 confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking
[129] Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

[Demsira]

121 /219 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ "Terroirs et Seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and Lords of the western High Atlas/," Ann. Hist. soc., 1951, pp. 474 sq.

among three orders of phenomena: the distribution of the group into ikhs-s, that of the ground into toponymical quarters, and that of time into turns for water. Thereupon a new collection of notes, more extensive in the field of observation, but naturally less profound and less co-ordinated, will come to be added to those that the monographic investigation of Seksawa grounds suggests.

Exterior Cross-Checkings: Demsira (2)

2. May we be permitted to excuse ourselves here, once and for all, for the abundance of anthroponymic and toponymic nomenclatures in a study that does not present linguistic character. It is that their analysis is necessary for that of the structures, of which it is the most visible clue. On the interest of studies of Berbère /Berber/ toponymy and anthroponymy, cf. E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/, which aims at our very milieu, 1942; A. Basset, "Note sur la graphie des toponymes /Note on the writing of the toponyms/," Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes, 1942, pp. 177 sq., where a simple phonetic alphabet is proposed, fairly similar to the one that has been adopted here; on the Berbère toponymy, and especially on the Chaouia toponymy of the Ait Frah, Onomastica, 1948, p. 123; and especially, "Pour une collecte

114
121

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

133
175
177
184
619
[634]

This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

613
312
[184]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

[443] 4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sídi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

[829] What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchāc of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[123] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423 312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

121 423 [103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/228 cont./

121 423 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons, one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the [178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 184 243 [312] [181] [613] [492] If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water, and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

[613] Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
[571] an intemal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
[219] among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
171 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/231 cont./

121 between North African societies. This explanation of collective psychology is worth what it is worth: precisely quite little undoubtedly, as explanation. But it is not negligible for the interpretation of the /232/ facts by their sentimental context. It is certainly indispensable today as commentary of traits from observation, such as the acuity of the landed-property litigation and the depth of the working of the mechanisms of patrimonial equilibrium. Finally, it might react on a theory of value, peculiar to the milieu, if ever our knowledge of North Africa included such research on it ...

"The Earth and Human Evolution"

Here let us stop the analysis of these economic structures. Besides one could not further develop the significance or draw conclusions from it without presuming too much from the rest of the inquiry. Whatever rules, whatever comportments correspond to this rural order, this is what the study of the religious and juridical institutions that it supports will extricate.

182 But here and now one thing is to be emphasized, because it relates to the peculiarity of the milieu or at least is expressed there with a force still intact: this is the precision of the relations between the group and the landscape. A historic constancy unequaled in the rest of the rural Maghreb, the richness of the toponymy and its agrarian correspondences augment the methodological import of such evidence. It is in fact not only the exchanges between this man and his ground that these relations govern, but a good part of the very ethics of this society. Their force of instigation, of inspiration, and, at the same time, of restraint is such that they not only tolerate individual or collective initiative, but demand it. In fact this is what maintains, over a space thus organized, the circulation of beings, rights, and things. Gradually, the economic life, because it obeys these correlations, appears as a factor of topographical animation. The more so because it was under this aspect -- displacement of the herds, lines of irrigation, rhythms of concentration and expansion, divisibility of the country -- that it first struck us.

/232 cont./

121 A taqbilt is dislodged by war. Its legitimacy remains attached to the soil, and the conquerors must buy it from it dearly, if they can. The poor cousin flees. Eliminated not so much by the vice as by the indefensible perfection of the milieu, he leaves the shell that he was filling. It will not remain empty to wait until he returns: another soon slips into it, expansive kinsman, buyer, usurper -- three ideas which often interfere. A temporary right that the emigrant will try to abolish upon his return, but not without difficulty and combat, will prevail during the time of his absence.

/233/ Certainly human activity is not completely reduced to the exercise of these laws. If the immense part of itself that it devotes to the treatment of the milieu reveals, in this region of the Atlas, the rural order, the observation of which the Seksawa have allowed us, this part is not the only one. Spiritual progress, military adventure, individual avarice assume a function of compensation, liberation, or of game. But, even in that, life cannot lose touch with its cadre. It creates plenums and voids, thus differences of tension which will end up by being expressed in relations, in movements, and by inscribing itself anew in the space.

Here such a character is constant. It proves to be linked to the structure and to the history of these groups by correspondences more precise than have been presented to be observed up until now in North Africa. Of course, that does not authorize any simplistic determinism. But it confers upon these societies a value of authenticity, and at the same time a significance of type amply exceeding their narrowness. Perhaps the preceding analyses will have established at what point the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and especially the Seksawa, offer an exemplary basis for the study of the bonds between "la terre et l'évolution humaine" /the earth and human evolution/ (1)

1. This is the title of the book by L. Febvre, 1922.

for the whole of the Maghreb. /Page 234 is blank./

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

• 121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/247 cont./

771
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 776 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/252 cont./

541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women. [536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

121 541 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

121 171 541

1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is. a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

• [121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 771 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ[c], for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 121

792 171

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

/325 cont./

175 69 grindstones, manāhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods, dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'āq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'īn, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmūkī, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqāq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujūdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693 121 1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

[114]

/326 cont./

693
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain-/Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwāh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

695 /327 cont./

The expression s-tarad'i (1).

[192]

1. Maghrebi ethnology will have made real progress when it is able to follow, over the whole gamut of North African societies, the progress of such-and-such a notion, reduced to its precise meaning, in the most varied linguistic dress; and corollarially to study the semantic variations of such an institutional term. I am thinking, for example, of the word chert' or chchard', or of the word ta^{c}amamt, well known in the Kabyle matrimonial law, and which I find again in the Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), indeed even in an old text from the Sous ...

"by mutual agreement," certainly concerns the designation of the judge rather than the character of the verdict. It is true that even a judgment properly speaking, that of the present tribunals, for example, must little or much, in order to be executory, rally the yielding party. Ur rd'igh, "I do not agree": such an utterance occasionally indicates the nonrallying and hence also that the malcontent will appeal to other paths of recourse: obstruction, dilatory maneuvers, indeed violent resistance. Is it necessary to conclude that an arbitral aspect, profoundly ancient and authentic, has survived even in the modern organization of jurisdictions and that a fortiori the ancient s-tarad'i decision was merely arbitration pure and simple?... All that one can conjecture is that the development of the Chleuh /Shluh/ proceedings still implies today, and, with stronger reason, formerly implied, old mores rendering obligatory, under penalty of nullity or of loss, a "commitment" by both parties. This commitment has significantly taken a contractual form. In return, the distance at which the jemâa takes care to remain with respect to the settlement of the case screens the latter from the opinion of the group. And the reaction of the city procedures has cloaked the person of the magistrate and his

695 121

/327 cont./
695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
175 salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
465 Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
794 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work
there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121
594
613

Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/338 cont./

121
613
594

/footnote 1 continued/ different term that we employ seems to us to correspond better to the reality described. Its definition is no less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G. Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now, for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussulman ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking, it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594
613
183

The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to inspire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family," ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights. The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

594
613

613

/340 cont./

581 114 /footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

581 121

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/344 cont./

585
675
171
[586]

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675
585
586
121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
initiator from the Moroccan South.

675 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
[695] jrîda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
[178] inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Sekšawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
[173] suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
[562] from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
[184] ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.
671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures.
121 Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
671 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
212 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the

/367 cont./

121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

/369/ IV. Communal Law

121 Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq. and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp.": 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

121 But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the
127 analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambiance. Hence the documentary value of these
[666] penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic 681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that 592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor- [621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit [634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite [613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/371 cont./

627
681
[171]

/footnote 1 continued/ observations and those of C. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

The dîâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrasting with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value other than a didactic one?

627
681
121

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

681
627

In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known; never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

• 121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qâhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/393 cont./

175 121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

175 121 343 712

1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

/393 cont./

175 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneous-
121 ly a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys,
[177] in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to
[128] the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to
[184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small
compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fi-
delity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite
reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close
debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests,
of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is
formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to
say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions.
Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary posses-
sion of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for,
for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of
persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus
governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alterna-
tive.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate
one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the
rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal
adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous
cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer
here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war
the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it
is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance
/396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one.
More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists.
Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and
rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To
what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides
of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar
and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

121 /396 cont./
threshold: here is one of the primary objectives of Maghrebi sociology.

This threshold is in any case perceptible by the heart. Serious circumstances, a shifting of emotions or passions are necessary in order for one to transgress it. It is then a leap to another plane. Here the communal order reigns, with its warmth and intimacy, its lively ceremonies, its choruses, its dances. It rests upon a formidable instinct of duration, and of what it contributes in compensations in the long run.

The need for revenge, the hope of distant restorations, of showy returns, confidence in antagonisms propitious to the maneuver, offering each one his chance, and which excite the man, in victory as in defeat, to his full measure of vehemence and beauty -- that is what guides the group. Precariousness at the moment, but safeguard in time, indefinite quarrel, but reversals that guarantee perpetual movement: such are also and down to the details the moral correspondences of the law in this part of the Atlas.

Now this system is not isolated. It adheres to a great monotheism. It is interested in the wonders of the towns and of the plain, anxious to appropriate for itself, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. All this has imbued it with enthusiasms, distrusts, equivocations, and, above all, uneasiness. It feels besieged. Its culture has become transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, did not escape the reach of such a phenomenon. The Seksawa order, this order of compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself for the worse.

Only contemporary psychology could attempt to explain how this society has expressed its resistances and its defeats by all sorts of traits of ambiguity perceptible in its dialect, its ideas, its mores, its law. It would account for, by a felt culpability, this comportment that sometimes reserves for itself, sometimes transfers to others, the terrible judgment of history. Both these attitudes are fashioned diversely, according to the object or the epoch. This is the origin, not only /397/ of so many contrasts

/397 cont./

121 literarily exploited apropos the "Berbère," but more precisely of this incertitude that is at the bottom of it, formed by intimate transactions, relinquishments, and circumscribed resistances. To give and to retain: such is his law. Culture of contractions and circumvolutions, I should venture to say.

How, in the apprehension of a justice for which this man violently thirsts, can such a state of affairs be reconciled with a vitality with tension and alternations, so equipped to be patient and to endure? The just, for the Seksawa, risks being both the thing of importation, or at least expected from the exterior, and the thing that one hides within oneself without ever discovering it. Evasion on the one hand: through emigration, apprenticeship in Arabic or French letters, sometimes such an ostentatious treachery, almost romantic, such profanation: then the individual rushes forth, casting all behind him.

But also inaccessible flame in the depths of the heart, in the depths of history, in the depths of the grimoires, and which a rhythm of communal dancing, an inspiration from the saints of the Tichka or of Z'init' alone come to revive from time to time.
/Page 398 is blank./

000 /399/

Fourth Part
Attempt at Interpretation

/Page 400 is blank./

/401/ I. Limits and Range of the Seksawa Type

Position of the Seksawa in the
Ensemble of the North African Sedentary Peoples

171 121 The method of parallels is obsolete. Even to stop at criteria as provisional as sedentariness or Berbérophony, the present knowledge of North Africa does not permit a precise enough comparison between sectors. The latter, however, are ordered by geographical masses. Once the Rif, because insufficiently studied, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, because governed by economic and

/401 cont./

171 social movements too different from those that concern us, and
121 finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /Tuareg/. My thanks to all.

[114]

171 Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

/409 cont./

Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb

171 121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/ type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berbérophone societies of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These 175 high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years 121 of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have played the role of relay of the independence and of the continuity of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must, however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

/410 cont./

121 and the country. In the explanation of these exchanges seem to reside both the principal contribution of this investigation and its most certain contribution to the generality. The relations stated here between different orders of reality, such as the structure of the community, its work techniques, the scansion of its duration, the division of its space, are valid beyond the sector.

It will therefore be legitimate to interpret. The application of the ideas thus extricated might be risky elsewhere. One will refrain, both from a lack of material and through scruples of principle, from asking of the Seksawa, in comparing them with other "examples," the least lesson of comparativism. But one will attempt to apply the concrete results, the indications of method and the questions flowing from the present research to the principal problem of Maghrebi sociology: that of the strucure of the groups.

/411/ II. Narrow Formations

Now this problem is obscured no less by its own difficulty then by almost a century of doctrinal debate. Observation of the lively small countries of the Haut-Atlas will nevertheless permit grasping it with concrete holds, on condition of pursuing, up to the ultimate ramifications, the examination of the exchanges between the group and its milieu.

Levels of the Agrarian Organization

000 The old Roman agronomy had two ways of considering a field. To see there the "land for wheat," the "land for the vine," according to characteristics melted into individualities, ingenia, says Virgil. Or else to appreciate it as a function of general data that it more or less shared, and whose influence won out over its particular vocation: "lands hot, heavy, cold," etc. One could in fact, like modern science, define a field by the combined play of physical and chemical factors. But, no less validly, one can see in it a whole defying analysis, an almost personal figure.

/417 cont./

121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élémentaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

/423 cont./

619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/ III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616 121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121 171 616 114 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^Cokkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ᶜAbda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'oggʷat of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIᵉ siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq, 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616
121

resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

(114)

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

(171)

In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/425 cont./

616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3).

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its
[695] field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/425 cont./

616 121 They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616 121 114

4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last §. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. aft., 1953, p. 145.

616 121 and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

/426 cont./

616
121

consciousness, present there some confusion of contour. It would therefore be inexact to label them under signs that are too precise: consanguinity -- pacts subscribed to -- existence of affinities; or else ancestral community -- convention -- statute. This would be to attempt to define them for the European. What observation suggests, on the contrary, is their indistinction. At the very least the continuity that prevails from one to the other. This continuity goes quite far. It can go so far as to modify the situation of the group, to form or break up what we today, groping a little, call confederations or tribes. Local tradition has recorded several of these morphological variations (2).

2. It is in this fashion that in a. Abdella, the ikhs of the a. Si Mh'and was attached to that of the a. Lkhil through a promise of sacramental assistance, and thus was able to settle in the village. The a. u Gord', of the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), not being supported by their "brothers" in a criminal affair, emigrated and came to live on the border of the plain, attaching themselves to another group. For all that, they have not lost their ritual capacity in the former habitat. During the annual feast of the saints of Aduz, it is they who inaugurate the round of visits that the whole tribe makes there. In Mez'ud'a, the a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gh'id'), for an analogous reason, seceded from their original group, the a. H'sayn, and settled in the village of Tamazirt. The a. Uchellad' left the a. Werdas and was admitted at Taz'arin. They left in their original habitat only a colony of crops. But here is a wider movement. An entire taqbilt, that of the a. Khtab, was accused of murder. Its I. Buzia brothers refusing to swear for it, it was admitted into the Mtugga.

/426 cont./

616 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The
121 procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any
[184] case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghōrti, plur.
619 Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously
634 Imsifern, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Ali, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/428 cont./
616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
121 one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Chaib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

/429 cont./

616 121

brought about a basic perturbation. It was thus that Umulid constantly played against other Ighertan, by making common cause with the a. Lh'sen. The very chance of one of his letters shows us apropos of this, as has been seen, one use of the word leff: a valuable lexicographical cross-check, but basically a new difficulty. For either Umulid considers himself as having become Emsifōr, like the caid Mokhtar, or he uses this term in an extended sense of alliance, or of front: in a word, in a sense which vulgarizes the Algerian term çoff, which has become so essential to Franco-Mussulman life of small Algerian towns that the modern novel has made it famous.

If the dualism of the leff-s is above all a coexistence of virtualities, between which the collective, and sometimes even the individual, option is exercised, if each one these two terms themselves is exclusive neither of variety nor mutations, the problem then remains entirely one of learning why large zones are subject to it and why, on the other hand, such and such a sector escapes it. The distorting schemings of the chiefs, the degradation of the old order inherent in the rise of personal power during the twentieth century could not in any case account for the particular situation of the Seksawa. Everywhere and always in the Atlas, there has been alternation of the chefferie /military district/ and democracy. The historical and statistical inquiry, with graphic notations, that was desired in the case at hand by R. Montagne (1)

1. In his c. r. /report/ of the thesis of J. Dresch, Hesp., 1943, p. 232.

would certainly be useful for knowlege of the past of these societies. It would not provide any explanation. It would reveal the play of initiatives, being applied to conjunctures. Perhaps the bicolor background of the leff-s would come out as endowed with constancy, with a constancy in restorations, and thus linked to a certain legitimacy: thrilling research, but one does not see that it could advance the definition of the content.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of cotwearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

616 571 184

/430 cont./

616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/439 cont./

000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

/440/ Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

/447 cont./

182 climate. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 128 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our entire conception of these people and their history. It is now going to be necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

/448 cont./

121 the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of
184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The
[197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in-
[171] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/Pages i-vi are title and dedication pages./

/vii/ Foreword

121 A surprising contradiction dominates the social life and the history of the populations of North Africa.

On the one hand, in fact, the sedentary or nomadic tribes of Berbérie /Barbary/ -- for as long at least as foreign conquests did not transform their conditions of existence and their organization -- have clung to having democratic or oligarchic institutions respected in their primitive States. The Aurès, Kabylia, in Algeria, the Rif, the land of the Jbala /Jebala/, and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, in Morocco, are thus as though covered by a mosaic of small cantons within which men strive to preserve a rigorous and jealous equality among them.

On the other hand, we know that there have always arisen in the bosom of these tribes, faithful to their traditional laws, divided into minuscule republics, leaders of principalities capable of destroying all resistance by means of their own forces, of building up vast commands in a few years, and even of founding dynasties. But the political structures of these men of war or of these "mahdis" remain ephemeral; we sometimes see them disappear without even leaving lasting traces of their capitals on the soil that saw them come into existence. From the barbarian kings assembled in Rome up to the last holy-war agitators and to the pretenders of our time, refugees on the summits of the Rif or at the boundaries of the Sahara, passing by the founders of the powerful Fatimite /Fatimid/ or Almohade empires, the ceaselessly interrupted succession of Berbère /Berber/ leaders fills the history of a constantly renewed agitation. It seems that such efforts cannot bring to an end the resistance of peoples obstinately faithful to the tradition of their anarchic communities.

Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, the only writer of North Africa who has /viii/ tried to penetrate the inner life of this country, often expressed in his work the feeling of melancholy that this fragility of kingdoms and empires inspired in him; he did not consent, however, to explain to us with enough precision how

/viii cont./

•121 the play of inner forces, united now to form them, now to destroy them, was exercised. In the absence of historians' texts, it is by studying the tribes -- and more specifically the ones that have stayed away from external influences -- that one can hope to distinguish the phases of these struggles that match the primitive republics against the leaders who dominate them for a time. It is in this form that we are permitted to see this drama, which sums up a large part of the political life of the Maghreb, being performed.

Direct observation of the small Berbère /Berber/ States, a comparison of their forms and of their structure, indeed permits catching a glimpse of the laws of their evolution, which history does not make known to us. Thus Masqueray could show, in a masterly book (1),

[113]

1. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886.

that the primitive hamlets of the Aurès, the picturesque and animated villages of Kabylia, the silent towns of the Mzab represented among the sedentary peoples of Algeria the successive stages in the formation of cities, following a progression analogous to the one that primitive Greece and Rome may have known.

Is it not likewise permissible to wonder whether the establishment of the power of the leaders who rise for an instant over anarchic tribes does not also proceed in rapid stages according to constant rules unknown to men, but which nevertheless invariably direct their courses and lead them first to success, then to ruin?

For the purpose of trying to see whether this is so, there is doubtless no field of research more favorable than Morocco. Indeed, until the establishment of the French Protectorate, we can see an isolated empire living there, half-stricken with helplessness, shaken at the same time by dynastic crises and tribal revolts, now tom apart by dissension, now unified by the energetic

/viii cont./

121 action of a sovereign. It seems that the permanent opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the central power is livelier and more constant here.

Furthermore, in one of the provinces of the South of the Empire large commands with feudal aspects exist, which by an exception /ix/ nearly unique in North Africa have taken on the appearance of stability before our eyes. There is no doubt but that we can comprehend here, from modest examples, it is true, but with a precision that history does not allow us to attain, the relations of the tribes and their chiefs.

Such were the general considerations suggested to us by the study of the history and the spectacle of the life of the tribes, when circumstances led us to conceive the project of undertaking the work that we are finishing today, after five years of investigation.

121 114 When in 1923 Marshal Lyautey did us the great honor of asking us to prolong a stay in Morocco that had allowed us to acquaint ourselves with the life of the indigenous populations and granted us complete freedom to pursue new studies there, we intended to limit ourselves solely to becoming better acquainted with the origin of the power of the chiefs of the Atlas, the organization of their commands, and the institutions that they had been able to found in Berbère /Berber/ country. After two years of missions in the western Atlas and the plains of the Sous /see p. 5, footnote 1/, it seemed to us at first that one could not understand how this "Berbère feudality" had become established without at the same time observing the progressive and correlative decline of the mountain republics, for which the leaders of the South had substituted themselves little by little for less than half a century; on the other hand, the transformation of the country, which had taken place since the appearance of the large commands, obviously only indicated a succession of stages in a more complete evolution; it was easy to see that the central government, the "Makhzen" /makhzan/, whose progressive penetration was so prominent, was coming in turn to gather in

/ix cont./

121 114 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie [128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province [121] of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

/x cont./

•121 nevertheless, it is certain that a picture of the existence of the Moroccan South under the great dynasties or in the periods of anarchy illuminates the present rather well and successfully completes the study of still-living social forms. In following the course of history we sometimes see during the great reigns how the same forces were formerly exerted in order to arrive at results similar to the ones that we are given to observe in our day; we perceive also how, on the contrary, during the centuries of complete anarchy other influences could expand -- those of the founders of zaouias /zawiyas, zauias: Moslem monasteries and schools/ -- whose role is reduced to the most modest proportions today.

Certainly the present work -- in spite of its length -- leaves important gaps. Thus, we have not recognized for these religious leaders, shorfa /shurfa/, marabouts, masters of brotherhoods, /xi/ a role as active as one expects to see them take in this land of the "Sous el Aqsa" /Far Sous/, which has remained the fatherland of doctors of law, mystics, and saints, and people will doubtless be tempted to reproach us for not having given at great enough length the reasons for their effacement. Uncontested masters of the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the maraboutic powers have since seen their political prestige diminish before the progress of the authority of the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/. Without doubt it might have been useful to study better the forms of the decline with which they have been struck today at the borders of the Sahara, where we found them as refugees; their activity, reduced but not negligible, still goes on in the south of the Anti-Atlas, and it is known that in the extreme part of this chain the little religious State of Tazerwalt kept a prestige sufficient to disturb the Sultans until about 1885. The necessity of ending our investigations with the tribe and not extending the size of this work indefinitely led us to limit the study of these influences, which have remained all-powerful for so long in Berbère /Berber/ country, more strictly than we would have liked.

/xi cont./

•121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evo- [114] lution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws.

121 We must explain here the material conditions under which
127 the documentation on which this study of the struggle between the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, [133] we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favor-
able political circumstances and the progress of French penetra-
127 tion, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of mono-
114 graphs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the
114 vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

121 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener
114 in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

000 /1/

First Book
The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

First Chapter
The General Conditions of Human Life

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

•121 101

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- The history of North Africa, in its general effect, gives us the spectacle of a series of dynastic undertakings without any order, vainly attempted in the most diverse regions in order to found Berbère /Berber/ or Arab kingdoms in the heart of a land that has remained essentially anarchic and rebellious toward unity. It is not impossible, however, to distinguish in this disorder two distinct regions. In the immense territory that goes from the Gulf of the Syrtes to the Moulouya, it seems that the chiefs, rising from the tribes or coming from the outside, are more often unable to triumph and that their ambitions are more quickly wearied by the obstinate resistance of the sedentary peoples or worn out by the inconstancy of the nomads. The far Maghreb, on the other hand, under the domination of powerful rulers, has frequently come to take on the aspect of a State. The Idrisite shorfa /shurfa/, the Almoravide, Almohade, Mérinide /Marinide/ conquerors, the Saadian and Filalian shorfa, who in the course of the centuries successively wielded power in the same places, and not without interruptions, succeeded in creating there, in spite of the opposition of their subjects, the tradition of a government of the Occident, which is not unworthy of being compared with the great monarchies of eastern Islam.

/3 cont./

•121 101 133 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Morocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical arrangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.

In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi'a, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of revolts and anarchy. 121 101 In these natural centers of resistance, the Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient institutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/4 cont./

121
101

stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish in our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

[197]

1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ᶜAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

/5 cont./

121 II. The Sous political microcosm. -- A large part of the internal history of Morocco can be explained only through the study of the relations of the central government, or "Makhzen" /makhzan/, with the various Berbère /Berber/ regions that border the subdued provinces of the Empire. In order to uncover the hidden web of the most important events of the past, whose links and causes the Arab writers have so little sought to make known to us, it would be necessary to examine the conditions under which the authority of the Sultans over the Berbère republics was developed and consolidated, to distinguish by what imperceptible transitions a personal power based on force, unlimited and tyrannical by nature, could be born, grow, and be exercised in the interior of a country traditionally hostile to a government with a single head, up to the time when dynastic crises or revolts gave the "bled es Siba" its liberty.

It would also be necessary to take into consideration the different degrees of penetration of the great Berbère /Berber/ regions by the politics of the Moroccan dynasties. The Ghomara and the Senhaja of the North, the Masmouda and the Senhaja of the South, have at various times interfered in the "bled el Makhzen" by their alliances or their wars; on the other hand, the unseizable pastoralists of the Southeast have most often remained aloof from the great events that were agitating the central plains, or manifested their existence only by an unyielding opposition; it is still among them that it is necessary to go in our day in order /6/ to find a faithful image of the existence of independent tribes that have stayed outside the great currents of the Mussulman civilization and are attached to their traditions of freedom and anarchy even more than to life.

To conduct an inquiry into the relations of the Berbères /Berbers/ and the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the whole of Morocco and in the course of history would be an ambitious and, in the present state of our knowledge, somewhat bold enterprise.

On the one hand, the institutions of the Empires that have succeeded one another in this land are too poorly known for us to

/6 cont./

•121 be able, in studying them, to discover with sufficient accuracy the political rules of the Mussulman sovereigns with respect to their rebel subjects; on the other hand, tribal life, full of apparently insignificant events, of revolts and obscure struggles, lends itself poorly to large-scale research. What we know of the history of the provinces permits us only to perceive a monotonous alternation between periods of organization and of anarchy, whose deep causes are not easily discoverable at first sight.

But if we narrowly limit our field of observation, choosing a part of the Maghreb in which are found joined together in a small space and a short period the successive aspects of an evolution that is going on everywhere according to the same laws, it is possible to understand the nature of the great rhythm of Berbère /Berber/ life. One observes first of all the agitated existence of the small anarchical republics, then the appearance and development of chiefs who bring order and oppression at the same time, finally the return to disorder and liberty.

121 We shall study here, as closely as possible, the social and
101 political organization of the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the south of Morocco between the Dra and the Atlantic, in this region to which the historians give the name of Sous (1).

1. Here we give the province name of the Sous to the whole region that is the domain of the dialect of the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/. Stricto sensu, the name of Sous is often reserved for the valley of the Oued /wadi/ of that name itself and for the two versants of the Anti-Atlas. But in the eyes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the country of the Masmouda, the Atlas Occidental, is likewise part of it. The relative unity of the social structure of the tribes, the close relationship of the various languages, the existence of a kind of civilization common to all the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco justify our terminology.

/6 cont./

•121 [101]

/Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The Makhzen /makhzan/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn /7/ and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in reduction, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

121 171 While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. From examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

121 Only the country of the seminomads of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of our protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geo- 101 graphical boundaries of the province to which we give the name 133 of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ᶜAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

•121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

•121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

*631 /127 cont./
*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
[721] to be very violent" (1).
[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan: but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

• 121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

/128 cont./

•121 *631 *634 moment we understand that we shall be able to observe there habits and customs preserved at the price of millenary struggles and incessant effort; at the same time we should like to know what true relations the high valleys remaining free maintain with the mountain regions subject to the great chiefs; finally, we should like to know whether, in a past still rather near, numerous tribes bent under the yoke today did not know a life similar to the one that, thanks to a prodigious effort for isolation, has been perpetuated up to our day in the inaccessible parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

Let us suppose that favorable circumstances or some clever ruse permit us to escape for a moment from our usual companions, too assiduous in following us and directing our research; let us transport ourselves without them for a few instants to a high summit such as the Igdad, at the sources of the Nefis, from where one embraces an immense horizon of mountains and plains. It will be enough for us to question the Berbères /Berbers/ who surround us, coming from the villages in the high valleys of the vicinity, in order to discover other aspects of life that have remained hidden until now and that form a striking contrast with the ones that we have just perceived. At the same time, we shall try, thanks to the memories of the oldest of our new guides, to prolong in time this rapid inquiry and tie the present to a past that we conjecture to be so rich in important events. Perhaps we shall then be able, by comparing our personal observations with the picture of the domination of the great chiefs already sketched, to find again the diversity of Berbère /Berber/ institutions and to distinguish better the stages of a recent transformation that is still taking place before our eyes.

133 From the high summit to which we have just come, the whole great chain, from the sea that one conjectures in the distance to the mountains of the Glawa, appears to us easily, cut from the North to the South by the three great routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, of the Nefis, and of Telwet. Toward the North the mountains are tiered in becoming lower by successive degrees to reach the Azaghar of Marrakech indefinitely stretched out on the horizon.

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
•121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ʿAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
[578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

•121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
*631 method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/140 cont./

•121 128 *631 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 177 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent. [726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was *631 648 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Morocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
• [121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Sraïr, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./

•121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.
*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
121 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
648 dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the
Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs, dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until /145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the in-
*631 ternal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution
of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[578] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera
of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the
first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./

*631 shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social
•121 forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of cen-
[178] turies, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Morocco underwent several times. In a still more general way, the
*631 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spec-
121 tacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by
171 ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the
121 fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken
178 up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one
642 can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover,
*634 thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

/147/

Chapter II
The Small Berbère /Berber/ States: Canton, Tribe, Confederation

000 I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ States.

121 I. The social units. -- In order to distinguish the true nature of the political institutions of the Moroccan South, we had to seek, beyond appearances, the permanent reality constituted by the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the mountains. Behind the feudal façade recently put up by the masters of the Atlas, we perceived the resistance that the tribes, stubbornly attached to their democratic or oligarchic institutions, have for several generations set against the amghars and kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Before studying the play of the forces that led to the transformation of the country, it is necessary to examine the external aspect of the small social units of the Sous, to trace out their contours, and to determine the nature of the alliances that unite them in larger groups. Neglecting for the moment to consider the administrative divisions of our time, we shall put off until later the study of the great commands, of their organization and boundaries, and we shall try first of all to study the nature of the parts that constitute them. This time again the inhabitants of [124] the upper valleys remaining free, or else, in the regions

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social
829 organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend-Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine. /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

•121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/150 cont./

121 128 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

•121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
121 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
*634 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
616 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
•121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/216 cont./

000 unity of the fractions, such as appears in the most anarchical regions of the Rif.

Whatever may be the value of the hypothesis that we are proposing in order to account for the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, a comparison of the various aspects of this institution suffices to show how it is bound up with the most general conditions of the material, social, and political life of the tribes. When one studies the existence of these little elementary societies, one is struck both by the tyranny exerted on the individual by the group and by the powerlessness of the latter to make anarchy disappear from its bosom. The leffs materialize and project on the soil, one might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berbère /Berber/ life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord.

/217/ Chapter IV

The Republican Organization; the Political Institutions

I. The institutions of the Mouda^c. -- II. The council of the canton. -- III. The inflas; their magical origin. -- IV. The moqaddem. -- V. The distribution of the fines. -- VI. The councils of cantons or of tribes without moqaddem. -- VII. The justice circuits. -- VIII. The internal and external wars. -- IX. The festivities and the dances. -- X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Jbala, of the Branès. -- XI. The Riffian anarchy.-- XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 •121 [117] We have shown the particular importance of the small social unit that, under the various names of "taqbilt" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "khoms" in the Anti-Atlas and the Rif, "^carch" in the Djurdjura, is the true fatherland for the independent Berbère /Berber/. Indeed, it is within these narrow limits of a state to which we have given the name of canton that the simple and patriarchal institutions of the oligarchic republics, in which the inhabitants of the high valleys have delighted for long centuries, have developed.

/217 cont./

*634 .121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

/245/

Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.

VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda[6]," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

/261 cont./

343 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the
712 regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus
178 it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past
712 and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the
174 evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps
178 it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--
178 Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/262 cont./

121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2),

2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still know who the Aït Arbaʿin were, who at each siba revived the former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas," the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate and by the economic transformation that has been taking place for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life. The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when /263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

•121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

•121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Ait Arbaʿin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
[574] augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
[616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

•121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/275 cont./

•121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of 'Alla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/306 cont./

*634 616 •121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

[178]

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
•121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an im-
182 portant role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

*631 /321 cont./
•121 trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will
182 carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true: the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs
[651] of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from
[486] travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them.
[485] It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

*634 It is true that the possession of a major route of communica-
*631 tion, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley,
121 obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain,
182 give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/322 cont./

*631 of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the
•121 soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and
182 the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one per-
*[634] ceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be
554 difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While
[778] it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/325 cont./

*634 648 178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III
The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

•121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./

121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
175 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs. Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.
175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
[648] conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment; they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/334 cont./

175 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on
*631 guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is
648 resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1);

> 1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

•121 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the
*631 Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

/334 cont./

•121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
*631 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*631 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
*634 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
726 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
648 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the A[illegible]ineb, whose father,

/363 cont./

*631 175 648 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

/365/

000

Chapter IV
Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

•121 178 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/365 cont./

• 121 178 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 648 We shall now see the central government intervene in a more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 648 177 178 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habitudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is henceforth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/393/

000

Conclusion
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

•121 171 I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- In the various regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, as we have seen in the course of this long study, the same social institutions rule the Masmouda, sequestered in the depths of the remote valleys of the Deren, the inhabitants of the market towns and hamlets that rise on the parched plateaus of the Anti-Atlas, the Jbala and the Riffians in their harsh mountains with peaks crowned with cedars, as well as the Kabyles of Algeria whose villages occupy the summits of the Djurjura like eagles' nests.

In all these regions, separated from one another by immense spaces, men live while obeying the same laws in spite of their diversity of origin and notwithstanding the variety of the conditions of material existence. That they have kept their millenary traditions they owe to the isolation of their territories. The present-day evidence of their institutions has a historic value; they give us the picture of what the Maghreb might have been if the Arab invasions in the East and the formation of the great Empires in the West had not ruined the minuscule states in which the Berbères /Berbers/ like to conceal their activity.

121 *634 571 171 [642] Two primordial tendencies determine the political life of the Berbères /Berbers/: in the first place they feel repugnance toward the constitution of a state of some size, they spontaneously organize themselves everywhere into small units whose dimensions do not exceed those of a mere /394/ canton and which are the veritable fatherland for the sedentary peoples; in the second place, by a kind of instinctive genius, the Berbères /Berbers/ form systems of balanced alliances that permit the small autonomous

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the boundaries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
578 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

/394 cont./

•121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^c^cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
* 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
128 under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
* 631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

R
175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
•121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

•121 171 *631 554 182 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 171 *631 554 182 578 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory, as do all the companions from their village associated with the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland. Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] [616] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

•121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
17 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
578 house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/. Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
[178] which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
343 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
712 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
178 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
621 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa.
Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high
places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent
a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the
Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to
124 me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts
composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La
Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance,
by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judi-
cial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge
deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with
many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps
they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief
and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily
united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Al-
though it does not claim the authority of any of those who have
read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly
benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I
could not say whether it has always profited from them as much
as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the grati-
tude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority
of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to ad-
vise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to
face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt
to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

/vi cont./

128 J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam. The Institut des Hautes Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/ has given me most substantial aid. M. L. [122] Galand checked the Berbère /Berber/ writing, lessons in which, by M. A. Basset, had given me a presentiment as to its exacting niceties. I am indebted to Lucie Berque for her drawings, to M. Leloup for his cartography, to M. J. Van den Hove for his careful proofreading. To all, thanks. And thanks to all my collaborators from Imintanout, great and small, French and Moroccan, who participated in the research or in working it up. Many names crowd under my pen here, names which I cannot mention for lack of space and which I must leave in the anonymity of friendship.

123 Most of all, it is to the Seksawa that my gratitude goes. Mixing in their life for several years, I advanced slowly into their acquaintance, and perhaps into their confidence. Of course, I have not been to the end of the one or the other. In order to go further, it would have required a still longer stay and, to speak truthfully, a definitive naturalization, similar to that which, in the course of the centuries, brought so many distant sons to the little people of Lalla Aziza.

000 All was rightly so. As great as its ambitions were, analysis stops before intimacies which it could not infringe upon and which will be revealed only when they can be, when they need to be, if there is still time for it. The future in the Atlas, as elsewhere, will perhaps make the silent speak. We shall leave to it the task of completing our research, if it is worth the trouble, on the day when the Seksawa have tasted of the tree of speech.

Cairo, October 1, 1954.

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

121 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener
114 in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

/xiv cont./

122 Mr. Steeg, résident général of France in Morocco, kindly gave us the same trust, and it is thanks to his intervention and the interest that he took in our research, with the late Mr. Duclos, directeur des Affaires indigènes, that we were able to finish the necessary investigations.

General Daugan and General Huré, commanding the region of Marrakech, gave us in every circumstance the kindest help in carrying out our missions.

Without risking omissions, we could not here call off the names /xv/ of all the officers of the Direction des Affaires indigènes who facilitated our labors in the regions of Marrakech, Fez, and Taza, and in their commands reserved for us the most confident and cordial welcome. May they be willing to believe in our feelings of deep and friendly gratitude. We must at least mention here the very constant support and very valuable encouragement that were given us by our late friend Captain H. Thraen, of the service des Affaires indigènes, who died on duty at Marrakech in 1927, as well as the useful information collected with Commandant Bourguignon, killed by the enemy at Kechachda in 1927. Our friend H. Basset, the late director of the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/, had kindly interested himself in our work in 1924 and guided our first research with his advice.

12 We must particularly show our gratitude to our friends: Captain Pennès -- who so often gave us the valuable contribution of his knowledge and courage in the course of aerial missions and the geographical study of the dissident regions -- Lieutenant F. de La Chapelle, to whom we owe such useful studies on the country of the Seksawa (Book III, Ch. II and III), on which we have so largely drawn here; Lieutenant Spillman, Captain Interpreter Ben Daoud, from whom we

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa.
Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high
places, the Tjchka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent
a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the
Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to
me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts
composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La
Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance,
by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judi-
cial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge
deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with
many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps
they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief
and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily
united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Al-
though it does not claim the authority of any of those who have
read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly
benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I
could not say whether it has always profited from them as much
as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the grati-
tude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority
of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to ad-
vise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to
face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt
to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

/vi cont./

128 J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam. The Institut des Hautes Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/ has given me most substantial aid. M. L. [122] Galand checked the Berbère /Berber/ writing, lessons in which, by M. A. Basset, had given me a presentiment as to its exacting niceties. I am indebted to Lucie Berque for her drawings, to M. Leloup for his cartography, to M. J. Van den Hove for his careful proofreading. To all, thanks. And thanks to all my collaborators from Imintanout, great and small, French and Moroccan, who participated in the research or in working it up. Many names crowd under my pen here, names which I cannot mention for lack of space and which I must leave in the anonymity of friendship.

123 Most of all, it is to the Seksawa that my gratitude goes. Mixing in their life for several years, I advanced slowly into their acquaintance, and perhaps into their confidence. Of course, I have not been to the end of the one or the other. In order to go further, it would have required a still longer stay and, to speak truthfully, a definitive naturalization, similar to that which, in the course of the centuries, brought so many distant sons to the little people of Lalla Aziza.

000 All was rightly so. As great as its ambitions were, analysis stops before intimacies which it could not infringe upon and which will be revealed only when they can be, when they need to be, if there is still time for it. The future in the Atlas, as elsewhere, will perhaps make the silent speak. We shall leave to it the task of completing our research, if it is worth the trouble, on the day when the Seksawa have tasted of the tree of speech.

Cairo, October 1, 1954.

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
• 123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 114 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the 824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart [856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer 122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to 124 me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his [776] intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, [423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the [631] existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
•[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Sraïr of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/147/

Chapter II
The Small Berbère /Berber/ States: Canton, Tribe, Confederation

000

I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "arch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ States.

121

I. The social units. -- In order to distinguish the true nature of the political institutions of the Moroccan South, we had to seek, beyond appearances, the permanent reality constituted by the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the mountains. Behind the feudal façade recently put up by the masters of the Atlas, we perceived the resistance that the tribes, stubbornly attached to their democratic or oligarchic institutions, have for several generations set against the amghars and kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Before studying the play of the forces that led to the transformation of the country, it is necessary to examine the external aspect of the small social units of the Sous, to trace out their contours, and to determine the nature of the alliances that unite them in larger groups. Neglecting for the moment to consider the administrative divisions of our time, we shall put off until later the study of the great commands, of their organization and boundaries, and we shall try first of all to study the nature of the parts that constitute them. This time again the inhabitants of the upper valleys remaining free, or else, in the regions

[124]

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
•124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
*631 in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berberie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
•124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
*634 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
616 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

343 /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in
712 use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been
[178] in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is
[312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where
[351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series
[417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule
712 of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless
•124 practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among
[671]
[178]

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
•124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/6 cont./

133 a torrent, asif i-yseksawan, or Lwâd Sseksawa. This basin is circumscribed by an arête of high mountains, which encloses it on three sides (Fig. 2).[1] The Dir, then the plain called Bujmâda today form the outlet. The torrent loses its name there. Already it has become, from the little plain of Tuz'z'umt up to /7/ Buᶜanfir, in Ud Bessebâᶜ, Lwâd n-Qihra or Wâd Lqîhra. The limits, from this side, have all the haziness of a past that informs us poorly on the limitation of the Seksawa adventure toward the North.

Here then is a country being identified, partially no doubt, but definitely, with a fluvial basin. This completely classical identification is followed, in great detail, by the division of the basin into cantons, which correspond at the same time to a secondary personality and to the unity of an affluent torrent. This valley forms the last opening of the great chain toward the W. It interrupts this mountainous façade, which its indigenous denomination of Dir qualifies admirably by evoking the breaststrap of a harnessed horse (1).

1. The deciphering of the country is greatly facilitated by the "Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz /Orographical sketch of the western Great Atlas, from the Ait Mousi wadi to the Igdet-Erdouz chain/" at 1/100,000, drawn up initially by J. Dresch (in color), and by the series of maps at 1/200,000 appended to his Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941. [126] This documentation, which we have always kept present on our journeys, and which we have filled in chiefly with regard to the toponymy and reinterpreted with the aid of aerial coverage carried out since 1950, is the basis of our own

1. [For figure 2, see pp. 15-16--Analyst]

/7 cont./

133 [126]

/footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâ^{c}, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bul^{c}wân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâ^{c}. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2).

[487]

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

/20/

II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137
133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude.

[126]

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

/277 cont./

175 794 675 [176] [126] the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from [776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqîh from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

Pl. XIII

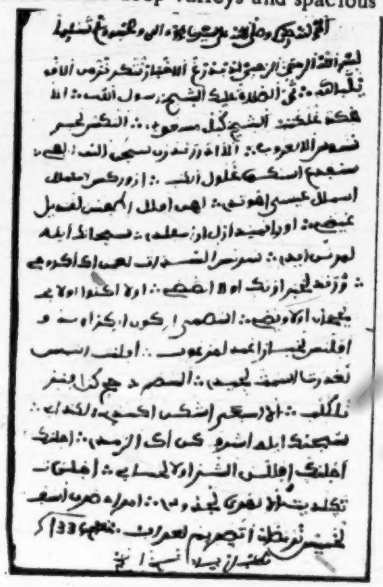
133

The a. Lh'sen high country

Cl. J. Berque

[778] The two valleys of Wanz"id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787



Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

/5 cont./

101 Sâadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
• 127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, 1. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, 1. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
171 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133

Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

• [127)

1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtuggâ. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
[217]
[127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/59 cont./

114 175 /footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

128 127

195 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gfir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

/218 cont./

114 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the
616 confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking
[127] Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addô, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has
[778] his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
[634] that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that
[796] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

195 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
794 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
428 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

175 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga,
428 whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left
602 as heir his cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, whom this mention undoubtedly
776 identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been
127 made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The
602 first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in
428 spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of
776 ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜîd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre- [127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum- [693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/316 cont./

212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 [688] In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqih, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

/369/

IV. Communal Law

121 Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq, and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp.": 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

121 But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the
127 analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambiance. Hence the documentary value of these
[666] penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

/xi cont./

121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evo- [114] lution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws.

121 We must explain here the material conditions under which the documentation on which this study of the struggle between • 127 the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./

121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
•[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, [133] we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favor-
• 127 able political circumstances and the progress of French penetra-
114 tion, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of mono-
graphs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the
114 vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

/24/

Chapter II

000

The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion. It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

101 184 619

The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

128 •127 *175

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

/25 cont./

*175 I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh
•[127] century). -- If one is to believe the most ancient documents on the coast of Morocco that we possess -- the periplus of Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era (1) --

[113] 1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, Vol. I, 3rd ed., pp. 295, 482, 499; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/, I to VII; Hérodote /Herodotus/, IV, 184 and 196 (cf. collection of texts, R. Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16 to 20).

three distinct population groups were living then in the vicinity of the Oued Dra /Dra Wadi/: the Lixites, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians were those men of black race, well known to Hérodote /Herodotus/, whose very numerous traces have been found in most of the Saharan oases, and who, with their archaic techniques, still exist in our day in the heart of the African continent in Borkou and Tibesti (2).

[113] 2. E.-F. Gautier, Le Sahara /The Sahara/, Paris, 1923, p. 124. Perhaps they should be regarded as the ancestors of the Haraten /Haratin/, who in our day live in the big qsour /fortified places/ of the Dra, the Dadès, and the Ferkla, although, without any doubt, the bringing in of Sudanese slaves has in the course of the centuries renewed in large part the blood of the black populations of the oases.

/136 cont./

*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "A'lt arbaᶜin" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the 175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At *631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely *634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the A'lt Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among [651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices [127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the [114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171] 1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^{c}" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
[182] Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

•[127] 2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa.
Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high
places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent
a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the
Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to
me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts
composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La
Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance,
by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judi-
cial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge
deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with
many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps
they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief
and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily
united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Al-
though it does not claim the authority of any of those who have
read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly
benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I
could not say whether it has always profited from them as much
as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the grati-
tude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority
of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to ad-
vise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to
face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt
to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

/vi cont./

128 J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam. The Institut des Hautes Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/ has given me most substantial aid. M. L. [122] Galand checked the Berbère /Berber/ writing, lessons in which, by M. A. Basset, had given me a presentiment as to its exacting niceties. I am indebted to Lucie Berque for her drawings, to M. Leloup for his cartography, to M. J. Van den Hove for his careful proofreading. To all, thanks. And thanks to all my collaborators from Imintanout, great and small, French and Moroccan, who participated in the research or in working it up. Many names crowd under my pen here, names which I cannot mention for lack of space and which I must leave in the anonymity of friendship.

123 Most of all, it is to the Seksawa that my gratitude goes. Mixing in their life for several years, I advanced slowly into their acquaintance, and perhaps into their confidence. Of course, I have not been to the end of the one or the other. In order to go further, it would have required a still longer stay and, to speak truthfully, a definitive naturalization, similar to that which, in the course of the centuries, brought so many distant sons to the little people of Lalla Aziza.

000 All was rightly so. As great as its ambitions were, analysis stops before intimacies which it could not infringe upon and which will be revealed only when they can be, when they need to be, if there is still time for it. The future in the Atlas, as elsewhere, will perhaps make the silent speak. We shall leave to it the task of completing our research, if it is worth the trouble, on the day when the Seksawa have tasted of the tree of speech.

Cairo, October 1, 1954.

/vii/

Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 104 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ᶜ), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an ḥ.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 104 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

1: Berque--4 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/vii cont./

128

B) Sigla

a.	aît /a Berber word that frequently precedes the name of a tribe; see p.584 , n. 1/	I.A.A. ...	Institut Agricole d'Algérie /Agricultural Institute of Algeria/
ar.	Arabic	I.	Idaw
arch. ..	archives	Im.	Imintanout
art. ...	article	in.	inédit /unpublished/
b.	ibn	R.	Revue /Review/
B. N. ..	Bibliothèque Nationale	t.	tome
chl. ...	Chleuh /Shluh/	tr.	translation
c. r. ..	compte rendu /report/	Ud.	Awlâd
éd.	edition	vol.	volume

/viii/

C) Abbreviations

128
113

They refer to the following collections and periodicals:

Afr. fr., "l'Afrique française" (1891...), Paris.

A. M. or Arch. mar., "Archives marocaines," Paris (1904-1936), then Rabat.

Ann. géo., "Annales de géographie" (1891...), Paris.

Ann. hist. soc., "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" (1930-1939), then "Annales d'histoire sociale" (1939-41 and 1945), "Mélanges d'histoire sociale" (1942-1944), becoming in 1946 "Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations)," this latter series sometimes being specified "Ann. E. S. C.," Paris.

Ann. soc., "L'Année sociologique" (1st series 1923-1924, 2nd series 1939-1940, "Annales sociologiques," 3rd series 1948-1949), Paris.

Bull. E. P. M., "Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc," Rabat.

CHEAM, "Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane," Paris.

Hesp., "Hesperis," Berbère /Berber/ archives and bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I: 1924...), Paris.

1: Berque--5 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

128
113

/viii cont./

R. afr., "Revue africaine" (T. I: 1856), Algiers.

R. al., "Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence" (1886...) (a continuation of "Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence," 1885), Algiers.

Rens. col., "Renseignements coloniaux," appendix to the bulletin of l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I., "Revue des Études islamiques" (T. I: 1927), Paris.

R. J. C., "Revue des jurisprudence coutumière," unpublished periodical of the management of Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in., "Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc /Collection of unpublished sources on the history of Morocco/," Paris (followed by initials and figures indicating the series and the country being considered).

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

●128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)
175

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

114
175

/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

128
127

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterp[illegible] of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

174 /60 cont./
some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, impoverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness. 619

634 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. 128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. 613 173 619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/130 cont./

805
171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221
527
[196]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./

634 613 423 property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s, 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 613 [128] /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51% confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

312 /224 cont./
613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at
796 the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stip-
796 ulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to
794 whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 [634] The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

/256 cont./

778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly [128] predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 rit[illegible] places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboies, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.
794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
[692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Sekiawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de-
794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/308 cont./
796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/309 cont./

114 781 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness, descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quaestor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 771 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/322 cont./

792 Sibâ^c^î is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
[776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

/335 cont./

695 initial act, here called sijla, recopied "for fear of destruction by
175 wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole with three rudimentary responsa justifying the operation. This evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the former oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging into the solidarity of the jemâa, and doubtlessly illustrated by the rite evoked by the word du^{c}â', has been pronounced. The son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses, the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not sufficiently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover falsify the interpretation of the first text (1).

> 1. As-Suktâni, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud ^{c}Abdalmawlâ, who was interested in several of these technical notions as a result of the numerous epistolary relations that he maintained as consultant with the justiciables of tribes still plunged in custom, bâb achchahâdât, pp. 135 sq., seems to use murd'iy in the sense of "accepted witness." But this whole affair is extremely confused. Although allusion is frequently made to wathâ'iq formularies, practice often stops at the single witness and at the interferences between the oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural history of six centuries, from the Wathâ'iq of al-Mattît'î to the recent commentary of the Fir^{c}ûnîya. At what time did this art

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaī. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423
[128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] [184] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral-qualification, as well as their economic

/447 cont./

182 climate. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our entire conception of these people and their history. It is now
128 going to be necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

1: Berque--629 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/453/ Bibliography

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

128
113

I. -- Cartography

[114] The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

/ix cont./

121 114 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie [128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 [121] It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

/xv cont./

12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

•128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

12 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome,
114 so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

/24/

000

Chapter II
The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion. It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

101 184 619

The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

• 128 127 * 175

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
[578] from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
•128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
*631 method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

121 /140 cont./

•128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent.
[726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was
*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-
648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1),

•128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
•128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2).
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/150 cont./

121 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of
• 128 the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
•128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
.128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/325 cont./

*634 648 178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III
The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Ait Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./

121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
•128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
175 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
*631 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs. Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.

175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
[648] conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment; they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/365 cont./

121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^c^cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
* 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
* 128 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
* 631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirá (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

000 /1/

First Part
First Approach to the Country and the People

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

102
131

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
133
487
361

102
103
131
133
184
361

/9/

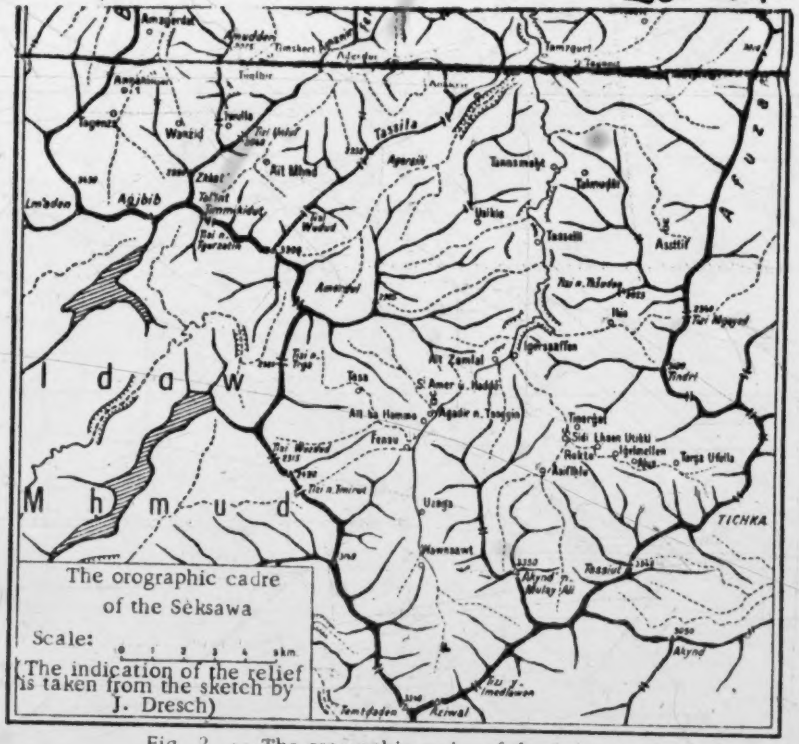
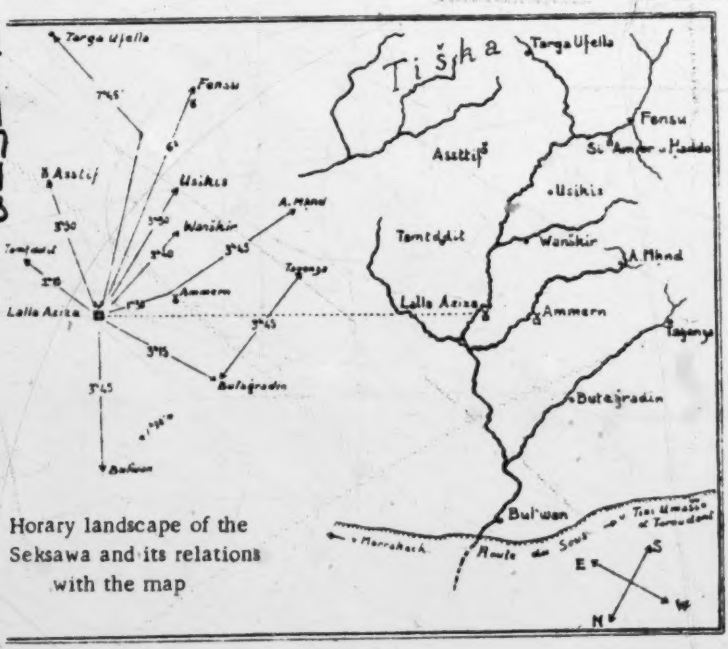


Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/From p. 39 in the original source./

102
634
131

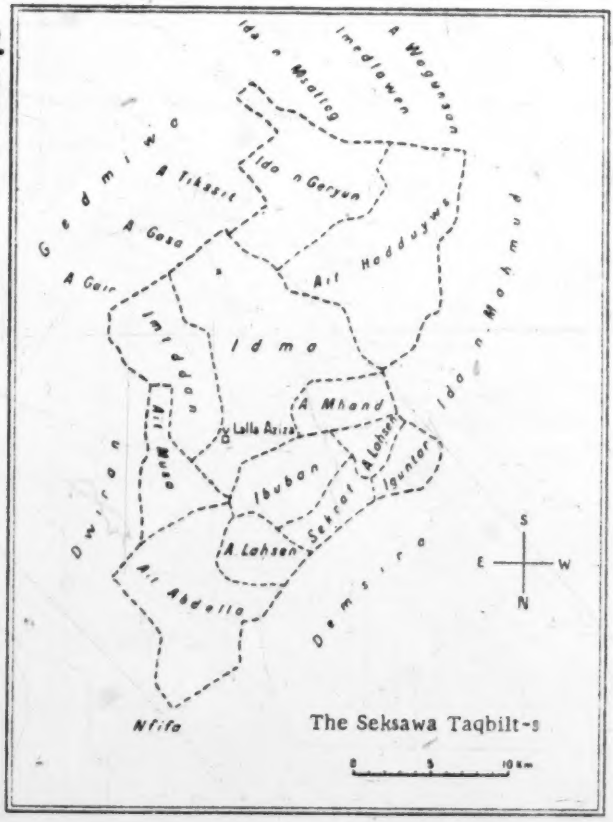


Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
[217]
[127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
195 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
13 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
101 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[176] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[192] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

1: Berque--117 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/83 cont./

102
131
133
361

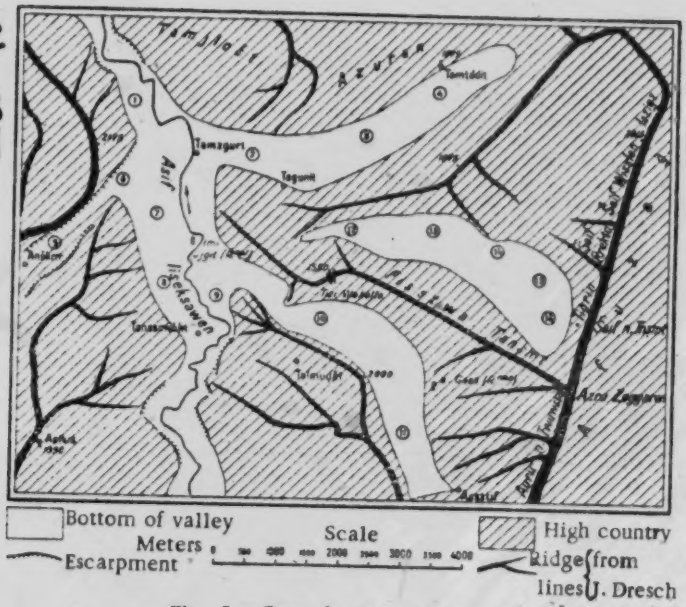


Fig. 5 – Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. — 4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. — 8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. — 11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. — 14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gâer. — 16. Tkerni.

101
102
483
221
312
131
133

/100/

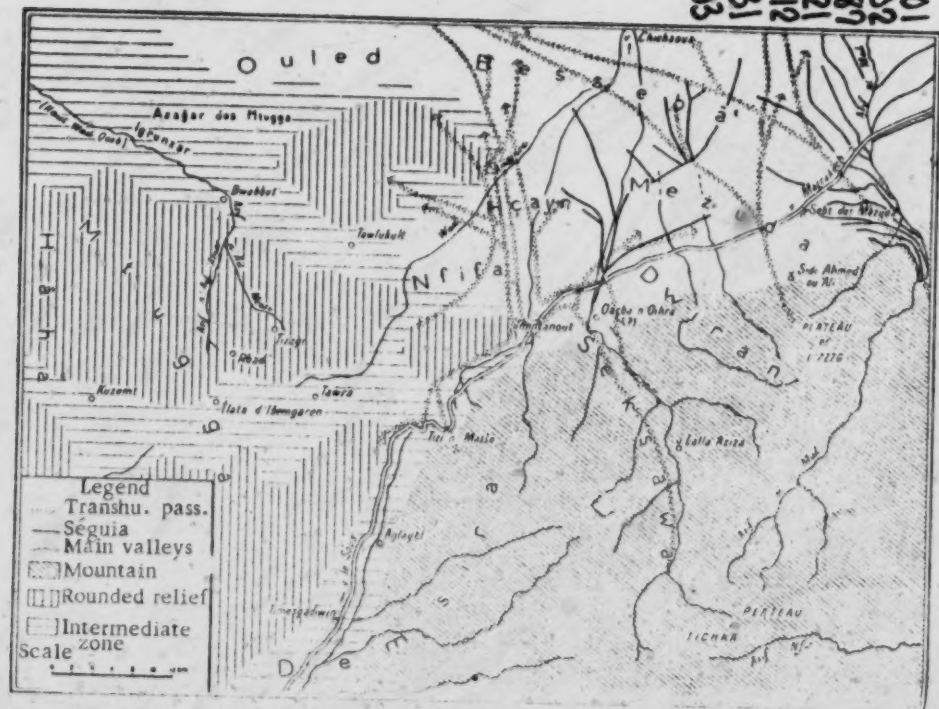


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121] 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./

613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
(659) Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-Ibûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Ali Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Ali, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 127 114 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 114 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ʿAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
648 from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

2: Montagne

102
103
•131
133
619
491

MW11 Shluh MW11

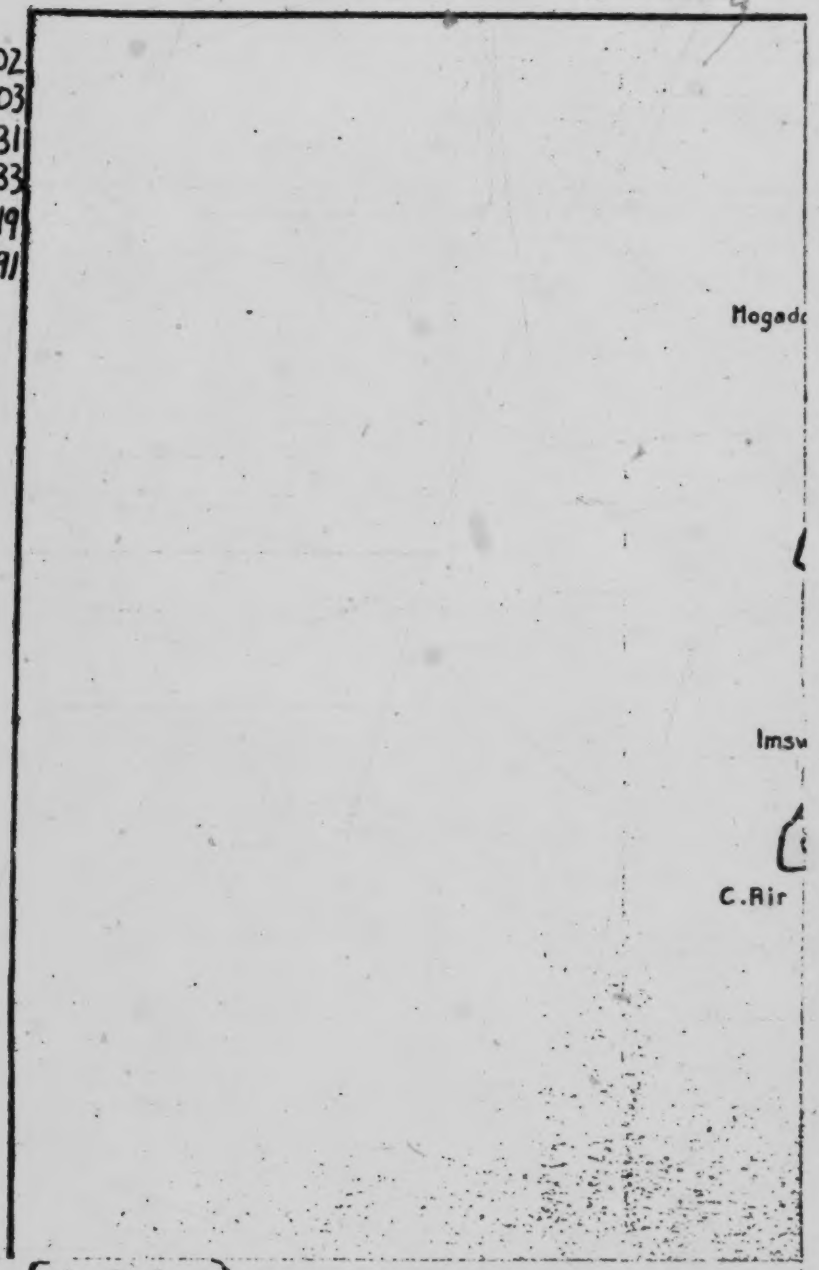
P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

2: Montagne--27 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

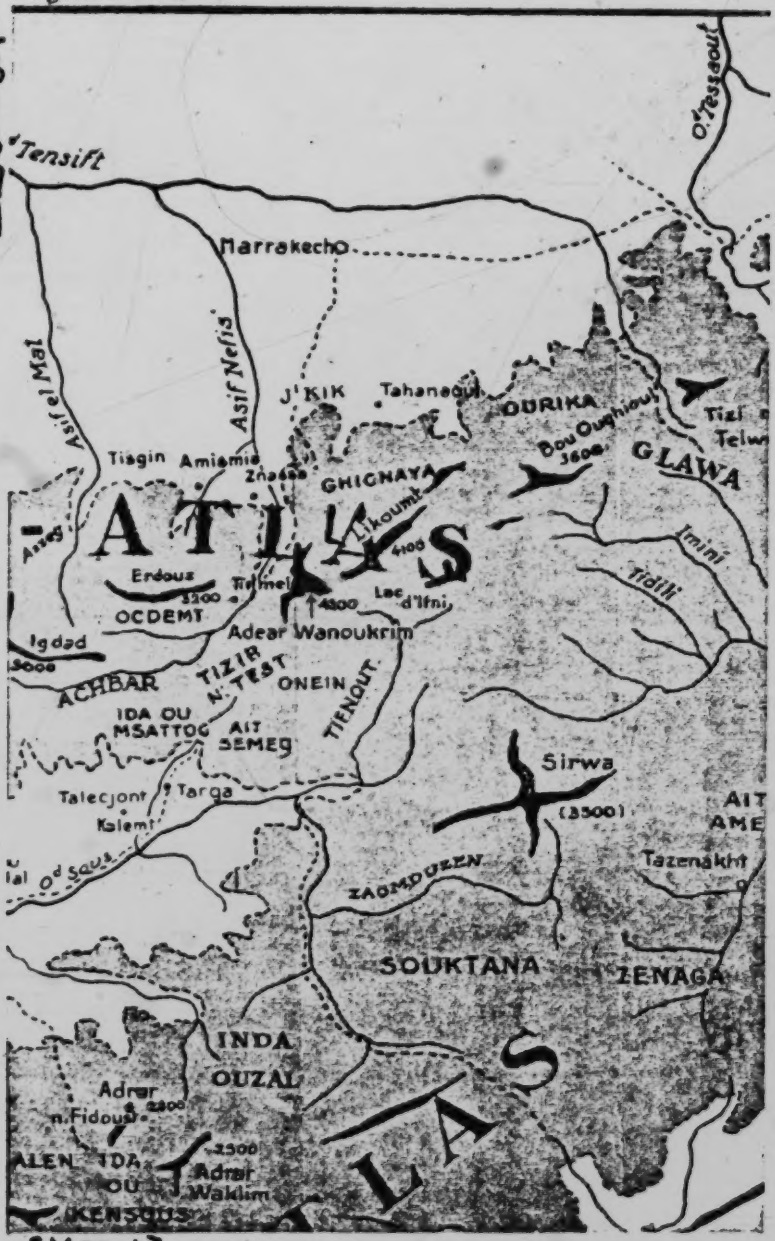
/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

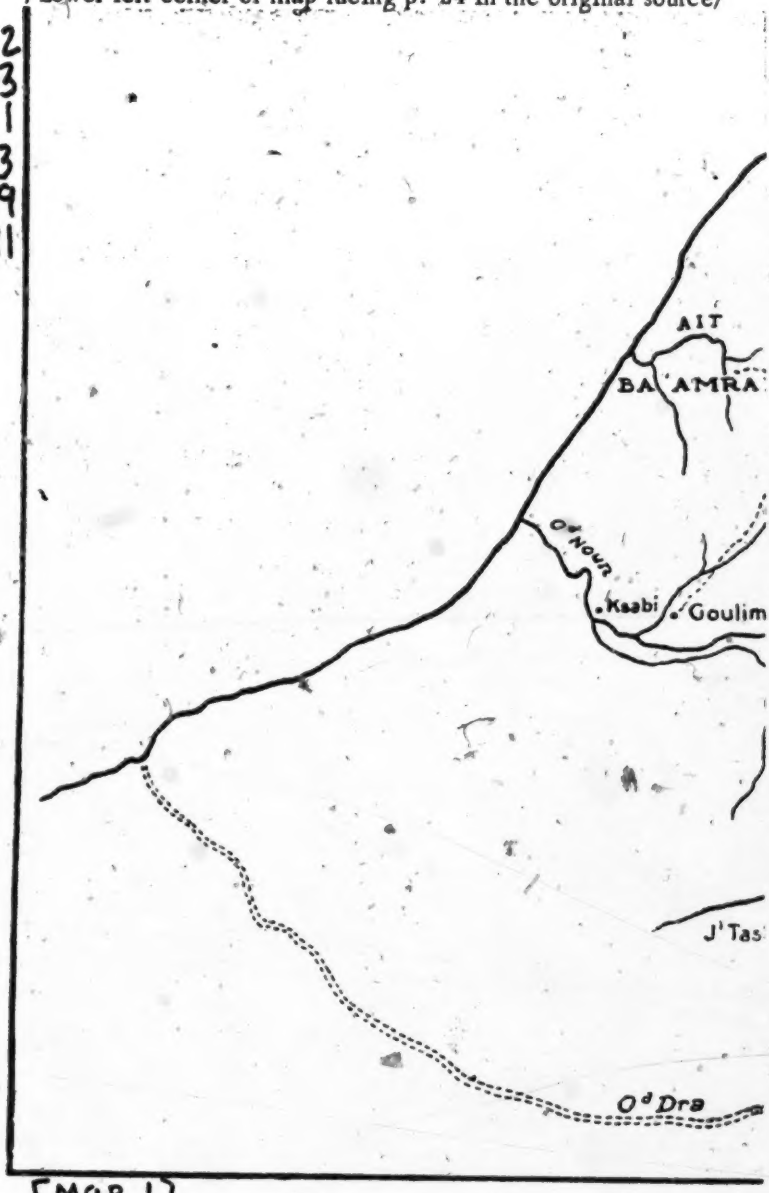
102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

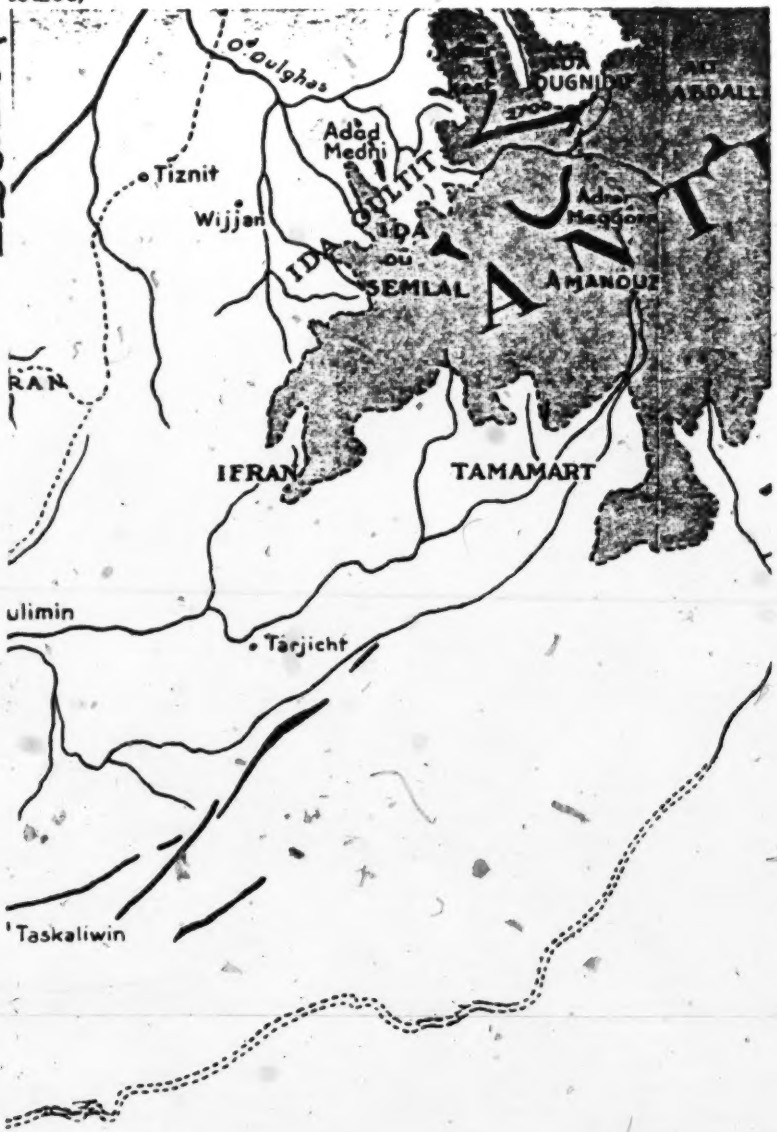


[Map 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

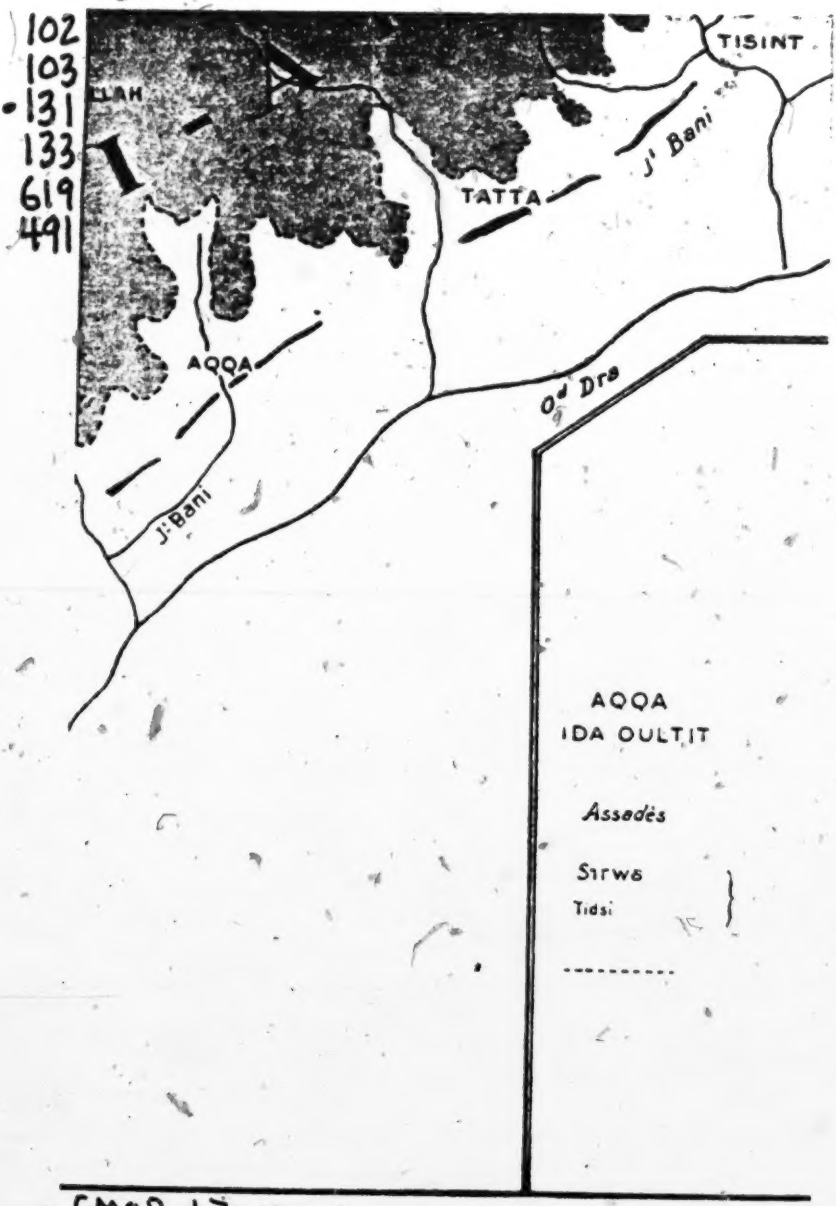
102
103
•131
133
619
491



[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

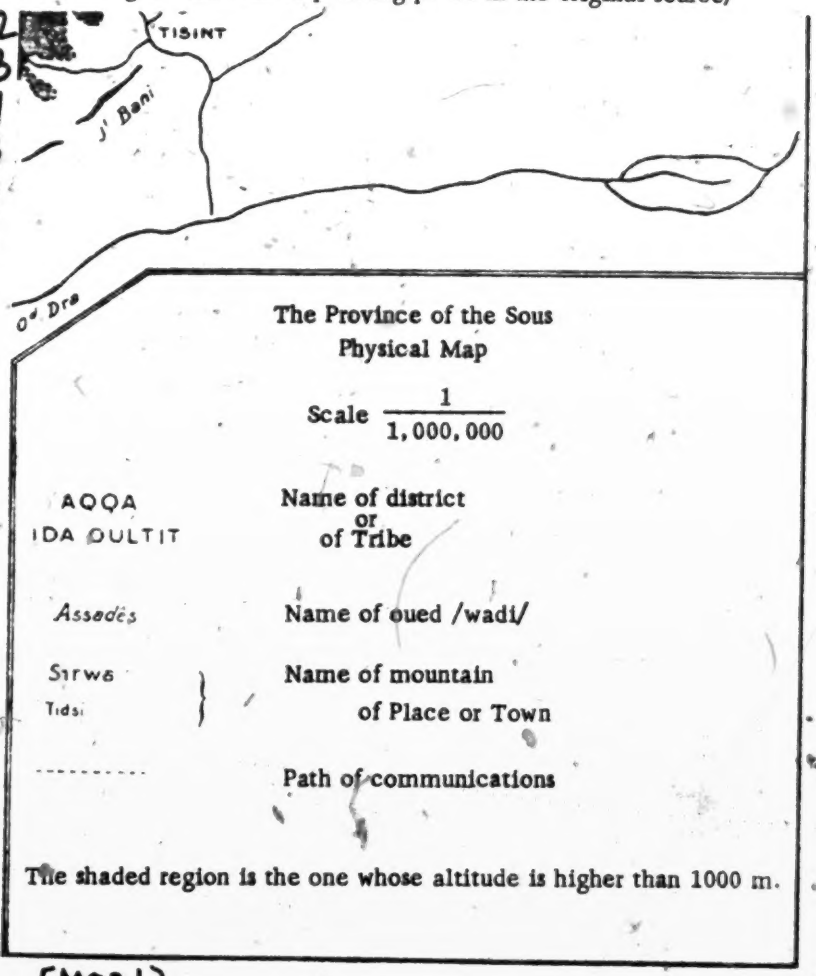


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
•131
133
619
491



[Map 1)

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our
*631 companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without
619 hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try
619 to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted
[361] by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access,
• [131] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./

*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
[361] some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their in-
• [131] dependence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have re-
tained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it
forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the
will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
[178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected
from external influences in the most mountainous region; they
have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables,
who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to
rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice through-
out the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to
settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for
at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of
"amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal
to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit
foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South
is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves
as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten,
sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority
is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, ad-
ministered through our good offices, whose trails today advance
as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They
seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless
this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest
old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the
South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independ-
ence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend
them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the
Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït
Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

101
102
131
133
631
619
648

P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

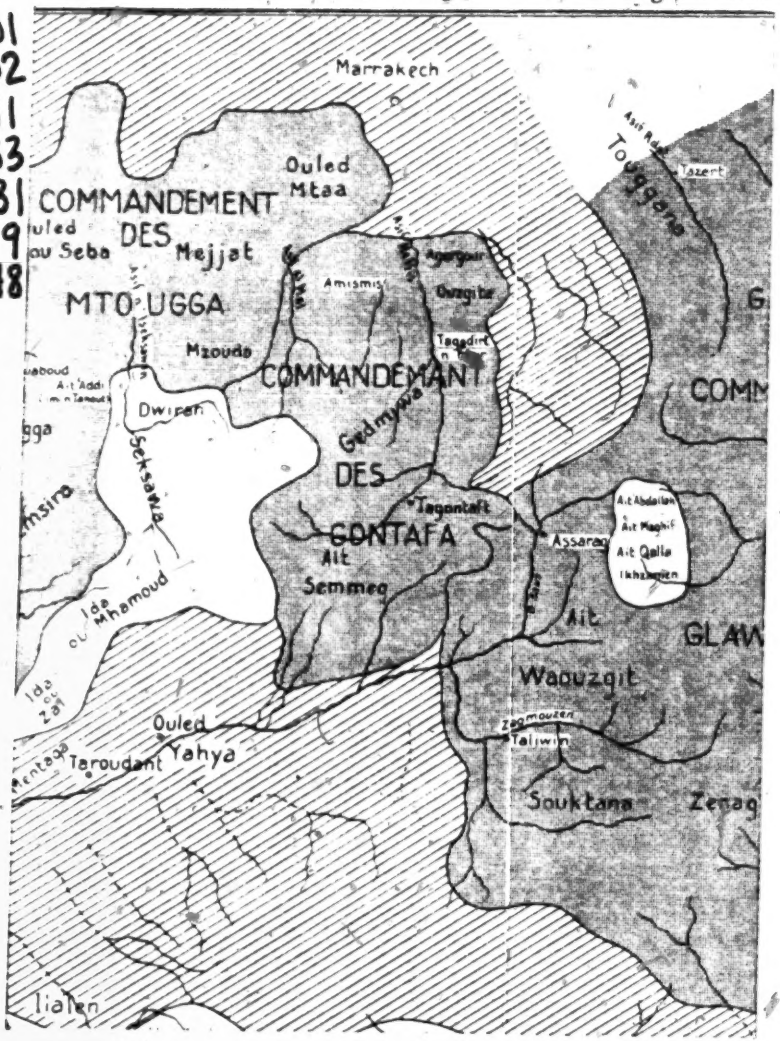
2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
•131
133
*631
619
648

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

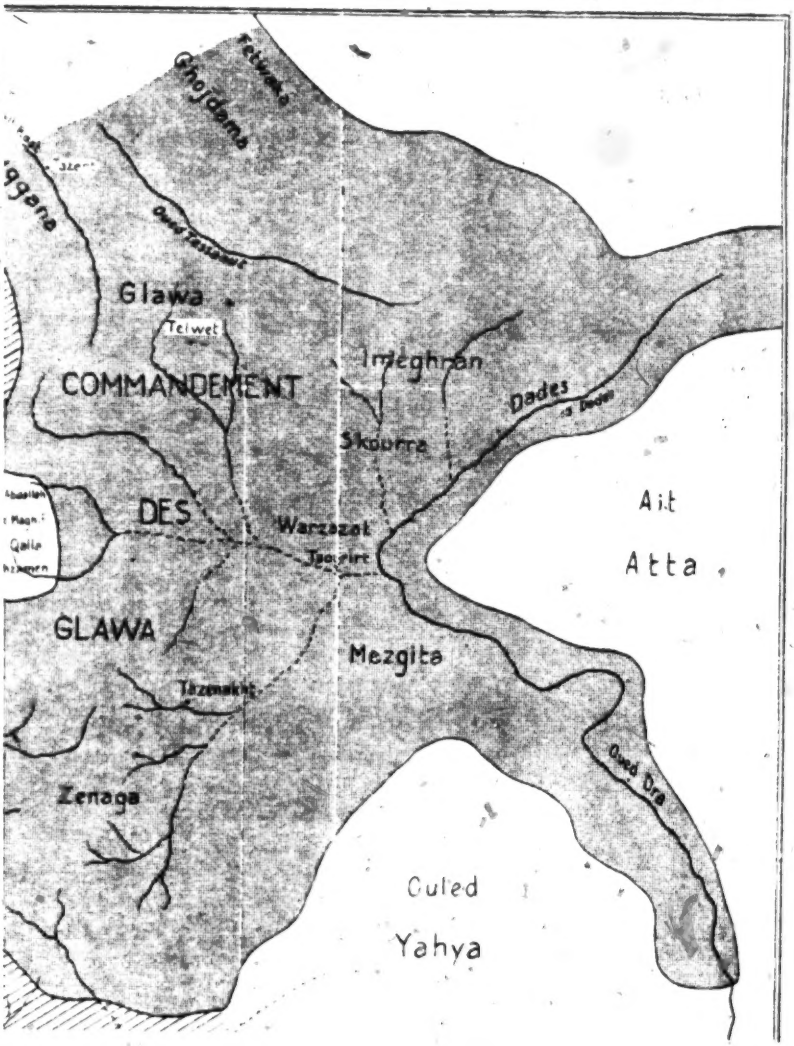
101
102
•131
133
*631
619
648


Marrakech
Ouled Mtaa
COMMANDEMENT DES
Mejjat
MTOUGGA
Mzouda
Amismis
Agergour
Ouzgitar
Tagadirt
COMMANDEMANT
Dwiren
Seksawa
Gedmywa
DES
Tagontaft
GONTAFA
Ait Semmeg
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ouled Yahya
Taroudant
Assarag
Ait Qalla
Ait Waouzgit
Zegmouzen
Taliwin
Souktana
Zenag
Tazert
Touggana
Ait Abdallah
Ait Mughif
Ait Qalla
Ikhazmen
GLAW
COMM
Ouled Seba
Mansira
Ouled
Ait Ba
Ait Isk
Ait Ba
Ait Ba
Ait Ba

2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

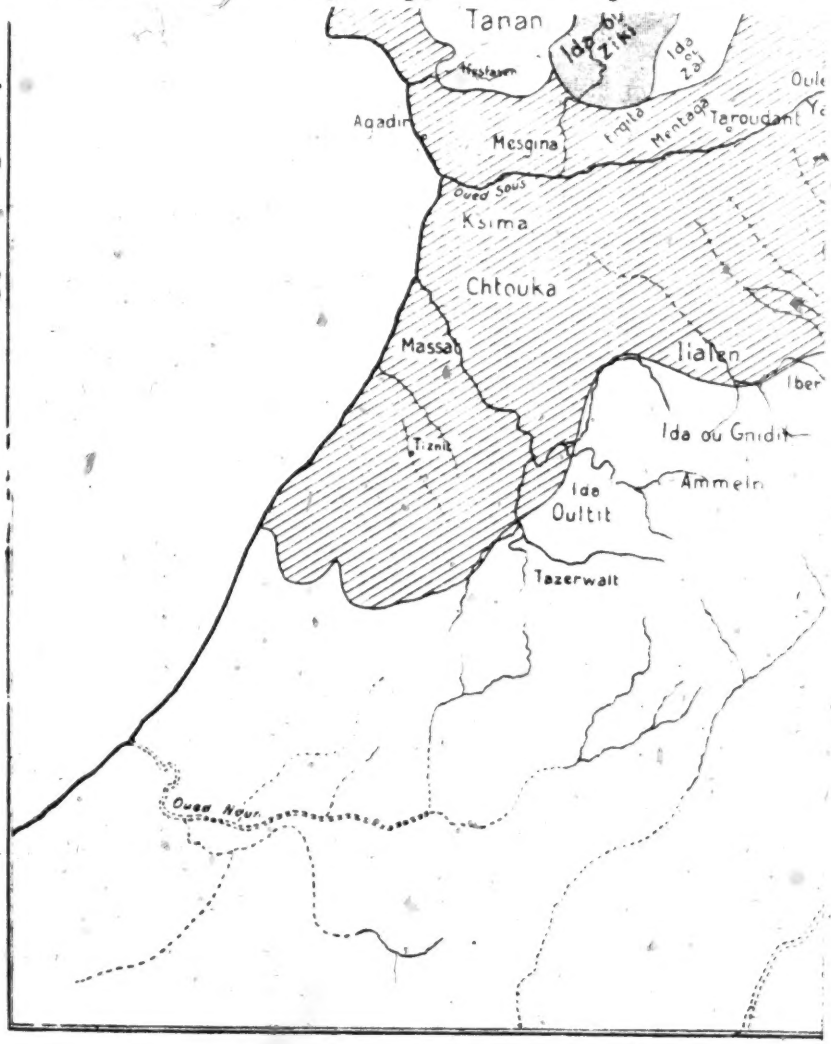
101
102
•131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

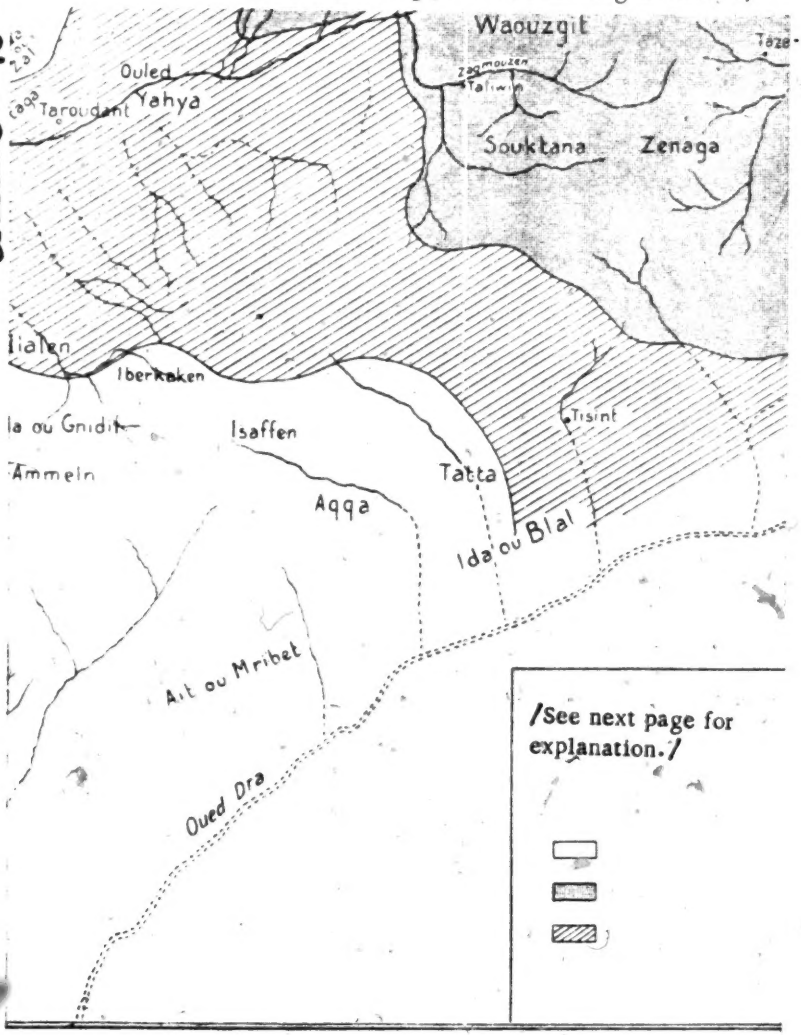
/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
•131
133
*631
619
648



/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

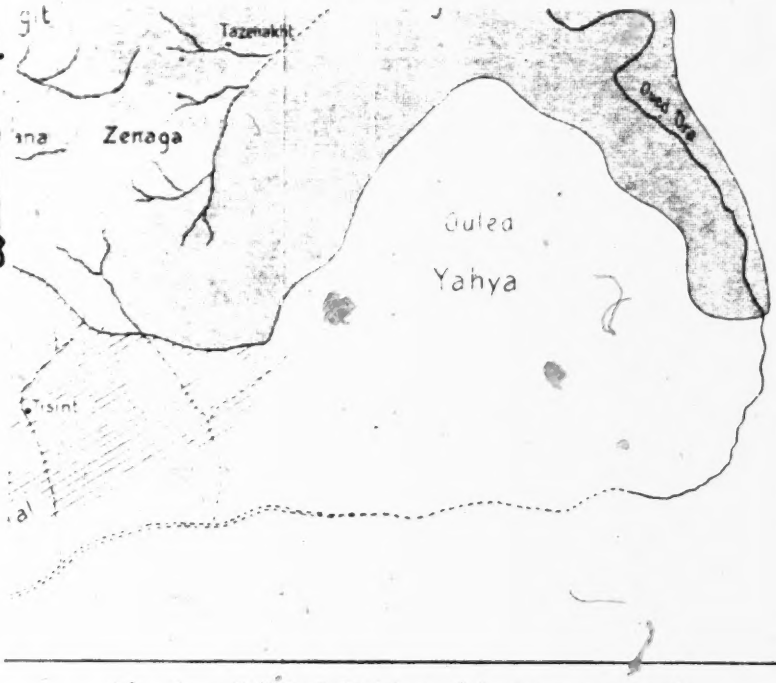
101
102
•131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
•131
133
*631
619
648



The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaïds and Sheiks).

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
• 131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way
*631 to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
609 of a neighboring fraction.

A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
632 four "mouda^c" that gather together in all the population of about
*634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
•131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ^cAbdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou [619] Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The •[131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all *634 184 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, 174 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1) 178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
184
174
178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
•[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaʿa." In truth, in the north

/156 cont./

*634 184 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages defended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and
[619] the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa
[133] have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of division in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 184 •131 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^{c}," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
•131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
•131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group suc-
131 ceeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
728 valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
619 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
[173] as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.
*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/164 cont./

619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
•[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
•131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After
[728] a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

/166 cont./

*631
*634
619
175
•131
[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aït /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631
619
175

But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

2: Montagne--218 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

102
•131
133
*631
619
*634

/192 cont./
*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
•131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 /193 cont./
619
131

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Ait Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that
619 the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and
131 of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and
648 that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 •131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the A'lt Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the A'lt Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 •131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

*634 616 578 174 619

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

175 *634 619

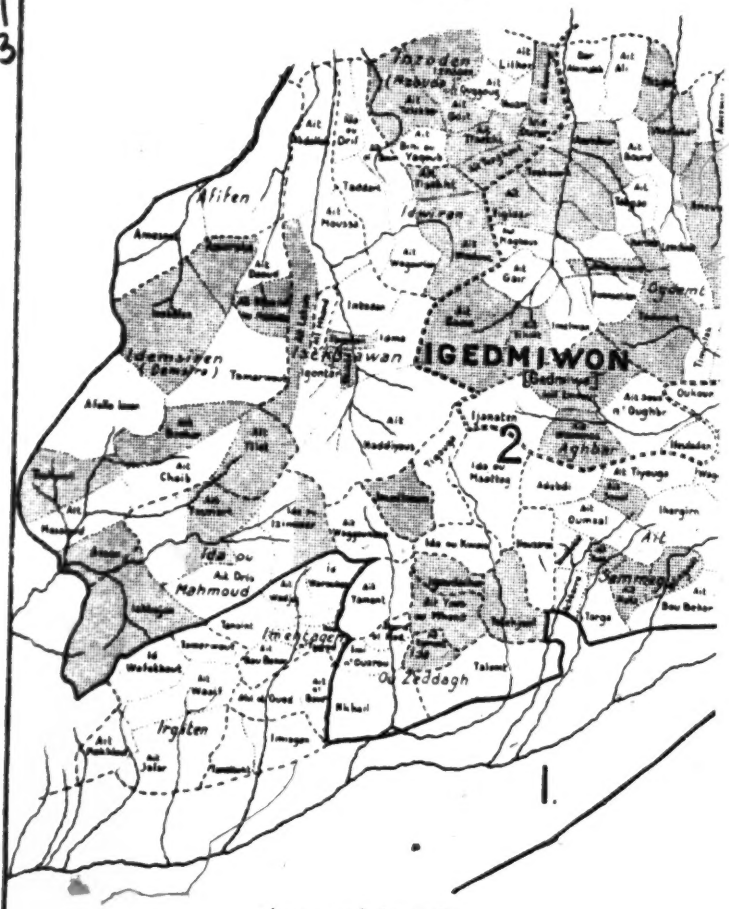
3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the A'lt Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133



Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

102
616
619
-131
133

2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1. Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs

Zone 2. Region of the leffs of the western Atlas
- Ait Atman, Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis)
- Indghertit, Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa)
- Ait Fademt, Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)
- Ait Zolit, Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)

Zone 3. Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua
- Inemzel . . . . . .
- Ait Iraten . . . . . .

Zone 4. Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas
- Isouktan . . . . . .
- Igezzoulen . . . . . .

Zone 5. Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)
- Ait Atman . . . . . .
- Ait Tintlet . . . . . .

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

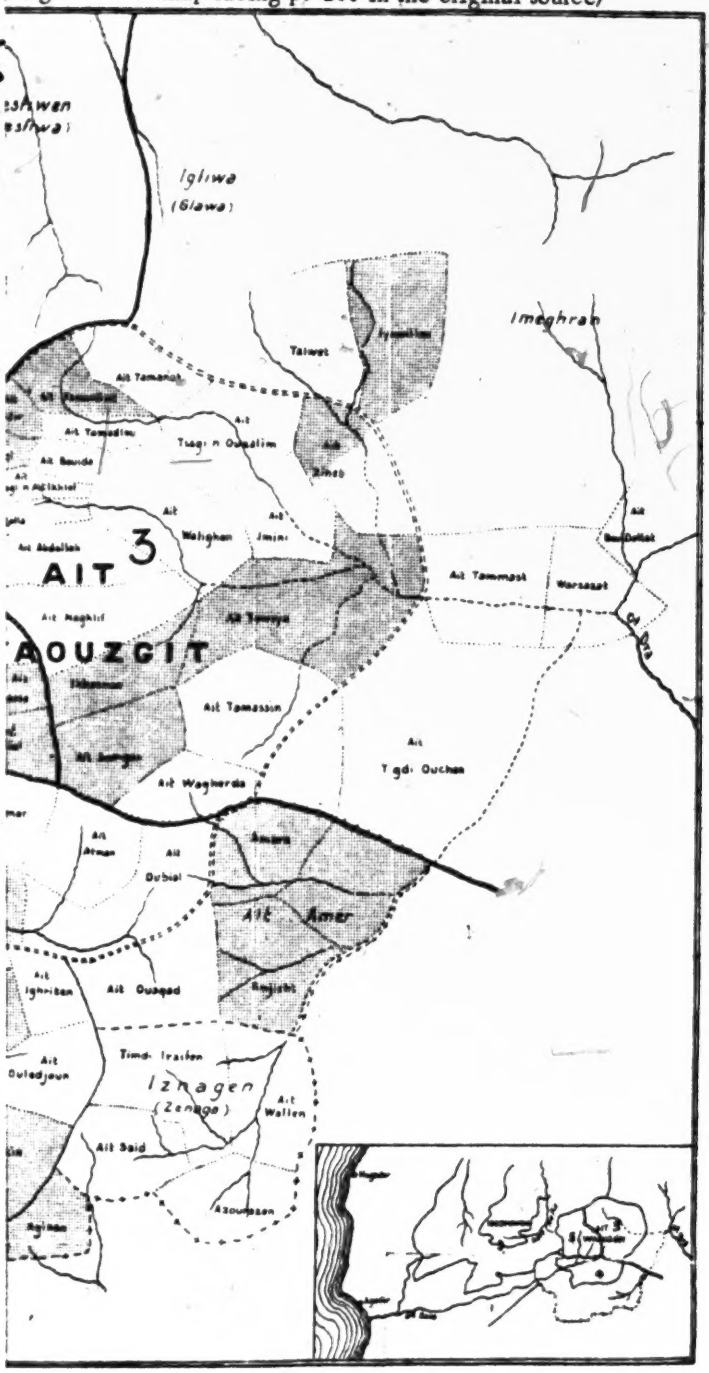
102
616
619
.131
133

Imeshwen
(Mesfiwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait
Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ourika)
Ighighain
(Ighighaya)
Ait Taqain
Ait Tazi
Ait Quila
Ait Abdallah
Ait Haghir
Ait Hamdan
Ait Waqqas
Ait Simon
Id Willoun
Ait Yahya
Ait Hamid
Ait Abdelwirt
Ighriban
Tinfat
Ouladjoun
Ounzin
Ilounan
Ighghediyoun
Imghartiyn
Azrar
Isozem
Aginan
Ait Semmegh
Ait Onein
Ait Ogdemt
Ait Tadrart
Ait Mizal
Ait Bamgan
Ait Ferzar
Ait Hamid
Ait Youa
Imadidan
Intaoun
Ait Ouzgit
Ait Ouqhalt
Ait Masr
Ait Isger
Ait Temgounsi
Ait Tabrik
Ait Ouqhar
Ait Ouqhar
Ait Tazzamt
Ait Ouqhar
Ait Ouqhar
Ait Ouqhar

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133



/202 cont./

101 616 619 The "Aoggwa" (1)

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

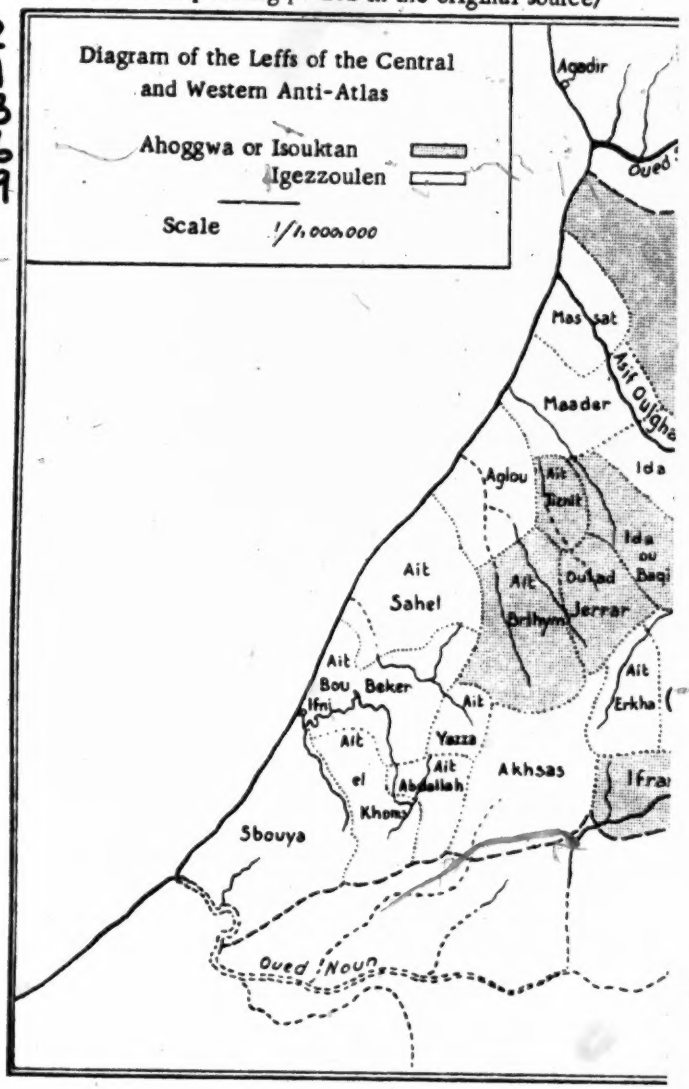
are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the A'lt Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the A'lt Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 619 184 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the A'lt Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and A'lt Amer. In go- 616 619 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

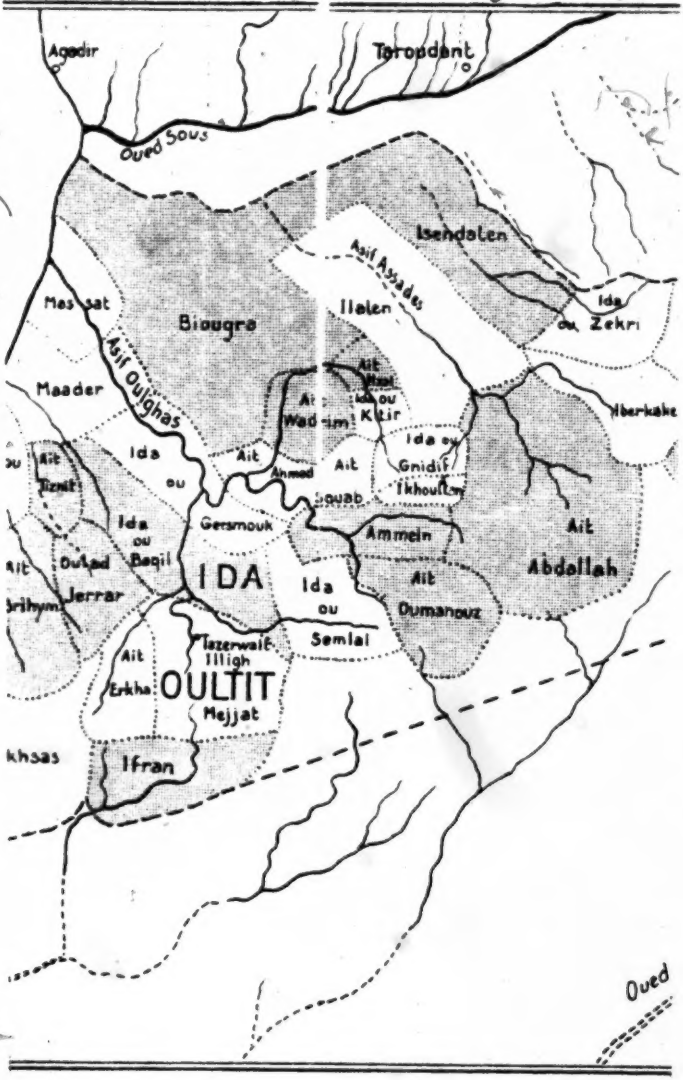
/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
•131
133
616
619



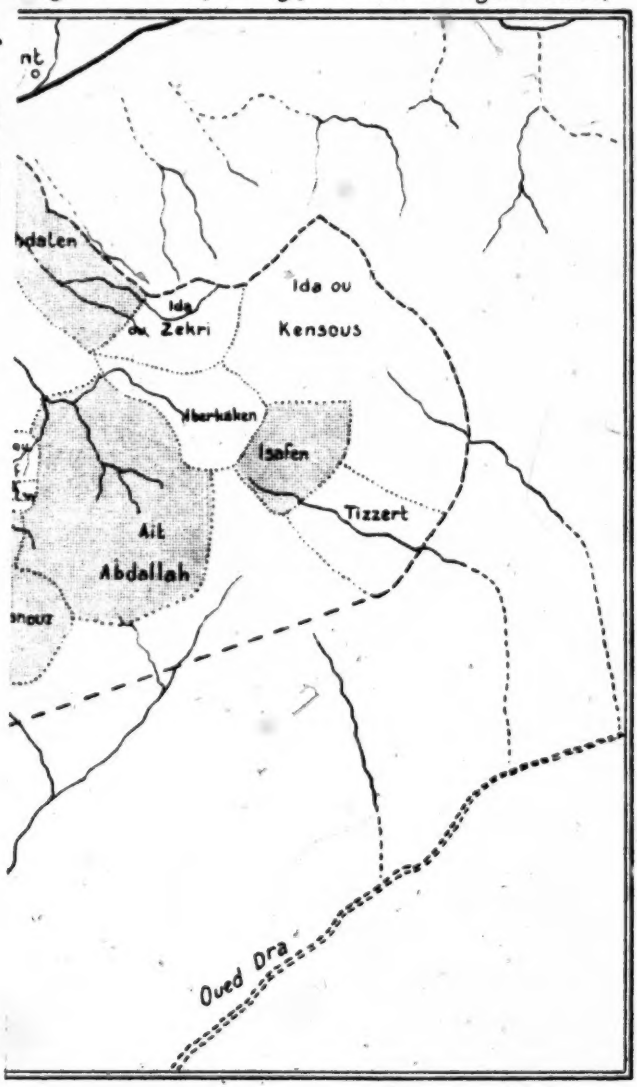
/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
•131
133
616
619



/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

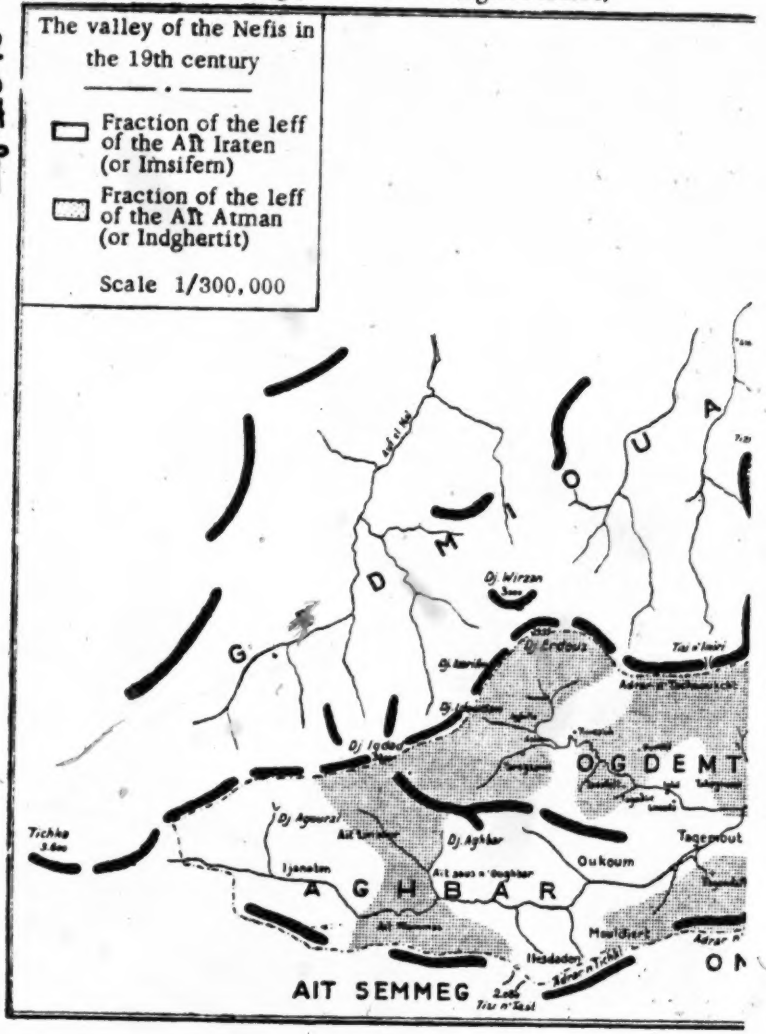
102
131
133
616
619



2: Montagne--369 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
133
*634
616
•131



2: Montagne--370 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
• 131
133
* 634
616

/292 cont./

*631 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One
•131 might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are
642 being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

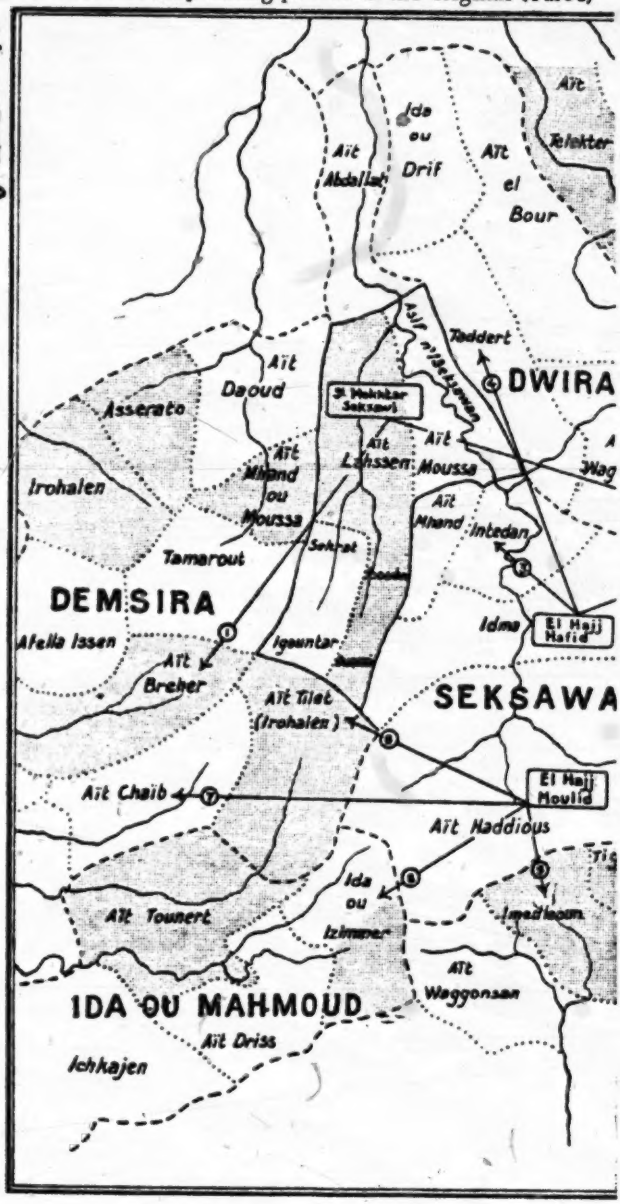
*631 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for
*634 the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara.
177 Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAlt Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose
554 role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the
675 "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
•131
133
*634
616



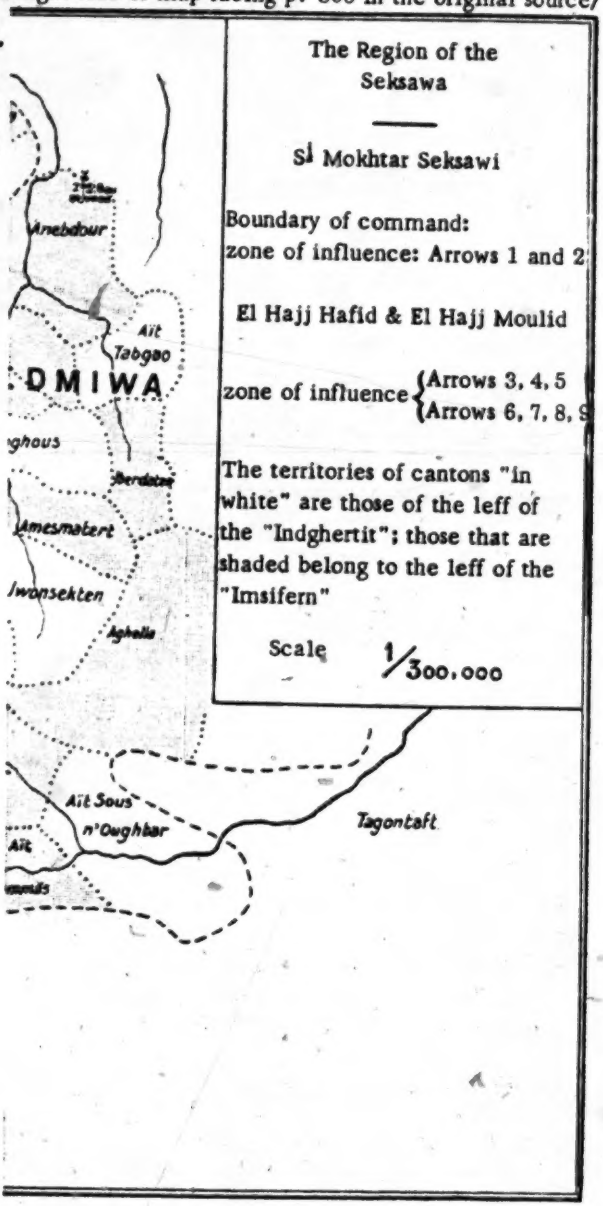
2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
•131
133
*634
616

/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
•131
133
*634
616



/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

•[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. [616] In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, [648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/11 cont./

133 diverging from the same water-tower, the massif of the Tichka (1).

1. Cf. our study on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 363. The first to have underlined the importance of this mole of history, of pastoral economy, and of tribal sociology is R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 16.

an important historic site, and which, with its enormous granite mole, forms a buffer to the Seksawa country toward the S. With the neighboring peaks rising to 3,000 and 3,400 meters high, a ressaut of approximately a thousand meters gives rise to the old massif above the Permo-Triassic depression and the subtabular zone of the W. It is the first barrier against the winds of the [132] Atlantic, hence a heavy condensation of the clouds coming generally from the S.-W. It is also, when one comes from the E., the last affirmation of high mountains. After that, one will find only the causses, the Mtugga and H'âh'a hills.

The Seksawa, the Nffis, the assif el-Mâl, and two of the larger tributaries of the Issen come directly from the Tichka. The other tributaries of the Issen, several tributaries of the Sous flow from the South versant of the axial chain. All these sources mark a distance of at least 30 km. Hence there is an important hydrogeographical center there, hence a sedentary culture, hence a historical constancy. This role of the Tichka, or more exactly of the ridge that it flanks, has been perceived by Mussulman authors. Ibn Khaldûn mentioned it in a passage in which the precise correspondences preserve the metaphorism. The marabout of Tasaft is even more precise. He compares these fluvial basins, hanging on the crest, to goatskin bottles, the high cantons of which are the feet. The Tichka, he said, is "the balance of the waters,"

133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain
societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/
and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/,
annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is
"a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts"
(2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors
to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them
closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits
of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Sek-
sawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending
upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as
far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree,
whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebâᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

/143 cont./

171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical historical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on
132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he rejects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the question of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the present state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintanout. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentalization sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Generally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high terrains where the albur cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered. But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example, hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the
133 valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts, even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
311 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

/9 cont./

•132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too [133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[131] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/12 cont./

•132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwallal, and of Bou Lʿajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/. Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal movements is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
312
137
132

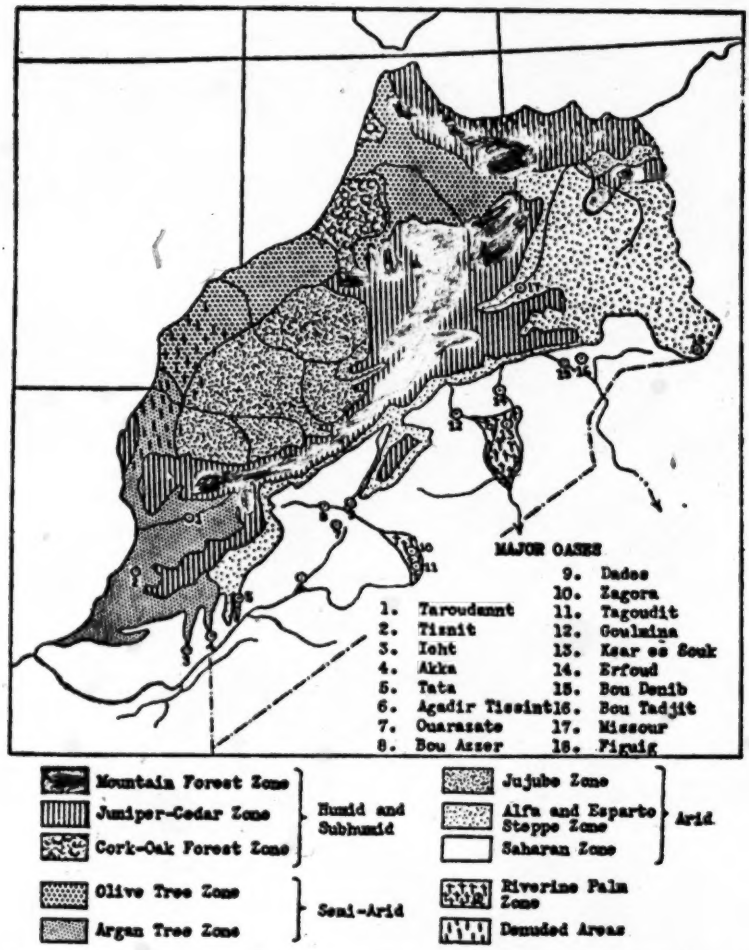


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

1, [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative, I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hestitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksâwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

133
[101]

A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

/6 cont./

133 a torrent, asif i-yseksawan, or Lwâd Sseksawa. This basin is circumscribed by an arête of high mountains, which encloses it on three sides (Fig. 2).[1] The Dir, then the plain called Bujmâda today form the outlet. The torrent loses its name there. Already it has become, from the little plain of Tuz'z'umt up to /7/ Buᶜanfir, in Ud Bessebâᶜ, Lwâd n-Qihra or Wâd Lqîhra. The limits, from this side, have all the haziness of a past that informs us poorly on the limitation of the Seksawa adventure toward the North.

Here then is a country being identified, partially no doubt, but definitely, with a fluvial basin. This completely classical identification is followed, in great detail, by the division of the basin into cantons, which correspond at the same time to a secondary personality and to the unity of an affluent torrent. This valley forms the last opening of the great chain toward the W. It interrupts this mountainous façade, which its indigenous denomination of Dir qualifies admirably by evoking the breaststrap of a harnessed horse (1).

1. The deciphering of the country is greatly facilitated by the "Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz /Orographical sketch of the western Great Atlas, from the Ait Mousi wadi to the Igdet-Erdouz chain/" at 1/100,000, drawn up initially by J. Dresch (in color), and by the series of maps at 1/200,000 appended to his Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941. [126] This documentation, which we have always kept present on our journeys, and which we have filled in chiefly with regard to the toponymy and reinterpreted with the aid of aerial coverage carried out since 1950, is the basis of our own

1. [For figure 2, see pp. 15-16--Analyst]

/7 cont./

133 [126] /footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâc, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bulcwân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâc. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the [487] Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2).

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
● 133
487
361

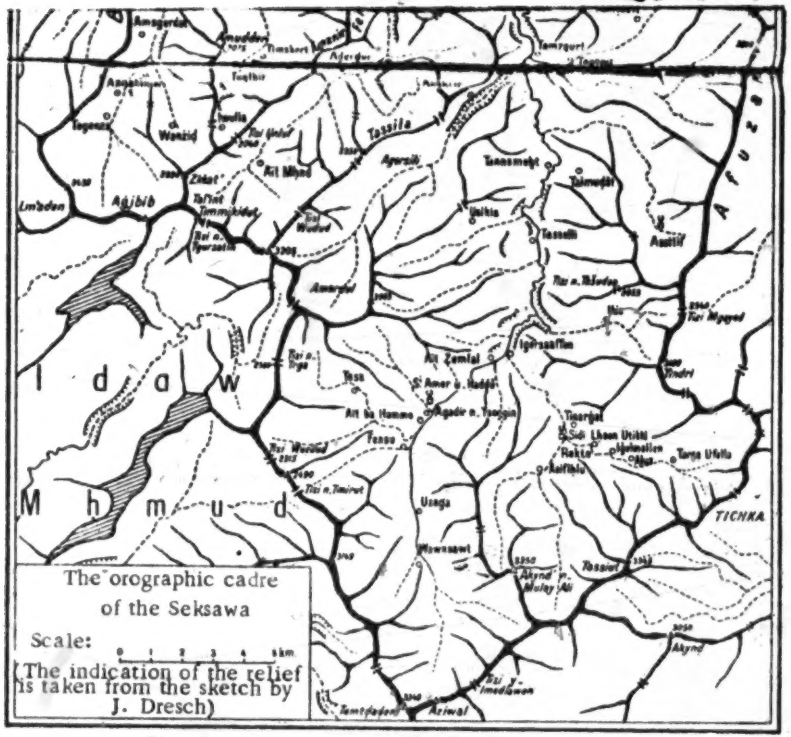


Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrī in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," Hesp., 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his Rih'la, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a madinā. He will savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

485
794
621
000

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/11 cont./

133 diverging from the same water-tower, the massif of the Tichka (1),

1. Cf. our study on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 363. The first to have underlined the importance of this mole of history, of pastoral economy, and of tribal sociology is R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 16.

an important historic site, and which, with its enormous granite mole, forms a buffer to the Seksawa country toward the S. With the neighboring peaks rising to 3,000 and 3,400 meters high, a ressaut of approximately a thousand meters gives rise to the old massif above the Permo-Triassic depression and the subtabular zone of the W. It is the first barrier against the winds of the [132] Atlantic, hence a heavy condensation of the clouds coming generally from the S.-W. It is also, when one comes from the E., the last affirmation of high mountains. After that, one will find only the causses, the Mtugga and H'âh'a hills.

The Seksawa, the Nffis, the assif el-Mâl, and two of the larger tributaries of the Issen come directly from the Tichka. The other tributaries of the Issen, several tributaries of the Sous flow from the South versant of the axial chain. All these sources mark a distance of at least 30 km. Hence there is an important hydrogeographical center there, hence a sedentary culture, hence a historical constancy. This role of the Tichka, or more exactly of the ridge that it flanks, has been perceived by Mussulman authors. Ibn Khaldûn mentioned it in a passage in which the precise correspondences preserve the metaphorism. The marabout of Tasaft is even more precise. He compares these fluvial basins, hanging on the crest, to goatskin bottles, the high cantons of which are the feet. The Tichka, he said, is "the balance of the waters,"

/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

[175] [167]

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wān (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[571] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

• 133

[127]

Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/16 cont./

133 the layer extends toward the E. to form elements which are not yet apparent from this belvedere, but which we shall rediscover later: the dome of the Urkus, crushing at its feet the center of Imintanout, the low valley of the Seksawa, and the entablatures of the high Dwiran, which slope gradually up to the elevated level stretch of the Azzeq, common for the flocks of Dwiran, Mez'ûd'a and Gedmiwa. Here immediately under our eyes is a glowing tablecloth. It is the Stephano-Trias, found between the primary and secondary rocks and which, thin on this side of the col, spreads out greatly on beyond toward Bigud'in. To the N. and to the E., everywhere, a black country with Cambrian and Ordovician schists. Its squat mass makes up almost all of the upper Seksawa, if one excepts the axial limestones and granites of the Tichka, which one does not see here. These schists shine in the sun, on slopes and ridges, to the point of giving from a distance the illusion of a sweating, of a cascade. From close by, one sees that they are layered, split, divided into leaves and needles. But from a distance their relief is powerful and heavy: a mass morose and without grace, where nothing betrays the bucolic valleys by which it is cut.

Let us transport ourselves to another belvedere, in the heart of Seksawa country this time, on the N. side of the brows of the Mzawt. From there the eye always follows the three hues of the landscape. The view goes down to the basin of the a. Musa, to rise again then to the tabular border of the Dwiran country: Wawmright, Waffagga, and, farther /17/ still, Kattos. At mid-height of these white or golden layers appears the red rock tafzza, which then falls on the marl of Imlilen. At 1,000 meters downward, the river, largely still among the tamarisks of the little plain (940 meters), again finds, immediately after passing the former Suq Lkhmis, toward T'abya, the same heights and somber cliffs as upstream.

The tectonic analysis explains several of the present features by the altering that the folding of the Atlas brought about on a Hercynian relief in the Tertiary. But it is not always easy to determine in the present structures the contributing part of the

/17 cont./

133 two phases, even though their respective style is very different. In fact, the intervention of fractures perpendicular to the axis of the folds can bring more confusion of reading because the general direction of the two movements appears roughly orthogonic: meridian for the socle, W.S.W.-E.N.E. for the altering.

From the Hercynian relief there stands out a parallel series of three anticlinals and especially the action of erosion cycles which have denuded the red lands of the Permo-Trias and leveled the Cretaceous foreland. The existence of the latter, more abundant than in the rest of the Dir, is in fact an important feature. This formation outlines a large cut toward the high Dwiran and Mez'ûd'a.

The Atlasic tectonics is "brutal and simple ... Austere architecture of rigid blocks which climb by successive stages to the N., more brutally to the S., up to the high massive crests." One would recognize it today in Seksawa by "a series of blocks; more or less balanced and separated by brutal accidents [and rising] toward a high chain vigorously folded" (1).

1. Id., op. laud., p. 67.

In a general way, one is struck by the contrast between the heaviness of these high reliefs and the mordant youth of the versants and valleys. At 1,500 meters, then at 2,000, and again at 2,500, a panoramic view reveals little more than levels, very flattened domes, mature and compressed crests. In a large piece of the country, roughly all the middle Seksawa, it is almost a homogeneous surface, in spite of the interruption of valleys, which displays its perspective around 2,000 meters: Azur, Tassila, Amudder, Ibuban. Surface of ante-Cretaceous leveling, whose important role on the life forms is still legible and with which there paradoxically contrasts the upstroke of an axial crest, hanging over it more than 1,000 meters with its hard and sharp limestone.

The morphology here directly concerns the humanity. The role of these surfaces of less slope has been major, whatever

133 /18/ their origin may be: Cretaceous structural plateaus, today, however, almost entirely outside the Seksawa domain; preserved surfaces in the process of erosion; much lower, fluvial terraces; between the two, level stretches formed on a declivity by an unequal resistance of the outcropping rocks. These planes or "replats" have been an essential factor in the constitution of a system of life and of a rural landscape. Another structural element of great stir: the maturing of the valleys by successive degrees, an evolution that seems to have shown pauses and awakenings, and, combined with the unequal hardness of the layers passed, to have cut them into sections. The general orientation of the river, conforming to that of the asif el-Mâl and of the Nffis, roughly follows the direction of the Hercynian relief: it was therefore made, or maintained, in the opposite direction of the Atlasic folding. Where the rock is hard, as between Z'init' and Tamezgurt, between Tasselli and Igerssafen, between Sekrat and Iguntar, dizzy gorges are encased, with abrupt walls. Elsewhere, the existence of soft schist or an encounter with a synclinal, as in several places of the asif n-a. Lh'sen, enlarges the valley, indeed creates, as below a. Musa, a string of small basins. Another consequence of this contrary direction is that it conspires with the plane of surrection itself to fraction the country at right angles. Everything co-operates from then on for a cantonal partition, the clearer sometimes because the fluvial erosion has not yet harmonized its profile and the latter breaks off often in level stretches. Profile by fits and starts, if I may venture to say it. Relatively mature sections are sometimes widely spread out -- thus in a. H'adduyws, at Tuz'z'umt -- but are sharply separated from one another. Finally, with this spreading out taking place over certain sections of the bed, while erosion softens the heights, a striking correspondence finally becomes established: deep troughs downward, flattened summits overhanging. Hence characteristic pairs of forms: chaif, "bombement" /swelling, bulge/ of the Illikkri, above the basin of the a. Mh'and; chaif of Azur above that of the a. Musa. These ensembles are favorable for pastoral

/18 cont./

133 and agricultural life. They contrast nobly with forms more inhospitable, such as that of the steep ravine of Usikis, heroically notched with steps, or even repugnant to any utilization. The ambition of mountain societies will always be to hold at the same time the small fluvial delta and the high brows of hills with pasturage, woods, and rye. It even happens that these expansions of the bed are simple enough to reveal, as downstream from Tuz'z'umt or in the asif n-a. Lh'sen, a succession of several levels parallel lengthwise. They are, as J. Dresch says, "des banquettes naturelles" /natural benches/; and it /19/ is really remarkable that there, too, geology has, with its broad hand, traced almost a model for the labor of man.

One has perhaps pushed too far this inquiry -- still only summary, and with a borrowed technicality -- on the structure of the Seksawa country. But, for our own research, important data have been extricated. First, the clear demarcation of a country, a kind of impasse with door half open on the plain and on the N. Then its simple material, proceeding, from N. to S., in a direction which is that of a geological cut. This progressive deepening will also be that of the originality of the institutions and of the preservation of an authenticity. In particular, the age of the soils, increasing in inverse proportion to the force of the last tectonic arrangements, leads to a mole of geological archaism, and also of sociological signification, the Tichka. And also this right-angle partitioning, resulting from the crossed directions of the Hercynian and Atlasic reliefs. Hence a cantonal structure that lays bare the coexistence of mature level stretches and abrupt obstructions. Finally a whole middle-mountain horizontality, presenting flats /Fr. relais/ on the heights, and almost a pre-established classification for a life which, from stage to stage, amidst the harshness which presses on it from all sides, finds slopes to cling to, and even surfaces to expand on.

/20/

II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137
133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude.

[126]

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

/20 cont./ As in all mountain
133 societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Sekssawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
• 133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent.
[233] A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebaᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[978] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an ioy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

[217]
[127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

[72]

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [178] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Abdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-634 619 [342] stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 173 619 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interface rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

[Idma]

/46 cont./

remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded. It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili, at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu. It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there. A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[724] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
10 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to
133 the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
172 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
634 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moress from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi
[795] Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
634 agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
619 the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geo-
101 logical nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
634 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
[631] the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talfint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'inît'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

●133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
[241] risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^{c}wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
●133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
[137] The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Âbdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[176] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[192] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)
175

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/83 cont./

102
131
133
361

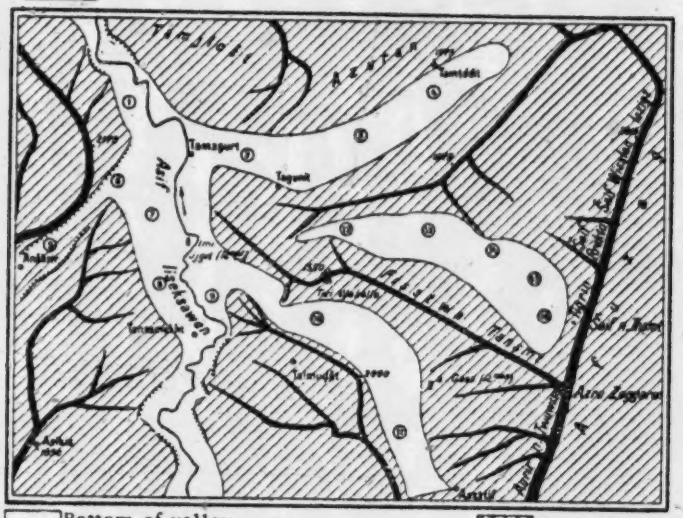


Fig. 5 – Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. — 4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. — 8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. — 11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. — 14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gâer. — 16. Tkerni.

101
102
489
221
312
131
133

/100/

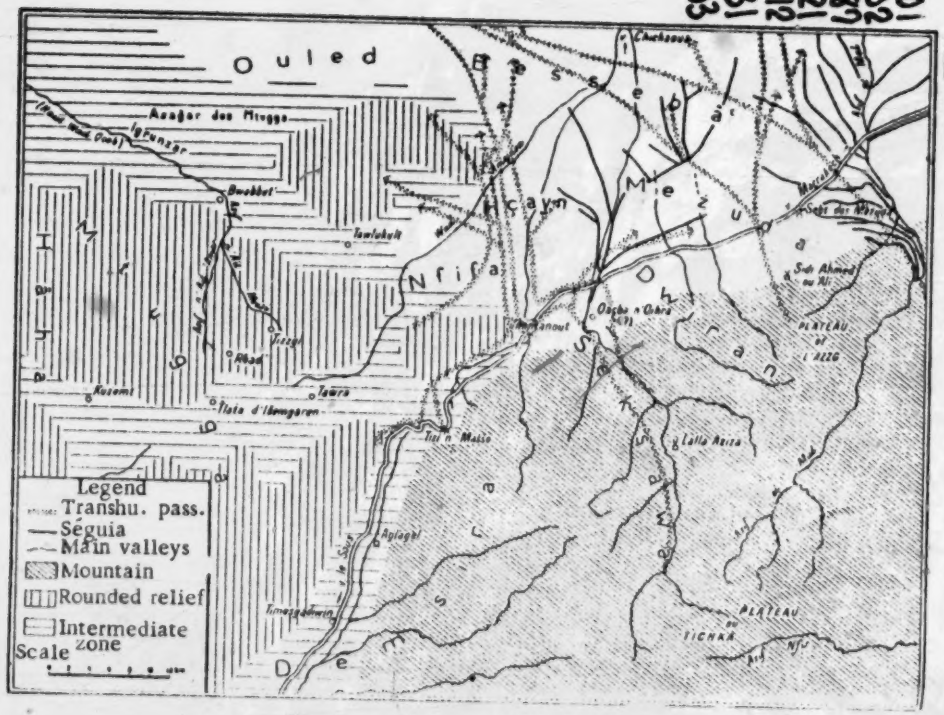


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Besseba^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Besseba^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseba[c] plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
174 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing
648 the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
[571] Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[137] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/124 cont./

241 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a
423 distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1):

[192]

1. Elsewhere in Seksawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchû^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary
133 in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a
241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121]

1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch; La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/143 cont./

171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical historical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on
132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he rejects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the question of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the present state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintanout. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentalization sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Generally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high terrains where the albur cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered. But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example,
133 hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts, even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless [312] lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

133
312
101
[114]

2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is
312 difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, 133 (361) [613] faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

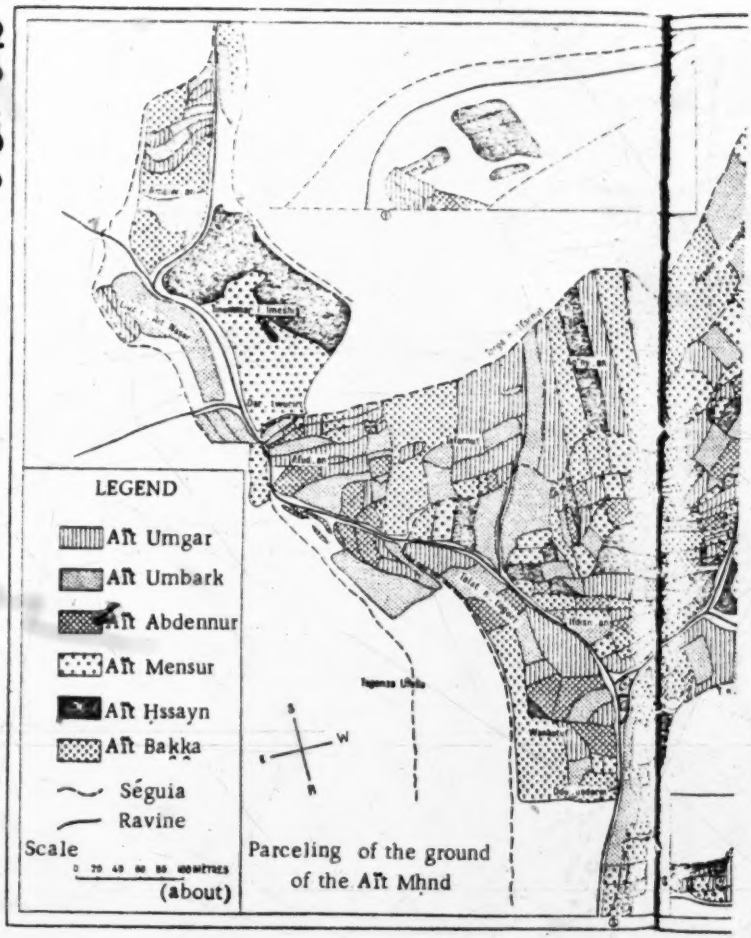
634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen 613 (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only 312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. [173] Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

1: Berque--261 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613

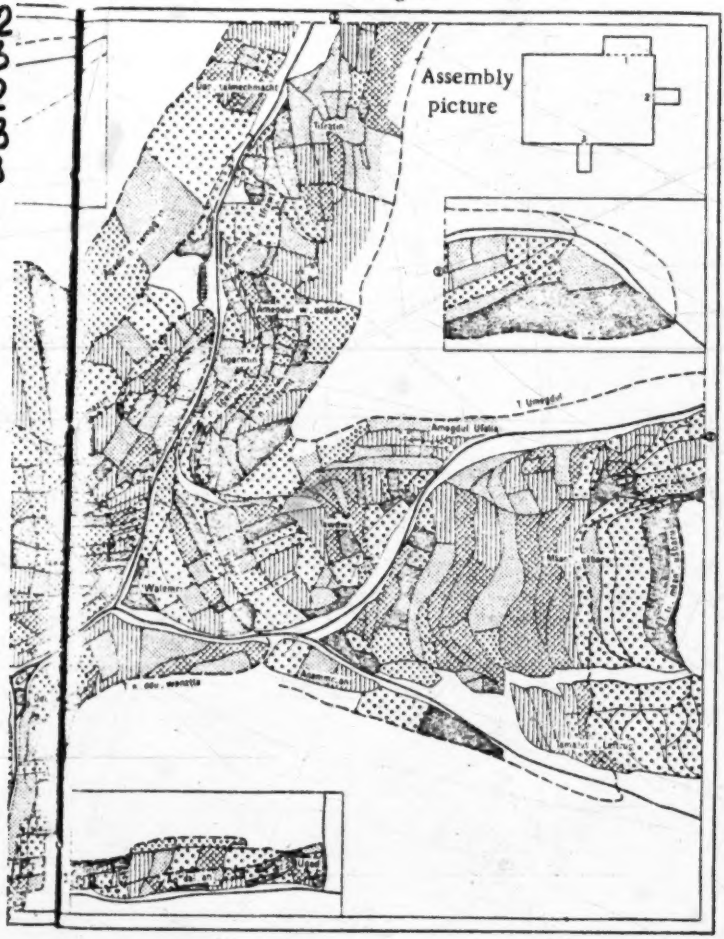


1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613



[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The
423 informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations
[312] on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

● 133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than
[175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did
[172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 311 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and [794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

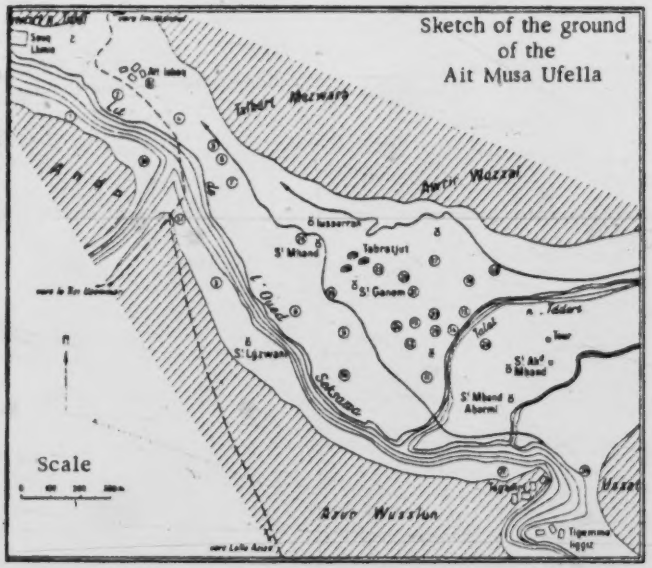


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
/207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs and, like Bul^{c}wân downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi
[631] having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counterdemand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban,...

● 133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

•133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Besseba^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the car-
172 rot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saïd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Abdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

[Taqennurt.]

/216 cont./

613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in /217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Ali Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Ali, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-lbûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was
[634] the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-lbûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-lbûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ..... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of 423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ- [172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

1: Berque--328 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/235/ Third Part
Institutions and Values

000 /Page 236 is blank./

/237/ Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

●133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--653 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. VII

133
241
312

Terraces at Tasa

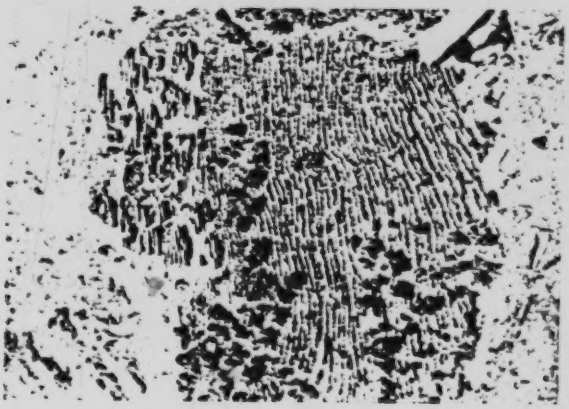
The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
346
695

The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

133
361



Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

(C. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

(C. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

1: Berque--658 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

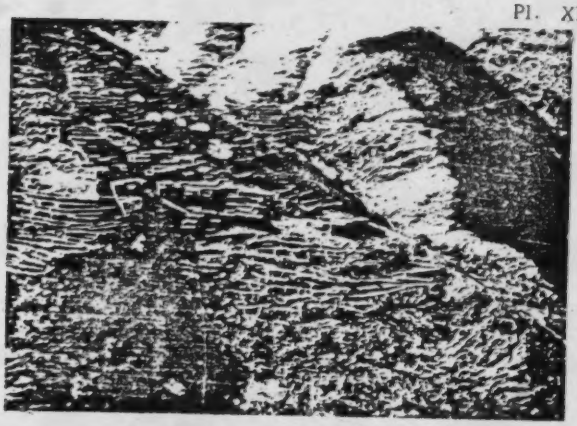
133
291
533

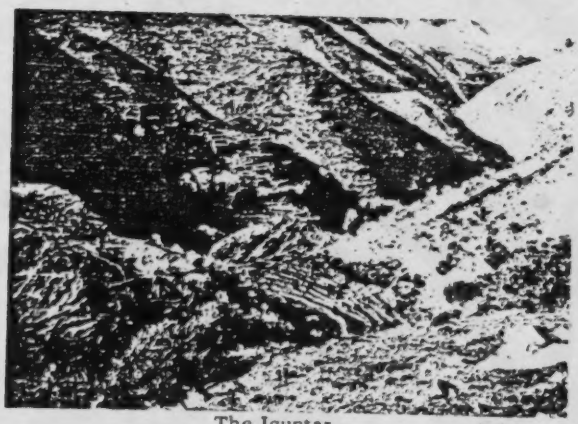
Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[192]
[712]
[343]
[487]

1: Berque--660 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shiuh MW11

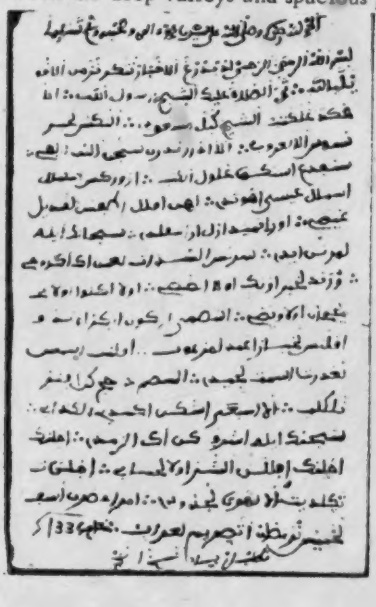
Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787



Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, [133] we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favor-
127 able political circumstances and the progress of French penetra-
114 tion, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the
114 vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

/3 cont./

121 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Mo-
101 rocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical ar-
rangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.
•133 In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of re-
121 volts and anarchy. In these natural centers of resistance, the
101 Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient institutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

101 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geo-
133 graphical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ᶜAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

/9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
121 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the
101 passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/9 cont./

132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too [133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/11 cont./

132 chains of the Atlas -- the "Deren" of the Arab geographers and
133 the Anti-Atlas -- between which the volcanic mass of the Sirwa shoots out like a gigantic bridge, form natural barriers and screens on the north versant, from which the streams and snows run down or abate several times in the course of the winter.

The average width of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ reaches 80 kilometers and its crests rise in the east to more than 4,000 meters in the region of the summits of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil M'Goun/ and Wanoukrim; the massif of the Tichka, among the Seksawa, still reaches 3,500 meters; the tabular mountains of the Ida Ou Tanan are more than 2,000 meters above the Ocean. The rising of masses of air, which takes place slowly on the gentle slope of the north versant of the great chain, causes abundant precipitation. Its total amount is double that observed in the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain. Moreover, the rainfall is more regular in the Deren than in the rest of the Sous, and even during the summer the storms from the region of the summits help to maintain in the high pastures a humidity unknown elsewhere. The abundant snows of the high summits last until July, and their melting feeds torrents whose clear waters flow in the plain until autumn. By contrast, the south versant of the Haut-Atlas, steeply inclined toward the Sous valley, is less favored; it receives only a small part of the winter rains and the storms; the snow disappears in a few days under the action of an implacable sun, and the brooks that flow in the spring dry up for the most part before summer.

132 But even if the high parts of the Deren benefit from a favor-
133 able pluviometric regime similar to the one of the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/, man manages to turn it to account only with dif-
241 ficulty. The relief is in fact so abrupt, the cut of the valleys so deep, that arable land is nearly unknown in the mountains. It is by patient effort, rolling big stones to make minuscule terraces, that the Berbères /Berbers/ succeed in retaining on the flank of the torrents /12/ the precious humus from which their labor will make a few ears come up. Accordingly, the high plateaus of the Atlas, such as the Kik, the "Azzeg" of the left bank of the Asif

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
•133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou Lʿajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

133 The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
241 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
[137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards. Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./

•133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
311 merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
241 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
24 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
[132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[101] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[144] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

• 133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/15 cont./

133 491 In the western Atlas the Tizi n Fedghat and the Tizi n Telwet, at close to 2,000 meters in altitude, thus put the land of the Skoura, the Haut-Dra, in communication with Demnat and Marrakech by a road that the winter snows sometimes cut for several weeks. Farther to the West, the Tizi n Test, which rises to 1,900 meters, presents the same difficulties; it is followed by travelers who are going from Taroudant to Marrakech by following the valley of the Nefis. The Tizi Ma^ccho, whose altitude does not go beyond 1,400 meters, is free in all seasons; it commands the passage from Taroudant to Imi n Tanout and Mogador. Finally, no difficulty is found on the coastal trail, which borders the country of the Haha, other than the slope of the last hills of the Atlas or the bed of the dry wadis in the vicinity of the Ocean; this is the natural route of invasions between the plains of the Sous and Marrakech, which Arabs and Berbères /Berbers/ have so often taken in the course of the centuries.

These routes of the Deren are themselves only the prolongation of the ones used across the Anti-Atlas by travelers who have come from the palm groves of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani and who want to reach the towns of the North. From Aqqa and Tatta, by way of the crests of the Ida ou Kensous or the valley of the Inda ou Zal, one thus arrives in the Sous plain at the very point where the trail of the Tizi n Test climbs the Haut-Atlas toward Marrakech; from Tamanart by way of Amanouz and the Tizi n Taraqatin one reaches the land of the Ida ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal, to find before him the passage of the Tizi Ma^ccho across the Deren. Between /16/ the Ocean and the western massif of the Kest and of the Ida ou Semlal, the rolling territory of the Aït Ba ^cAmran, the plain of Tiznit and of the Chtouka offer an easy route for the caravans that go up toward Mogador by following the trail of the Haha.

133 491 492 There are many other intermediate passes, which, without being graded for the movement of the heavily loaded camels, cross the high crests between the upper valleys of each versant. In the Deren during the fine season the montagnards use up to

/16 cont./

•133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

[233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In * [634] [578] [437] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 628 [487] [438] On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 184 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic events of the Moroccan South.

491 178 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains. [643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping [619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 491 131 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika, Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult region bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach 133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so 133 361 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed 619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet 491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in- 648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 133 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[131] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only
[137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the
[137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ʿAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Ait ʿAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/
[619] from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
[166] pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/20 cont./

133 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
181 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have
182 acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the in-
terior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
*133 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
361 Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
[226] cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
361 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who
648 were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the
[439] feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

•133 177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mussulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

MW11 Shluh MW11

102
103
131
133
619
491

P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
•133
619
491

Mogad

Imsw

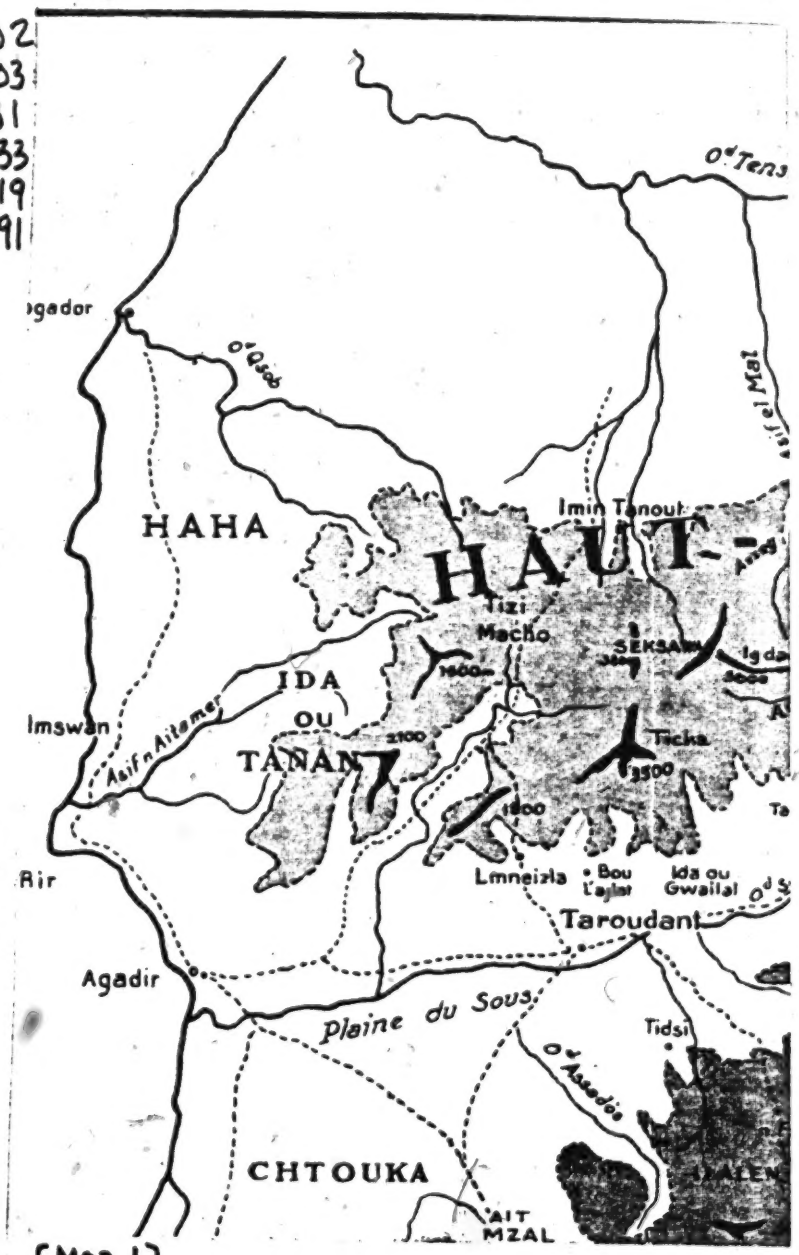
C.Bir

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--27 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

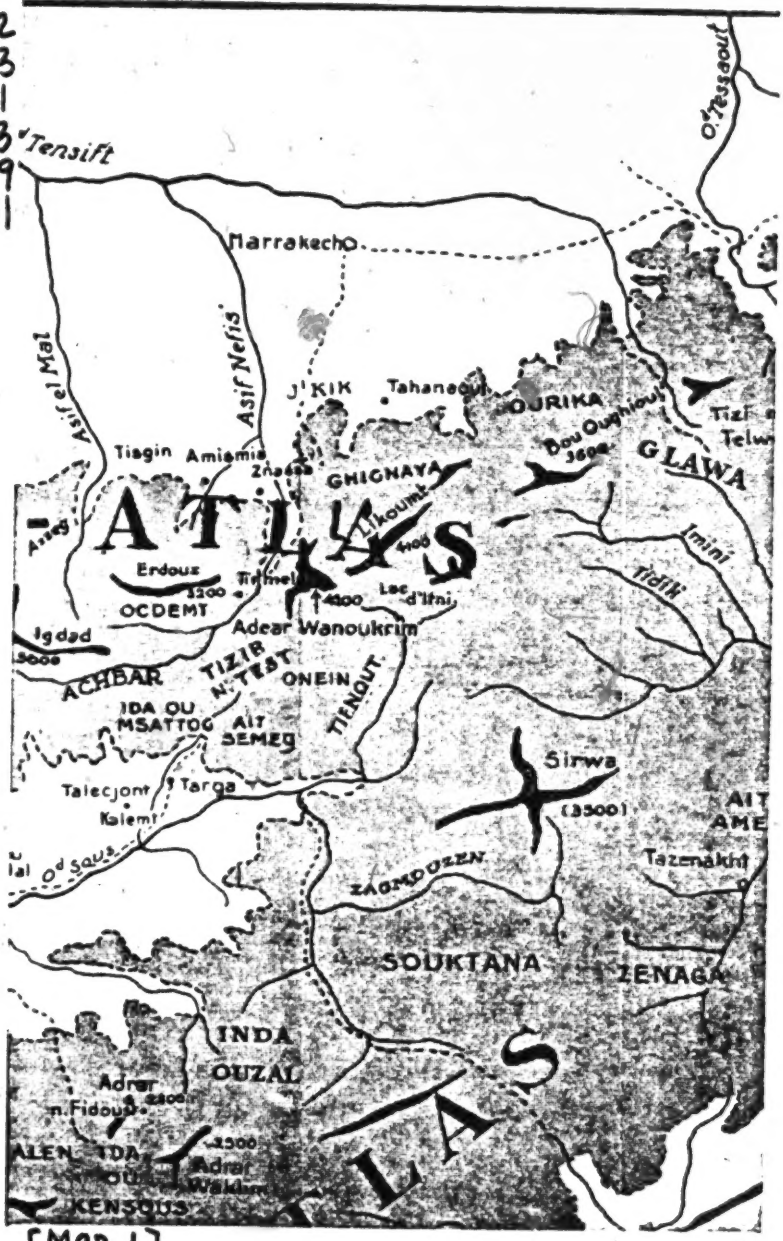
102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
•133 Tensift
619
491



[Map 1]

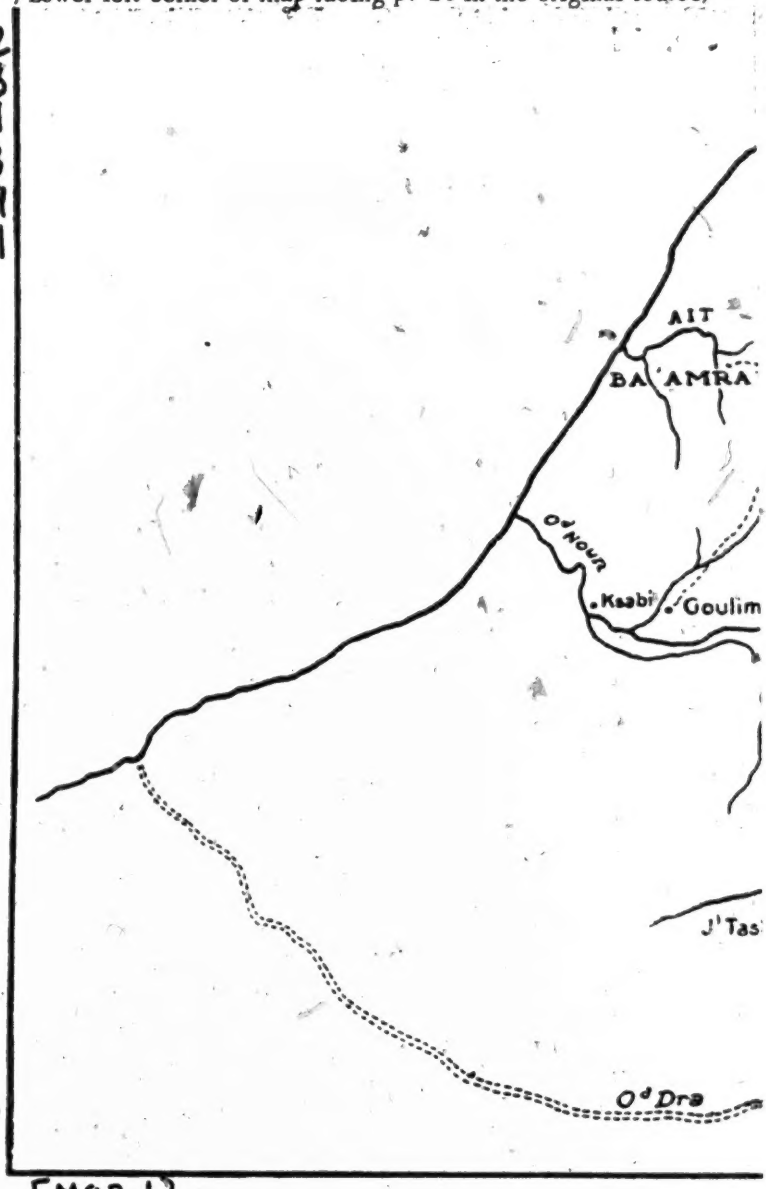
/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

[MAP 1]

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

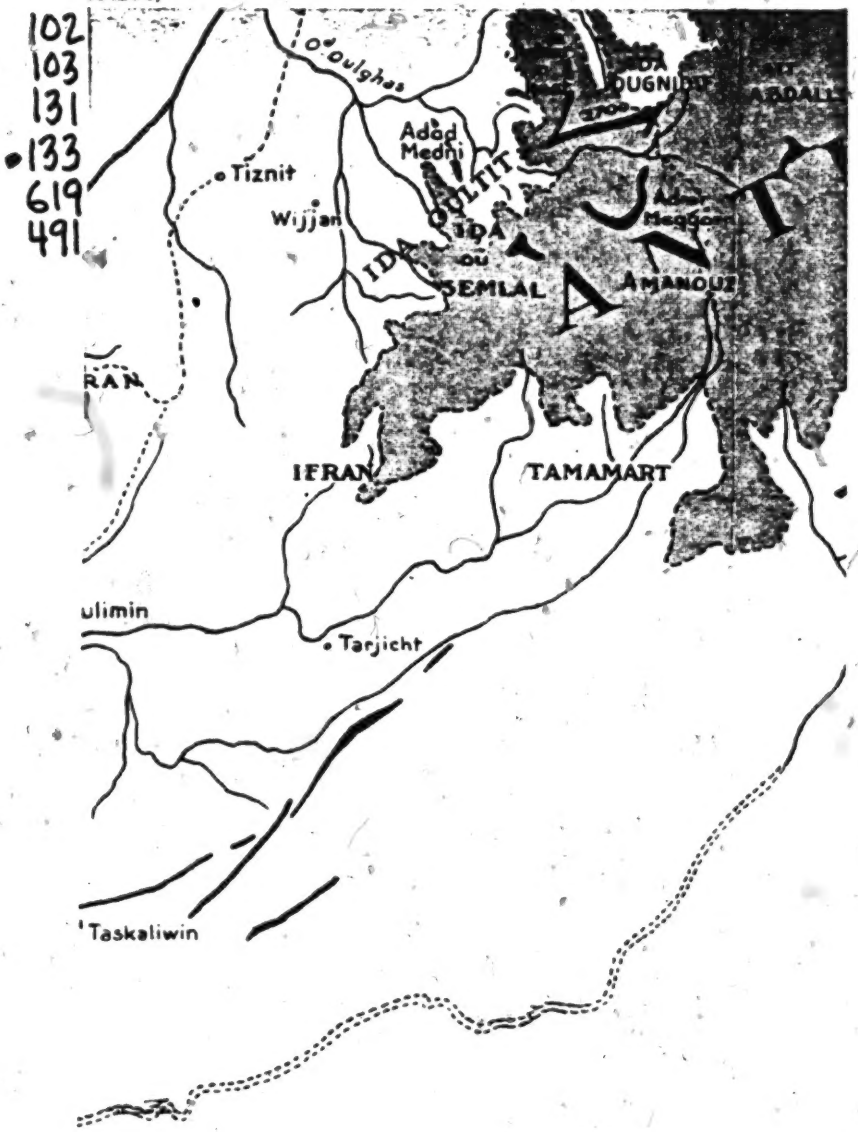
102
103
131
133
619
491



[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

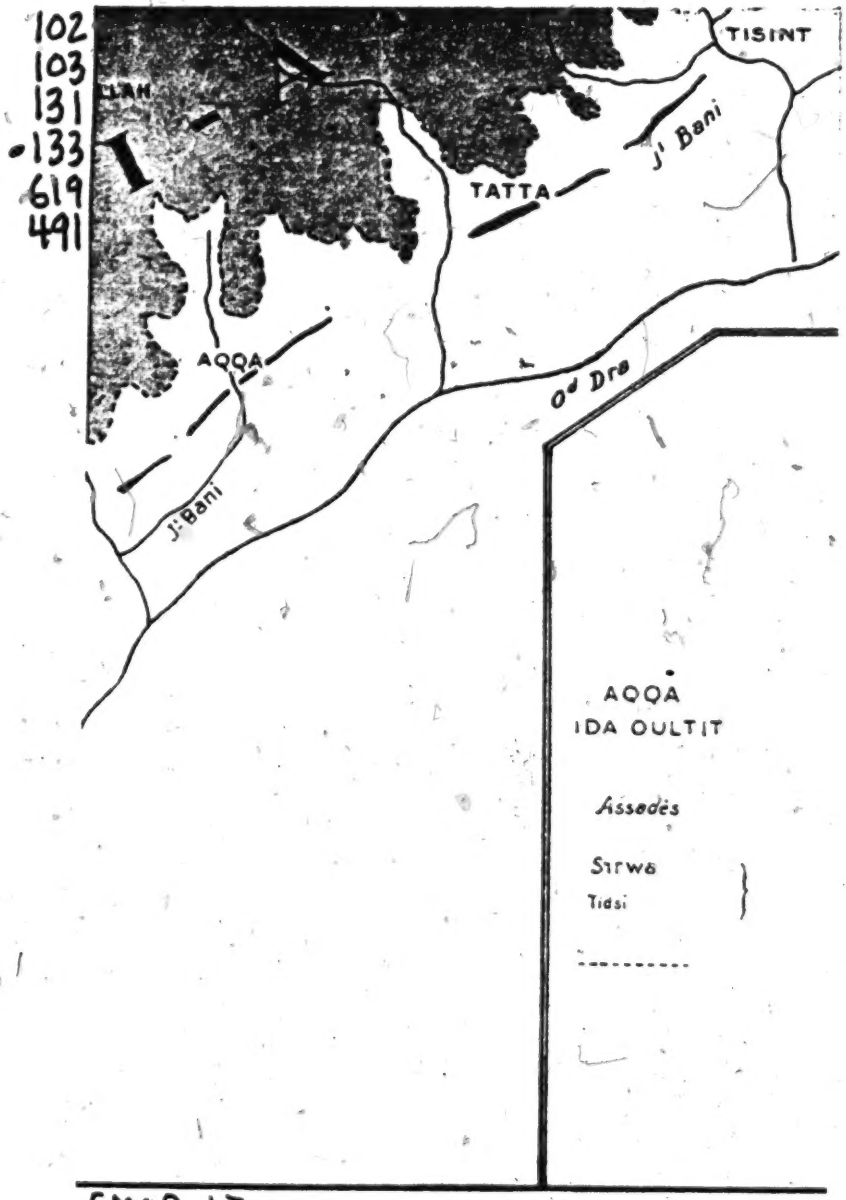
/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

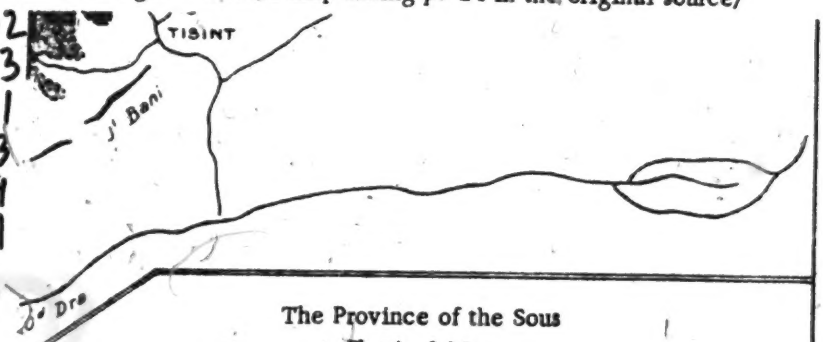


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



The Province of the Sous
Physical Map

Scale $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$

AQQA IDA OULTIT	Name of district or of Tribe
Assedès	Name of oued /wadi/
Sirwa Tidsi	Name of mountain of Place or Town
----------	Path of communications

The shaded region is the one whose altitude is higher than 1000 m.

[Map 1)

/128 cont./

121 moment we understand that we shall be able to observe there
*631 habits and customs preserved at the price of millenary struggles
and incessant effort; at the same time we should like to know
*634 what true relations the high valleys remaining free maintain with the mountain regions subject to the great chiefs; finally, we should like to know whether, in a past still rather near, numerous tribes bent under the yoke today did not know a life similar to the one that, thanks to a prodigious effort for isolation, has been perpetuated up to our day in the inaccessible parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

Let us suppose that favorable circumstances or some clever ruse permit us to escape for a moment from our usual companions, too assiduous in following us and directing our research; let us transport ourselves without them for a few instants to a high summit such as the Igdad, at the sources of the Nefis, from where one embraces an immense horizon of mountains and plains. It will be enough for us to question the Berbères /Berbers/ who surround us, coming from the villages in the high valleys of the vicinity, in order to discover other aspects of life that have remained hidden until now and that form a striking contrast with the ones that we have just perceived. At the same time, we shall try, thanks to the memories of the oldest of our new guides, to prolong in time this rapid inquiry and tie the present to a past that we conjecture to be so rich in important events. Perhaps we shall then be able, by comparing our personal observations with the picture of the domination of the great chiefs already sketched, to find again the diversity of Berbère /Berber/ institutions and to distinguish better the stages of a recent transformation that is still taking place before our eyes.

•133 From the high summit to which we have just come, the whole great chain, from the sea that one conjectures in the distance to the mountains of the Glawa, appears to us easily, cut from the North to the South by the three great routes of the Tizi Ma'cho, of the Nefis, and of Telwet. Toward the North the mountains are tiered in becoming lower by successive degrees to reach the Azaghar of Marrakech indefinitely stretched out on the horizon.

/128 cont./

•133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 *631 619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, [361] [131] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

101
102
131
133
631
619
648

P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

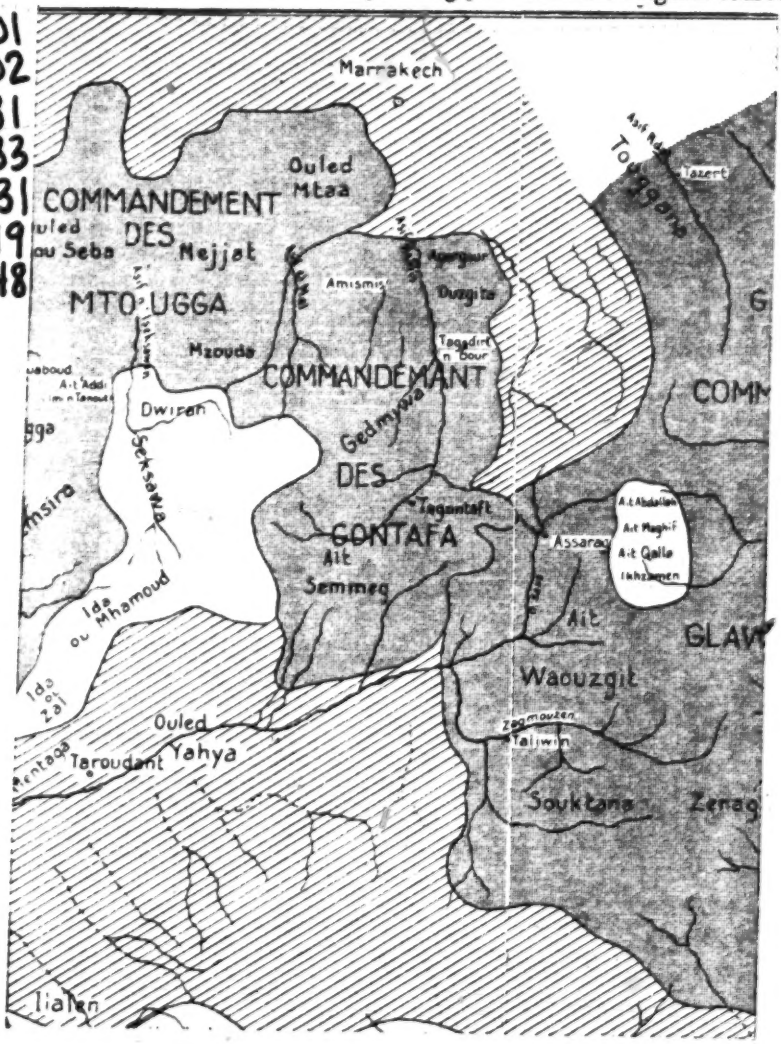
/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
•133
*631
619
648

2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

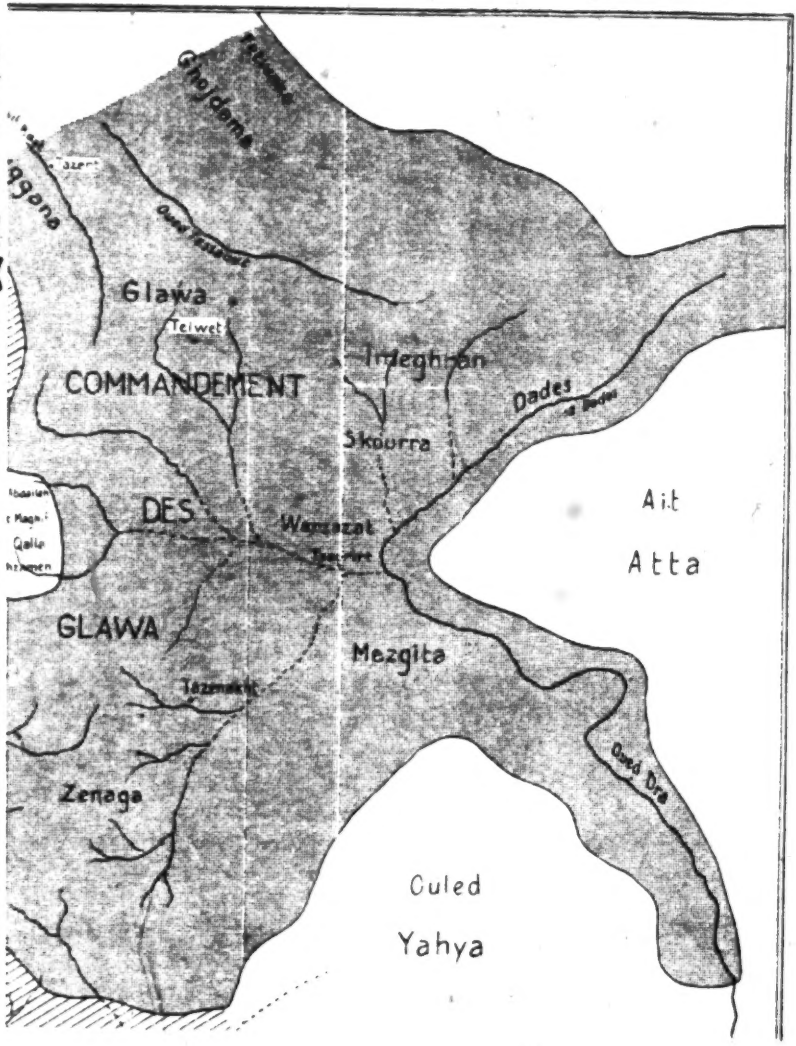
101
102
131
•133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

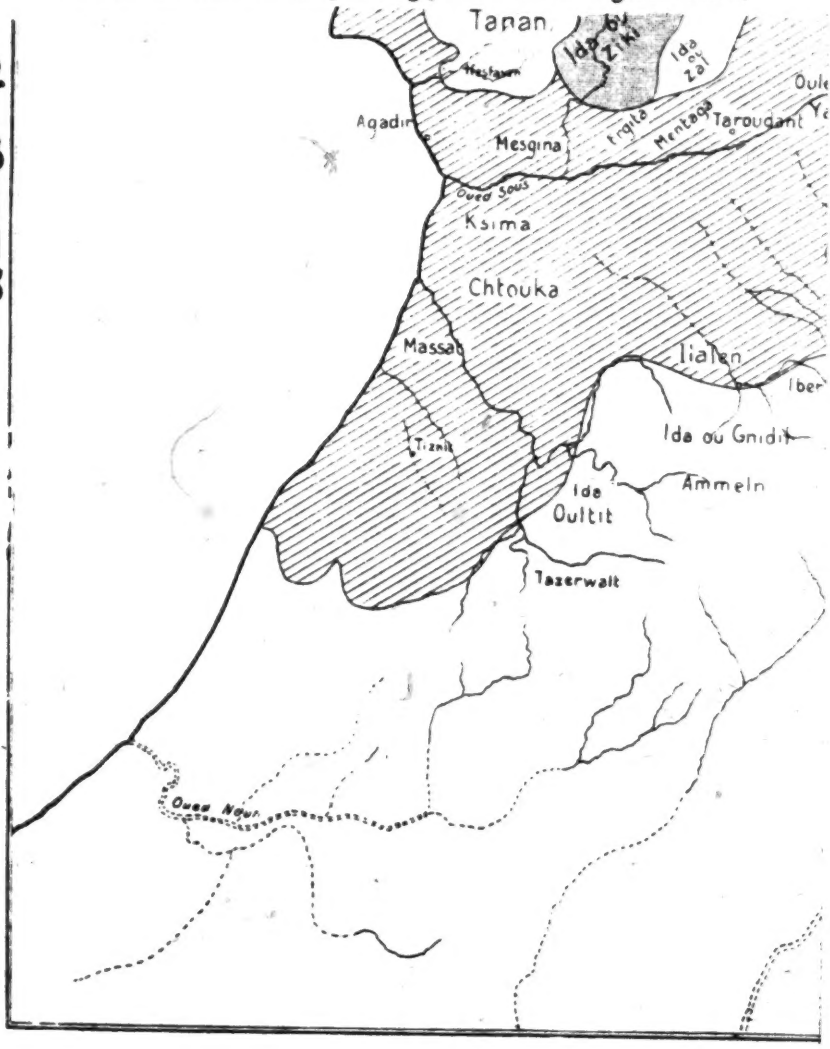
101
102
131
-133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

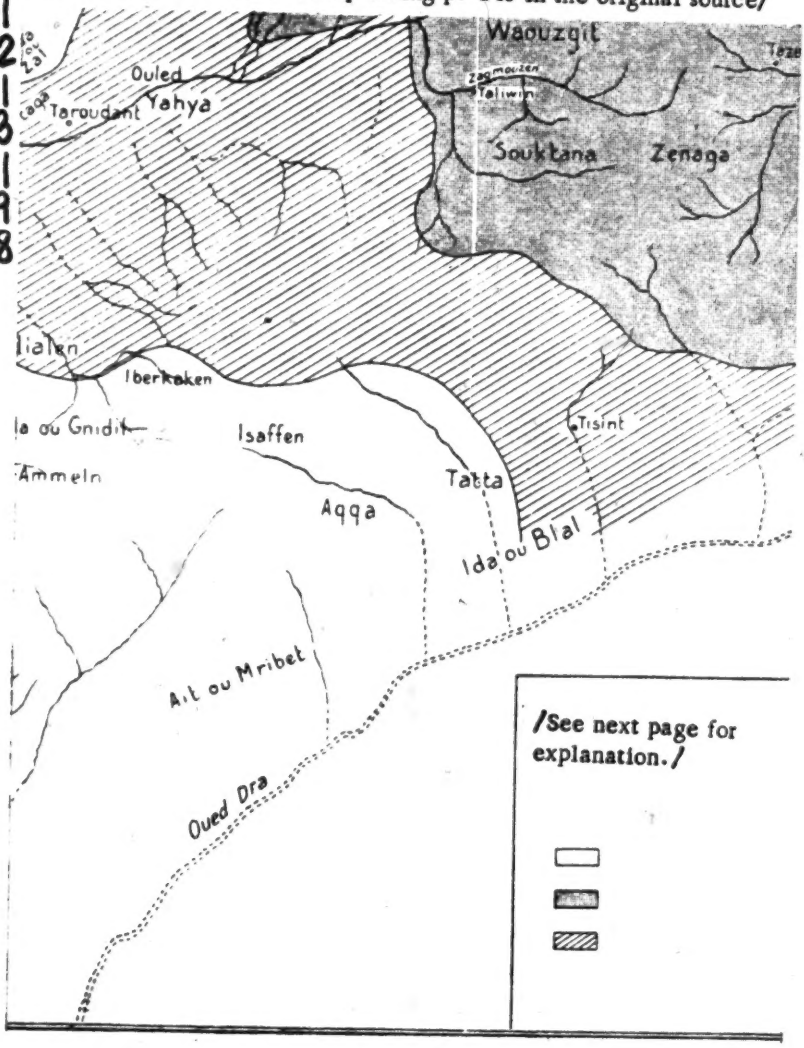
101
102
131
•133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

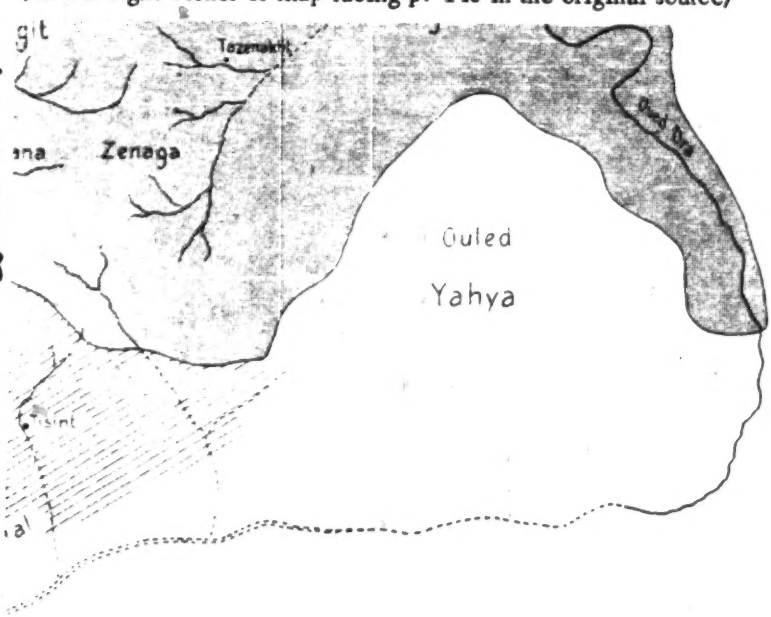
101
102
131
•133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
•133
*631
619
648



The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(High Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids:
Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen
(Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/156 cont./

*634 184 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages defended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of
[619] the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of di-
• [133] vision in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoún, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 184 131 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^{c}," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

2: Montagne--218 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

102
131
•133
*631
619
*634

2: Montagne--261 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
.133

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

102
616
619
131
.133

2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1.	Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs					
Zone 2.	Region of the leffs of the western Atlas	Ait Atman Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis)	Indghertit Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa)	Ait Fademt Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)	Ait Zolit Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)	
Zone 3.	Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua	Inemzel				
		Ait Iraten				
Zone 4.	Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas	Isouktan				
		Igezzoulen				
Zone 5.	Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)	Ait Atman				
		Ait Tintlet.				

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

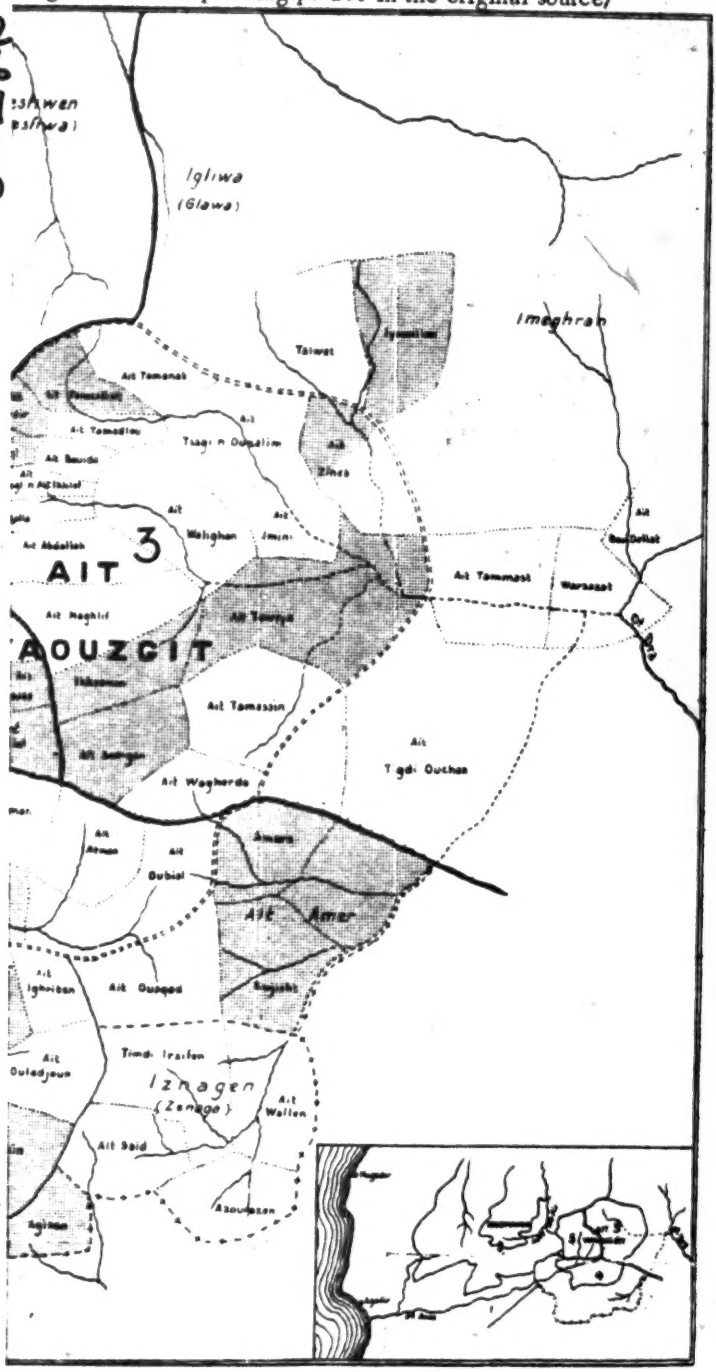
102
616
619
131
133

Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Waouzgit
(Ouagità)
Iouriken
(Ourika)
Imeshwen
(Mesfiwa)
Ighighain
(Ghighaine)
Ogdemt
Onein
Sammegat
Ait Hamid
Ait Yahya
Imingan
Id Willoun
Ait Stimar
Ait Waggas
Ait Tadrart
Ait Waouzg
Ait Tamadlou
Ait Bouida
Ait Qaila
Ait Abdallah
Ait Maghlit
Ait Hamadan
Warkaine
Ait Isger
Ait Mesount
Ait Ghoni
Ait Ghaghout
Ait Ghoghelt
Ait Ba
Ait Waghsan
Ait Ba Hamou
Ait Ba Ali
Ait Ba Ali
Ait Ba Ali

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

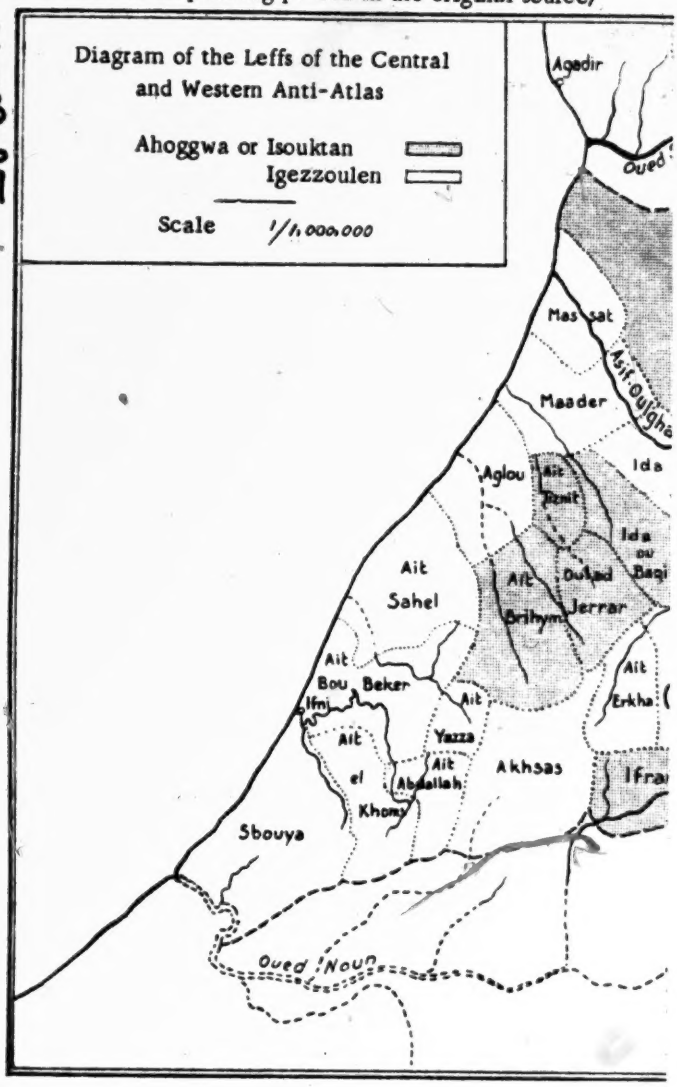
/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133



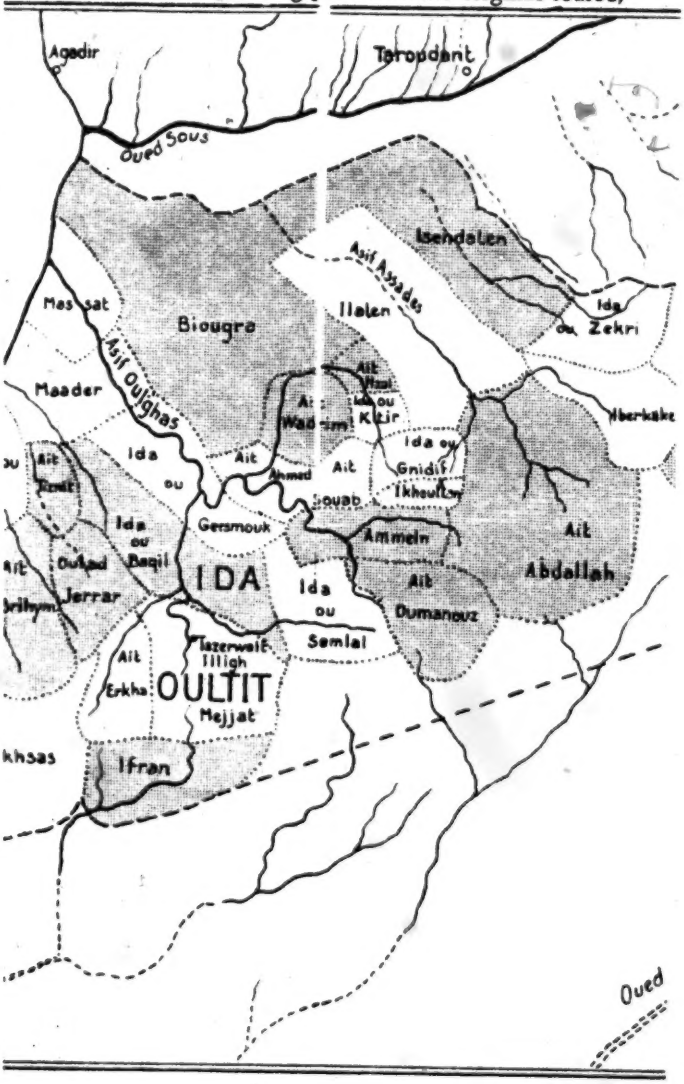
/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
•133
616
619



102
131
•133
616
619

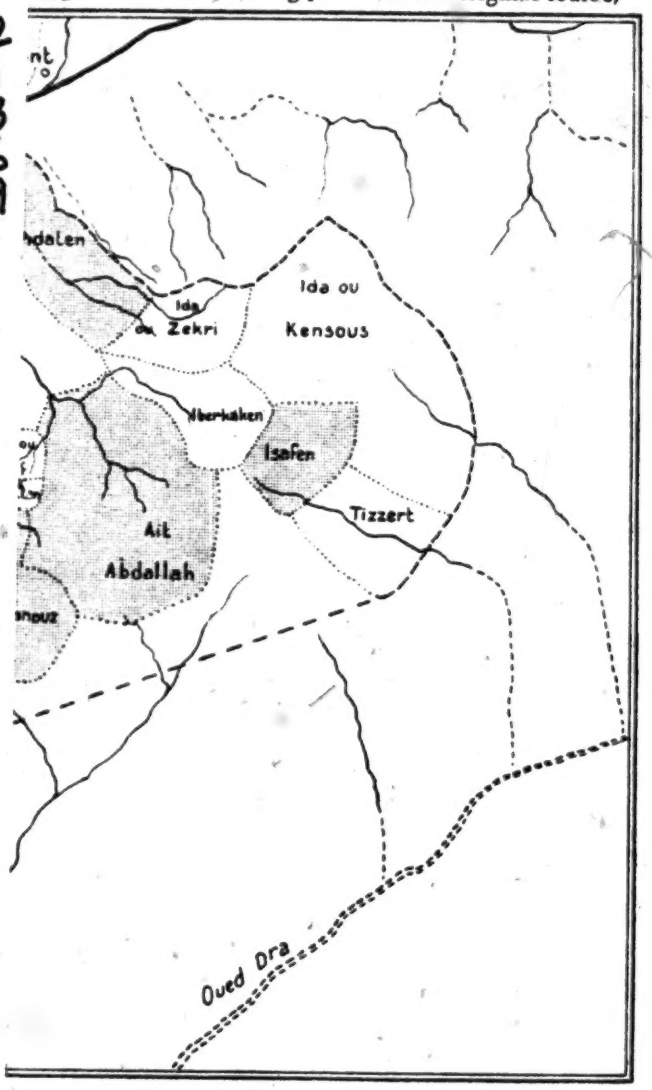
/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/



2: Montagne--270 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

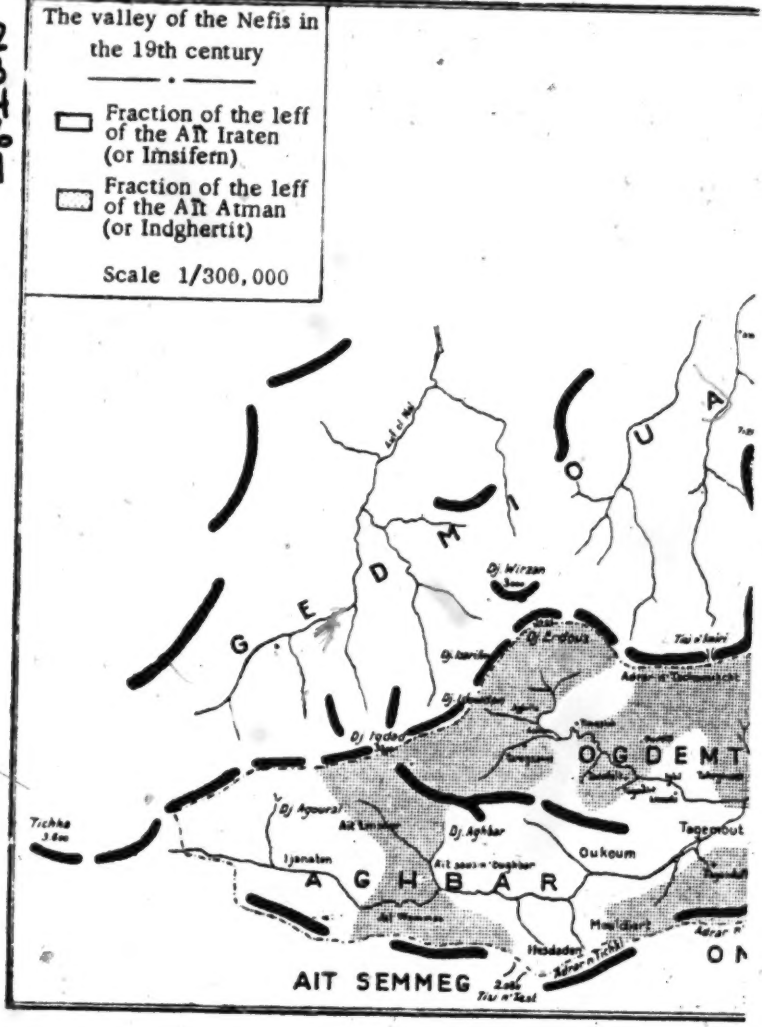
102
131
•133
616
619



2: Montagne--369 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
•133
*634
616
131



2: Montagne--370 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

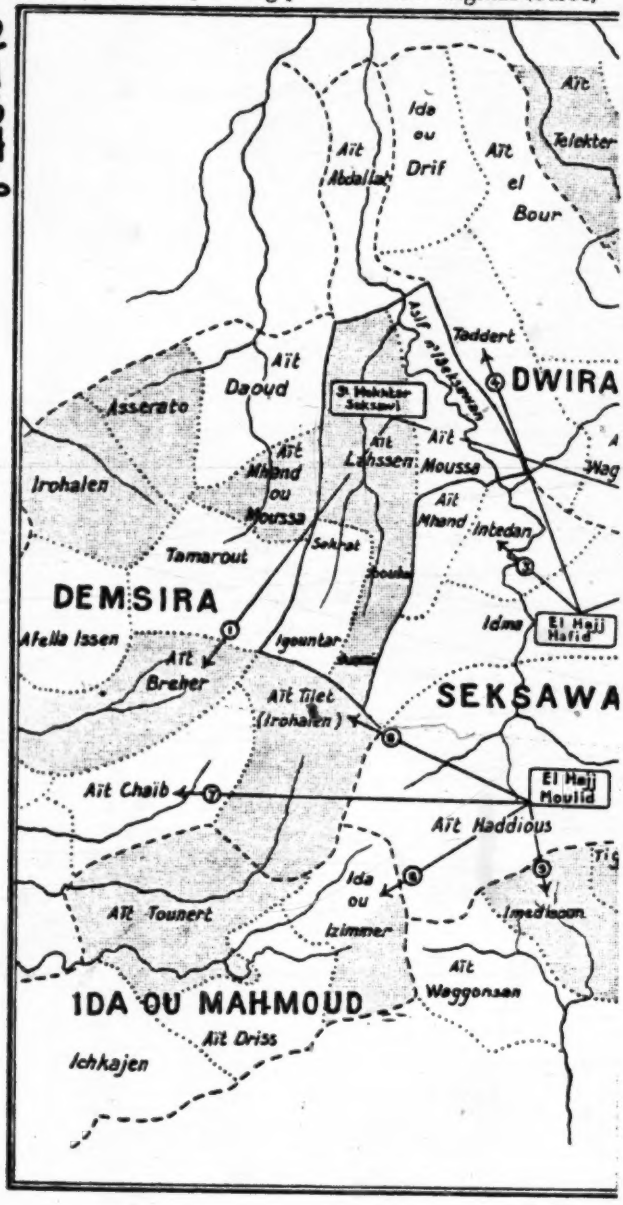
/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
131
•133
*634
616

2: Montagne--406 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

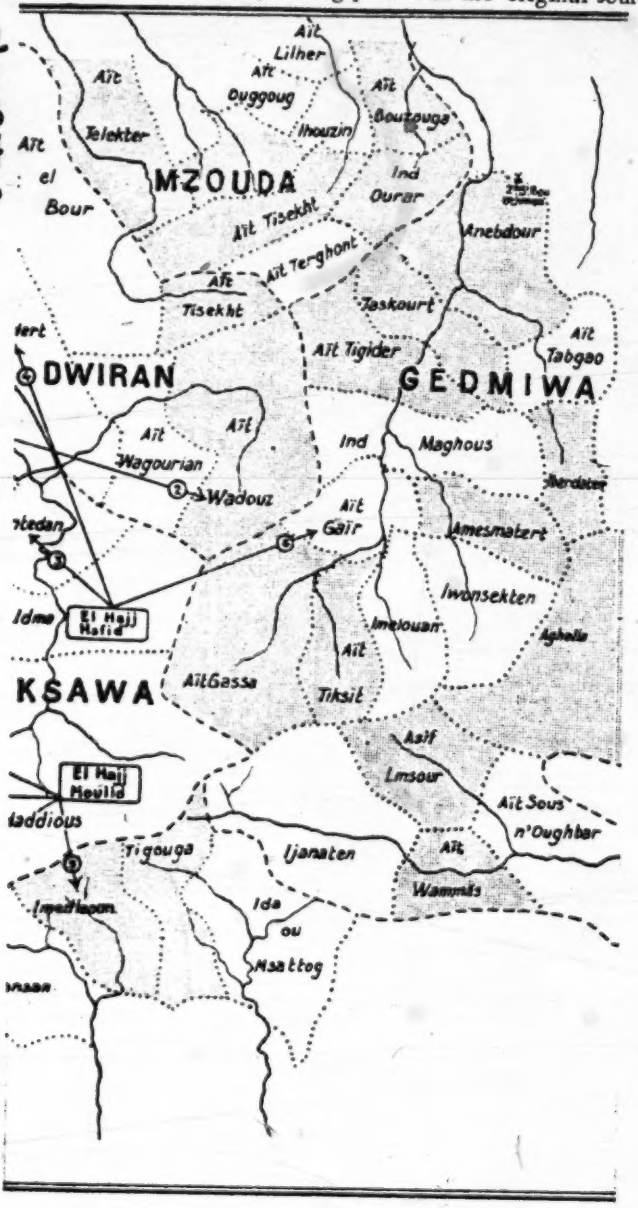
102
131
•133
*634
616



2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

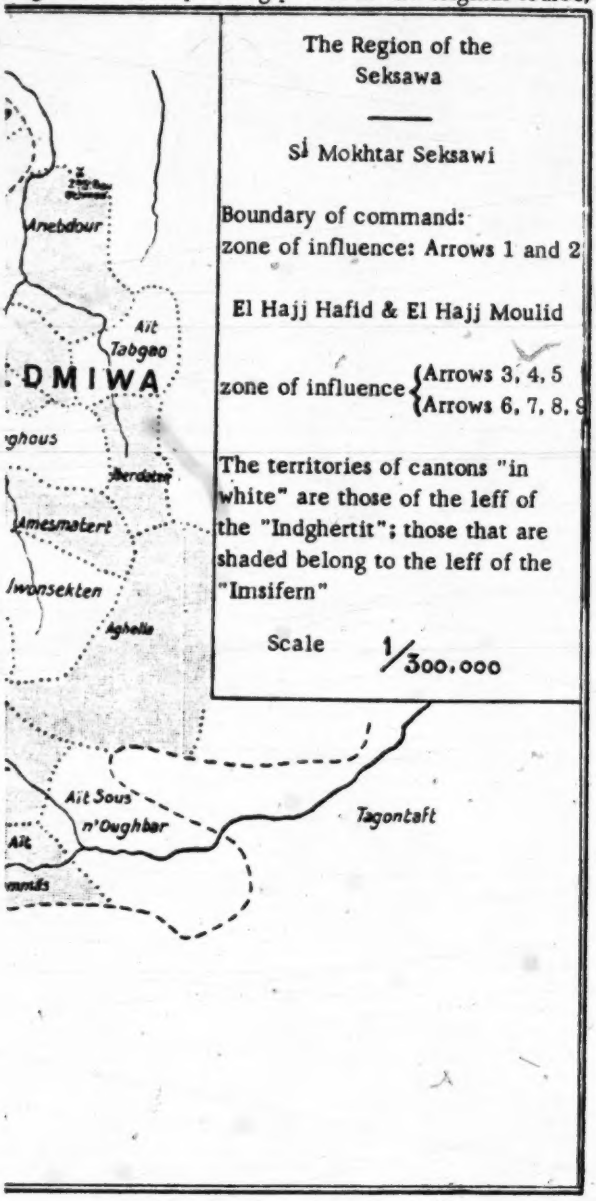
/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
•133
*634
616



/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
• 133
* 634
616



/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

[178]

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals
648 to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
•[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
*634 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
726 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
*631 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the
159

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny-capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

133 The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
241 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
[137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards. Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
• 134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

135 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
311 merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
241 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
312
137
132

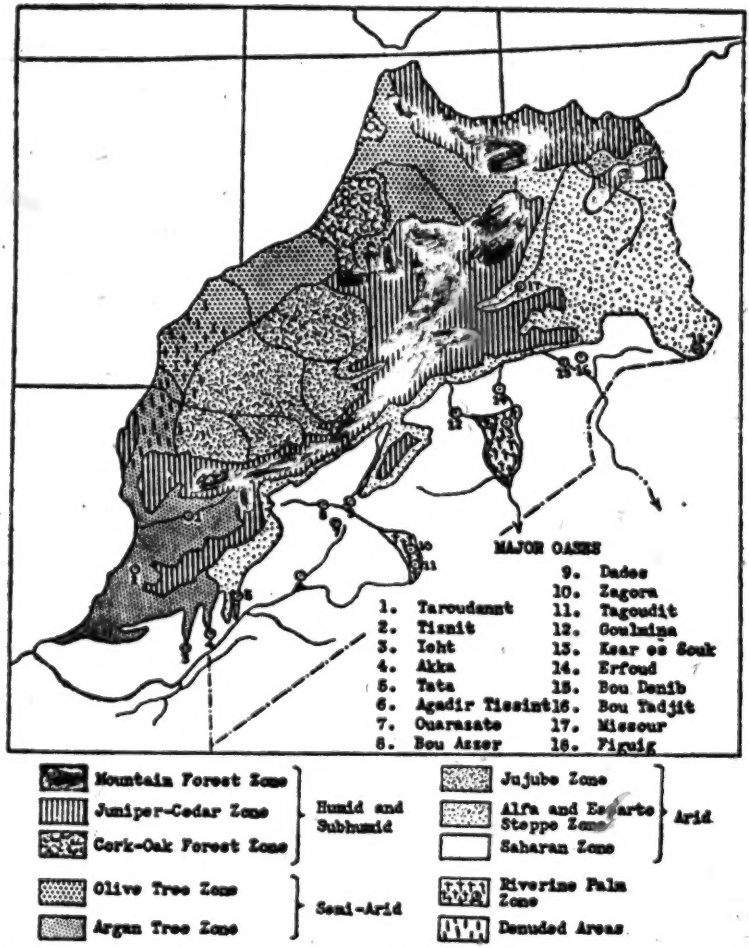


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

[1] [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[19] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col
of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi
Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/20/

II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137 133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude.

[126]

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain
societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/
and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/,
annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is
"a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts"
(2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors
to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them
closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits
of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Sek-
sawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending
245 upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as
far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree,
whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
(361) rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
(241) tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
(233) by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

137 /21 cont./
At one point the /22/ bushy vegetation rises up to trees: a scattered population of gum trees puts its pungent foliage with characteristic pods on calcareous outcrops which rise above the marls. It is a residual forest. The sovereign plant here is the alfa, in two types designated by the names: tanalt and auri. Only the auri climbs up to the higher level stretches: it is found at all altitudes, up to the col of the Tabgurt, where, quite stunted itself, it is accompanied by other, more paltry Graminaceae, such as izggri or targha (1).

1. At this horizon: Bupleurum, Euphorbia, Ononis atlantica, Alyssum spinosum, Stipa retorta, Isatis tinctoria, Astragalus Ibrahimianus, Erinacea Anthyllis, Descurainia sophia.

At 500 meters above the plateau of the Imlilen, overhanging the lowest part of Z'init' by an incline of about a thousand meters, the forest of Mzawt begins (2).

2. At this horizon: Tragopogon porrifolius, Roemeria hybrida, Leucanthemum maroccanum, Silene Cucubalus, Hypochaeris radicata, Scorzonera laciniata.

It prevails without interruption on the enormous dome of earth which separates the principal valley from that of Ammern: preliminary entresol to the Tabgurt. The vertical ascent above Z'init' permits noting successively the almond tree, then the wild jujube vegetation attaining arborescent form. Then Juniperus oxycedrus, particularly dense on the north face of the folds. Beginning at 1,400 meters, the holm oak, which is studded only at great intervals by the juniper. At the Mzawt, on the other side of the Seksawa, the mountainous block of the Azur, much more deforested, forms a counterpart. The two forests are very degraded up to 1,500 or 1,600 meters, then strengthen their character as one approaches the figure 2,000. But here and there

137 [241] [824] /22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anâghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

/23 cont./

137 (2,600 meters), is characterized by a vegetation sweeping the ground. Each plant becomes a miniature bush, in order to protect itself better from the cold and the wind. The plants, so to speak, put their backs up against the inclement conditions. They face outward in little clumps of arched and thorny felting.

Such are the principal phytogeographical tiers of the Seksawa country. But such a description, summary as it may be, would be inexact if, recalling our initial considerations, we did not note immediately to what extent the flora of the depths of the valley in fact escapes, both because of a different ecology and because of the contagion of man, a simplistic tiering. Not only is it shaded, complex, and sometimes paradoxical -- notably in the matter of fruit trees --, but further it reflects the conditionings of the altitude only in order also to accentuate its differences from the flora of slopes or summits. Concerning the valley of the Urika, R. Maire has enumerated the ripicolous associations crowded on the banks of the torrents, and which, joining their fixative effect for the gravels of the bed with the incidence of bank cultivations, succeed in certain cases in forming an undergrowth of tamarisks or of poplars. The underbrush shade of the prairies at mowing time: another type of az'mu differing profoundly both in origin and in utilization from the montagnard az'mu.

These influences, properly botanical, and those of the shelter, at each confluence, imi, of a ravine with the principal valley, develop coppices, each having its physiognomy: virgin forest of giant laurels at Imi w-Ussttif; virgilian vale of Imi y-Ikis, with its fig trees, its pomegranate trees, its blackberry brambles, and /24/ its gurgling waters. There one finds a small violet flower [202] with a sweet smell, greatly in demand for tea, afert'ᵂkkᵂel (1).

1. Salvia taraxacifolia. Other plants: Marrubium vulgare, Globularia Alypum, Rumex papilio, Satureja Hochreutineri, Catananche coerulea, Arrhenatherum elatius.

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to it: that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

241
137

2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subspontaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe century)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subspontaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorily (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

241
137
171

First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the summits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. [illegible]. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 31 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulᶜwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 101 634 [619] [132] Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I. [221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og, [233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebaᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of [137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid [178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minuscule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and en- [172] tirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines descending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[132] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyaan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Abdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'ajj Bujma u Abderrah'man, from Talaint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

241 312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia, irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^cwân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched, opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
[137] The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talfint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talfint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
[571] Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[137] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look. /

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrāda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 794 613 [592] [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/393 cont./

175 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneous-
12 ly a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys,
[177] in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to
[128] the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to
[184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

133 The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
241 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
• [137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards. Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur; the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
[137] crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disin-
[101] herited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of
[312] high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent
[142] streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type
[181] from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanen]

619
634 /67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their
heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history
indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).
619

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Pl. IV

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342
343
353
361
414

Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291
302
516
533
554
613
634
534
535

Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves
144 here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and
101 left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what
619 has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory
174 (1).
101

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
[146] unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing. Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a [152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara- [754] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq- [762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare out-croppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/124 cont./

*631 159 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and the son of Ma el ᶜAlnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco organized in a uniform manner into great commands according to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --

*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids, which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/ limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions, whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the populations that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble [628] their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, in [721] order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even [152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

/125 cont./

*631 forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy
•[152] that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their
*631 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain
712 hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work
[632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little
[343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas-
[251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the
[651] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects
[697] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened [648] from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./

*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
•152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance, he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
178 ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
*631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

*631 648 17 [735] /413 cont./

of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent populations, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty, calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

*631 648 17 .153 It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty, while the more disturbed government of the independent republics alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institutions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions. [669] The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal government of ancient times.

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
• 159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/179 cont./

166 From the time he was 40, he has shuttled between the two vil-
159 lages; it is doubtlessly his example that made several of his neighbors decide to settle, like him, in the plain. In a. Mh'nd he has kept some lands, which his son exploits. He trades at Agadir Inflas, despite his already old blindness. He is married to a woman from the Dwiran and counts on ending his days in the plain.

Lh'sen u Abdallah n-a. Barka (40 years old) came to Takennurt (lower Seksawa) in 1945 (famine). He lost his lands in ait Mh'nd, but has not given up getting them back. For the time being, he cultivates his wife's field at Takennurt. His wife, originally from the ait Abdella, has given him three children. He regards himself as established in residence; nevertheless he still has a nephew in a. Mh'nd.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Ali n-a Barka (30 years old) emigrated in 1945 (famine) to Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), lives there without land, as an agricultural day-laborer. He has kept some fields and a house in a. Mh'nd, to which he hopes to return one day. Married to a woman from the a. Lh'sen and father of 4 children.

Lh'oseyn b. Lkhd'ir n-a. Abdennur (50 years old) has no lands at Ilutjan (Bas /Lower/ Seksawa), but he possesses some in a. Mh'nd, where his son has stayed to cultivate them. At Ilutjan, he lives as an agricultural associate /Fr. associé, associate, partner, member/, has married a foreign woman (Idma), from whom he has five children. He does not count on remaining at Ilutjan forever, but on going back to end his days in the country.

Moh'ammed u Bella n-a. Umzil (35 years old) has been at Bul^{c}wân for only a year. He does not have lands here, but keeps some in a. Mh'nd, from where poverty drove him. Married to a woman from his home, he counts on returning for the harvest and coming back only for the next tillage, still as an agricultural associate.

Nearly analogous case of Abdallah u Moh'ammed (40 years old), working at Agadir Inflas as khammès /settler to whom one fifth of the produce is allowed/, of Lh'oseyn u Lh'sen n-a. Barka (40 years old), hireling at Taqennurt, of Lh'sen u Abdallah (20 years old), khammès at Tizi Wargyun, and of several other young men.

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh /sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[176] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
792 that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
789 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Abdallah was endowed with the gift of
787 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Ali, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Abdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

159 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and in-
787 struction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2).

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/
[776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/,
[776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101]

2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt. [792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the [795] richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this •159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan 175 Moulay ʿAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

/121 cont./

*631 • 159 [175]

succeeded in again extending his power further after the submission of the chiefs of the South to France. The death of that great policy, which took place in 1919, did not lead to the ruin of his work; his nephew, Si Hammo, received in his inheritance most of the mountain tribes; his young /122/ brother in particular, El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, was consequently able to play an important role in the pacification of Morocco. His military and political successes earned for him the highest distinctions. Through his cleverness in gaining the support of the highest authorities by multiplying sumptuous receptions, the pasha acquired the reputation of an all-powerful and magnificent leader, and he willingly appears to foreigners as the viceroy of the South of Morocco.

In the upper valley of the Nefis dwells the old Si Tayeb Gontafi, already famous in the reign of Moulay el Hasan for his courage, ambition, and immense wealth. Although his political fortune has not been as brilliant as that of the Telwet chiefs, from his medieval burg of Tagontaft or his picturesque dwelling of Talat n Yaqoub he governs five large mountain tribes in the very center of this country which in former times was the kingdom of the Almohades. Not long ago, after the death of the vizier Ba Hmad, regent of the young Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, Gontafi warred in the Sous plain and conquered part of the Anti-Atlas. Won over to France in 1912, he commanded the marches of Tiznit in the name of the Sultan for four years and held in check the last unsubjugated Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South.

Still more to the West we find, in the casbah of Bouaboud, ᶜAbd el Malek Tiggi, chief of the Mtougga. Like his rival of the Nefis and his Telwet competitor, he has command on the two versants of the great chain, but his possessions extend besides, toward the North, over several Arab tribes of the "Azaghar" of Marrakech (1).

1. Azaghar in Berbère /Berber/ has the meaning of plain, most often large plain. The small plains, particularly when they are cultivated, often take the name of Tagrogra.

/122 cont./

*631 .159 Moreover, his influence is exerted well beyond the boundaries of his fief. Thanks to his cleverness, to his deep knowledge of all the intrigues, he makes himself heard by all the independent minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the region of the high summits. His friendships suffice for him to make security prevail on the trails of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Atlas. Finally, by means of his alliances with the Arabs of the plain of the North, old Mtouggi maintains valuable relations with the other Maᶜqil tribes remaining in the Sous and the Sahara. Wary, prudent, even crafty, master in the art of intrigue, he is adept at double dealing, but resolute also when it is necessary, /123/ most often pitiless; his name is feared and respected in all the tribes of the western Atlas.

*631 648 On the rough coast of the Ocean, the old confederation of the Haha, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for centuries, closely controlled at present by our "bureaux" /offices/, it, too, formerly knew the organization of the great commands. At the time of our conquest, two powerful lords were fiercely contesting for power there: Mohammed Anflous was governing the tribes of the North, and ᶜAbd er-Rahman Gellouli those of the South. Won over to France for a time, these two enemy chiefs became reconciled in order to betray us; defeated and put to flight by our troops, they had to make way for minor kaids without true strength, who at present hold all their authority from the investiture of the Sultan.

*631 159 These two great kaids of the Haha, who disappeared at the time of our arrival in the Moroccan South, had themselves shared the political legacy of the great chief that El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi was. The lowliest shepherd still knows his name and successes, and the poets have not ceased to sing his glory. Originating from the Ait Zelten, ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi had, as we said, led all his tribes in the name of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to the conquest of the Anti-Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 142.

/123 cont./

*631 Under his authority, the whole confederation then knew twenty
•159 years of prosperity, and one then saw in the casbahs of the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten and of Amhach all the kaids and sheiks of the mountains and plains of the Sous coming to bring presents to the great victorious kaid. Ruined by the intrigues of the chiefs neighboring Bouaboud, El Hajj ʿAbdallah ou Bihi disappeared at one stroke, poisoned by order of the sultan Sidi Mohammed in 1868, after having long known a fortune similar to the one that the kaids of the Glawa have in our day.

Finally, in Taroudant, former capital of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, ten times ruined and ten times reconstructed, there resides a powerful Arab pasha, master of the tribes established around the town by the Sultans. Haida ou Mwis, who died in 1917 in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in a battle to the south of Tiznit, had long contained the rebel tribes of the Anti-Atlas, destroyed their fortresses nearest to the plain, and dispersed their turbulent councils of notables. The minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the mountains rendered him homage up to the /124/ desert. His son, heir to an extensive fief, firmly established over the tribes of the Sous valley, willingly accepts the title of caliphate /Fr. khalifat/ of the Sultan and tries to direct, as his father did, with less success, it is true, the politics of the Far South.

*631 Many other kaids named by the Sultan still live in the tribes of the Azaghar of Marrakech or of the Sous, but their personal influence is weak; they cling by instinct or by necessity to one or another of the masters of the mountains, who have been called the "lords of the Atlas." Everywhere, as a matter of fact, the three great kaids cross their intrigues; they try, by imposing an alliance upon the minor chiefs, to extend their power toward the South and to increase unceasingly the number of their tributary subjects.

In the Anti-Atlas, only the unsubjugated Igezzoulen, grouped in the region of the old kingdom of the Tazerwalt, where the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa formerly reigned, still concentrate their
[159] last efforts at resistance in their infertile mountains. Near the desert a ghost pretender, Merebbi Rebbo, lives at Kerdous; he is

/124 cont./

*631 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and
.159 the son of Ma el ᶜAlnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco organized in a uniform manner into great commands according to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --
*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids, which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/ limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions, whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the pop-
[628] ulations that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble
[721] their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, in order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even
[152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
•159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
•159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arbaᶜin"
*634 of his "moudaᶜ." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
*634 family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
616 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
726 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
•159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
616 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his can-
726 ton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
•159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
726 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
•159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the A'lt Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of
the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the A'lt Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the A'lt Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/
existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./

175 and the "A'lt Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n A'lt Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
•159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the A'lt Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
•159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "A'lt
• 159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
* 634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.
* 631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "A'lt Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "A'lt Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "A'lt Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the A'lt Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "A'lt Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "A'lt Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "A'lt Iraten" and "A'lt Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "A'lt Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the A'lt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "A'lt
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "A'lt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the A'lt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

175 /304 cont./
the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
• 159 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.
*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit,"
the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him.
The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the
amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the
fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.
726 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
•159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.
726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
•159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the
intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the
protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of
the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded
in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his
part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar
Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
•159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hatè of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ʿAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ʿAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
•159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
[625 his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[602 changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
616 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled
578 circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
• 159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
726 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
616 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/309 cont./

175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
•159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going
616 back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 • 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth 342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified 343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talâint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/37 cont./

632 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony
162 -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amismiz [361] [443] Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

•[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/155 cont./

*634
184
174
178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
[131]
•[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

609 /245 cont./
574
[344] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
[485] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
•[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
563 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant re-
vision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building else-
where. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with
their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there
are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of
the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other
economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its
realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the
human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habi-
tat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be
the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social
structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more
closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or
hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and
obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood.
The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a
city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that,
through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the
energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks
and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront
one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of
the provinces."

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-
guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
[484] Abdallah u Sa'id is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-
634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, [613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a

101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.

175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue

[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment

[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,

241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.

101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously

634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.

[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds

[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

• 166 [829] Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis. But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166

/footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1903, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamès, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 829 [634] [521]

They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Chāib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbāz and a. Ggāhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffūf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyād'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawenawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
634
621
613
173
166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bulᶜwân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâᶜ). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a)
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
●166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id" (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid)
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101]
[312]
[142]
[181]

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

[778]

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Abdella, 634 632 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows: 613 166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut Agadir.	Sidi Amer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'aq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Amer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaan.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lasri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Anono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/69 cont./

423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkâla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements. C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagen a descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

/74 cont./

487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
175 On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
619 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâsh tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of Safar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2).
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
[176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ-at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

57 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoûa et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyar). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sons, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing. Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bran, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyad'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/179 cont./

166 159 From the time he was 40, he has shuttled between the two villages; it is doubtlessly his example that made several of his neighbors decide to settle, like him, in the plain. In a. Mh'nd he has kept some lands, which his son exploits. He trades at Agadir Inflas, despite his already old blindness. He is married to a woman from the Dwiran and counts on ending his days in the plain.

Lh'sen u Abdallah n-a. Barka (40 years old) came to Takennurt (lower Seksawa) in 1945 (famine). He lost his lands in ait Mh'nd, but has not given up getting them back. For the time being, he cultivates his wife's field at Takennurt. His wife, originally from the ait Abdella, has given him three children. He regards himself as established in residence; nevertheless he still has a nephew in a. Mh'nd.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Ali n-a Barka (30 years old) emigrated in 1945 (famine) to Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), lives there without land, as an agricultural day-laborer. He has kept some fields and a house in a. Mh'nd, to which he hopes to return one day. Married to a woman from the a. Lh'sen and father of 4 children.

Lh'oseyn b. Lkhd'ir n-a. Abdennur (50 years old) has no lands at Ilutjan (Bas /Lower/ Seksawa), but he possesses some in a. Mh'nd, where his son has stayed to cultivate them. At Ilutjan, he lives as an agricultural associate /Fr. associé, associate, partner, member/, has married a foreign woman (Idma), from whom he has five children. He does not count on remaining at Ilutjan forever, but on going back to end his days in the country.

Moh'ammed u Bella n-a. Umzil (35 years old) has been at Bu^{c}wân for only a year. He does not have lands here, but keeps some in a. Mh'nd, from where poverty drove him. Married to a woman from his home, he counts on returning for the harvest and coming back only for the next tillage, still as an agricultural associate.

Nearly analogous case of Abdallah u Moh'ammed (40 years old), working at Agadir Inflas as khammès /settler to whom one fifth of the produce is allowed/, of Lh'oseyn u Lh'sen n-a. Barka (40 years old), hireling at Taqennurt, of Lh'sen u Abdallah (20 years old), khammès at Tizi Wargyun, and of several other young men.

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 159 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees [233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195 [556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 233 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, livestock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

578/266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî/The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/. Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal movements is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmokzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aît Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aît Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
[166] pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
• [166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it
did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in
the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- ex-
cept at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the
Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they
carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the
Aït ᶜAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the
power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent com-
munities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the
tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in
two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which
dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats
or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/152 cont./

*634 [184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^{c}," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^{c}" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

*634 -166 609

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
•166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
609 of a neighboring fraction.

632 A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
*634 four "mouda^c" that gather together in all the population of about 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (A'lt Lhasen, A'lt ^cAbdallah, A'lt Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the A'lt Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./

*634 .166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

[619] [131] *634 184 174 178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

609 /245 cont./
574
[344] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
[485] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
•166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
563 origin, a consultation of the jemaʿa of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
•166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[154] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
* 634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
• [166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which [578] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of [669] the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and [693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops [653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- •[166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

/416 cont./

648 [178] In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ᶜAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life 177 that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of • 166 that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all dimin- *634 ished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or 634
three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics:

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor, is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations [166] • resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe 634 (589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor 613 lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe 166 (559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154).

634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila, zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16).

619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: [175] the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, [167] which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[176] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen-at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[192] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'inît', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all 173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 634 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the [613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
243 a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
43 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
221 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim ü H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

/237 cont./
about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882: "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them profoundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
•167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desolation. 361 Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the 133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the [137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab- [312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and [241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that • 167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to- 619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the 103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khela Tifernin, the ᶜArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maᶜqil formerly was.

*175 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue •167 to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of 174 small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of [101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives,

/35 cont./

*175 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have
•167 thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in
174 regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, set-
101 tled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït ᶜAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohe-
*175 sion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan
648 South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do
[101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
•[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
184 an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
-167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Ma'qil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

S
616
174
•[167]
[648]

/205 cont./

produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Ait Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R
616
171

XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few
• 167 villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
171 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
*631 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
648 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
.17 in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/412 cont./

*631 648 •17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re- [712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

*631 /413 cont./
648 of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent popula-
-17 tions, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty,
[735] calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut
*631 up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds
648 the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty,
17 while the more disturbed government of the independent republics
153 alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institu-
tions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions.
[669] The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal government of ancient times.

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

/5 cont./

101 Sâadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksîwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
171 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord,

/5 cont./

101
171

/footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâc.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkî. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Lévi-Provençal ed., p. 462, 1. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. I, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 v, 1. 11. That would point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Iseksawan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chîchâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same watercourse, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

101
171
197

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Mérinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. chassés-croisés/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chîchâwa: Sessau, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebâla.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," op. laud., p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Ikessan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa even. One thinks also of the Wâd

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative. I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hestitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksâwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

133
[101]

A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to it: that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

241
137

2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subspontaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe century)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subspontaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorily (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

241 First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition
137 between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the sum-
171 mits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/27 cont./

241 distribution of the water for irrigation are possible, and only through that will the water and earth arise simultaneously for tillage. The geographer is quite familiar with this kind of [171] cultivation, classic examples of which can be found in the Orient as well as in Europe. It always evokes an idea of rustic virtues, courage, and work. Incessant labor to combat the descent of the soil, the fall of the water, slow remountings, basket on the shoulder, attentive management with the hoe and the "small tools," art of walls in dry stone: all that on hardly more space than a flower pot or than a flower box at the window of a building! The surprise here is that so much trouble leads only to a fistful of barley or maize. To the dismay of the economist, these "large-scale crops" paradoxically clash with such a minute, such a costly cadre. Is it not economic subversion?

Let us descend farther. The street, it is the torrent. In the best cases, its walls are tiered in successive level stretches, in natural terraces. There are also plains and suspended basins, sometimes quite wide: at Sidi Âmer u H'addô, at Tuz'ziumt. Elsewhere also, more poorly. But sometimes the bottom of the corridor amounts to the actual bed of the river. And then one finds that this bed itself is not neglected. Stone walls are erected perpendicular to the current. Comes the flood: there where they do not hold, all is carried away. Thus at Sekrat. Elsewhere, trenching operations try to take advantage of a general declivity, without worrying about the storm that will take away everything. Thus at Imt'ddan.

Infinite trouble, almost gratuitous work, total want of foresight, we would say. A whole torrent-bed agriculture builds and rebuilds defenses, destroyed several times each year. The stone is so familiar: it is displaced, it is replaced with such airiness! Cyclopean propensity, waste of human work. And the kindness of the water is believed in with a blind faith. One will thus make barley and maize with stone and water. The river becomes larger, pulls out everything. But sometimes one will have a windfall of a harvest: barley breaking through on the "shingle," a veritable vegetable explosion. And the montagnard braving the

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
[171] mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Besseba^c, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a [171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebâc Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

/89-cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flourish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, [171] those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [179] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171] 1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâlî is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plâteau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/103 cont./

178
24
22
[171]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of
171 Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the
[361] tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen; the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzūyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wān, long contested by the Ul Besseba^{c}, was the dār al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Abdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchū^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

[423] [427]

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171]

1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Bessebâc for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa of the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ᶜachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
241 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/111 cont./

246 prohibiting cutting or opening the $ag^{w}mi$ constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our $ag^{w}mi$, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: $ag^{w}dal$).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/112 cont./

675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1),

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233
241
171

2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/115 cont./

233 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
171

1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone
[634] remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouīa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
[571] political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political
221 structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of
233 flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to
171 the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations,
233 plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the
571 whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm
634 basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
174 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing
648 the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/121/ II. Matter and Outlines of Peasant Work

The Field and Its Personality

241 Old and profound idea, the one of the field. A millenary tradition colors it with feeling. Studies as rigorous as that of a Roupnel can be wrapped in lyricism without, for all that, losing contact with science. Many generations have sought in the Géorgiques /Georgics/ both the most exact rules of Mediterranean agronomy and a charm which, far from depriving the exactitude of the discourse of anything, amplifies and extends it. This rare conjugation between "poetry and truth" is explained by the synthesis that is brought about by intellectual, practical, affective values, where rest the earth, man, his tools, his history, his solemn or familiar life. And the basic element of this synthesis is the field.

But what is a field, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1)?

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 359 sq., on the different names for the "field."

241 171 Would it be the individualized domain, continued in the time and space of the Romans? Or the long parcel of the Nordic plains, tied into clusters by the obscure agreements of the open field /italicized words are in English in the original source/ (2)?

2. M. Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931, pp. 21 sq.

Or the same soles of strips /Fr. soles de lanières/ discovered in a completely different milieu, and undoubtedly amidst completely different environments, by Weulersse, in this Near East muchâ^c,

/121 cont./

241 whose appellation (but not the reality) reappears among the
171 Chleuh /Shluh/ (3)?

3. C. r. of the book by Weulersse, "Le pays des Alaouites /The country of the Alaouites/," Ann. hist. soc., 1943, III, pp. 116 sq.; Latron, ibid., 1941, p. 122, and 1943, III, p. 117, n. 1.

Or the close of woodland, which paradoxically evokes by certain traits, despite its dryness, with its woods and its enclosures, the H'ah'a country? Or the Mediterranean saltus? Let us stop at this last form. It is so appropropriate for Maghrebi antiquity that one of the first lines of research that one might imagine would be to check to see if anything in the present reality of the Moroccan South corresponds to it. But one can affirm without fear that, comparison for comparison, it is /122/ not to the saltus, but to a diametrically opposite rural form, and which the magnificent aerial photographs of the Constantine limes have restored, that our observations would instead make one think of in this part of the Atlas.

Nothing will appear closer to the ensembles of parcels "in a honeycomb" (1)

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 173 sq.

discovered by the flight over the Roman fossatum than the analogous ensembles, irrigated by a whole arborescence of ditches, of our high valleys. Doubtlessly, there and here the problem is not identical. The techniques described by J. Baradéz would apply even better to the subdesert plain or to the Dir than to the montagnard horticulture. But the form of the grounds is there. Same agglomeration of minuscule quadrilaterals downstream from a basin. Same art of the bank of earth cutting and directing the development of the waters. Let us stop at this superficial

/122 cont./

241 171 [114]

analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Ghârb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^{w}erkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqâm, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wân and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[333] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[192] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal égalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wân itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wân itself. They bear an
[192] Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

/130 cont./

114 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above
121 all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the
789 "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered
171 according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

/130 cont./

805 171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North-Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221 527 [196] Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1). [171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ᶜAchûrâ): the choᶜala of the Ud Bessebâᶜ redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Mîlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Âbdella make the fires of
241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
184 when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-Ibûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/142 cont./

241 otherwise in a country of channels and slopes, a country of scarce soil, and of domesticated rock.

A radical difference from the dry agriculture. An estimate of the annual number of hours of activity required by the one regime or the other would undoubtedly furnish decisive elements. One would have there a quantitative expression of the difference of the human rhythms. But it is impracticable in the present state of our knowledge of Morocco (2).

241 171

2. And nevertheless how useful it would be at the time when the "watering" of the immense areas dominated by the new dams approaches in the Tadla or the Doukkala. If these researches still seem unbroached in Morocco, one might refer to a geographical milieu, the Spain of the regadio /irrigated land/, for which the following precise details are given. In the dry, an average of one person occupied on the hectare; in the irrigated, nine more. Naturally, the alimentary productivity /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ is related to this density of the human population: the value in calories of the production in the irrigated is about proportional. Cf. José Terrero, "El regadio en la España peninsular /Irrigated land in peninsular Spain/," Estudios geograficos, No. 39, May, 1950, p. 254. In Algeria, the number of annual days of employment is estimated in the dry from 14 to 18 (cereals); in the irrigated, from 21 to 25 (cereals), at 175 (fruit trees), at 175 (market gardening). Cf. Compte rendu de la journée technique du 10 mars 1951 de l'Association des anciens élèves de l'I.A.A. /Account of the technical day of March 10, 1951, of the Association of the former students of the I.A.A./, p. 10.

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

●171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/143 cont./

171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical historical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on
132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he rejects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the question of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the present state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintanout. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentalization sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Generally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high terrains where the albur cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered. But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example,
133 hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts, even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless [312] lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

133
312
101
[114]

2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is
312 difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

/149 cont./

312 in the Tolgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as per-
[648] haps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the dis-
[171] tribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical utilization and above all of collective organization what they gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis, being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize successes and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily reach.

/150/ Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert, each being connected to it by its particular "intake," açder or ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary intakes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distribution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open, directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur. ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irrigable by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according
[804] to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a certain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211]

/151 cont./

312 804 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala, plur. tiwliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or subfraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'açt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen- [171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 241 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the [184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to [243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/157 cont./

312 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is
423 of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage
178 of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to
[425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear
312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For
423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that
171

/158 cont./

312 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given,
423 for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).
171

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious
182 organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks
312 the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work
114 by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171]

/footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too e[illegible]ious to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul'wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/161 cont./

241 mt'ra-s are brought about, whose explanation is absolutely not perceived by the peasant.

The requirements of the circulation of water, this whole art of planes, declivities, furrows, develop the agricultural modes for the irrigated. For the dry, on the contrary, they are limited, as everywhere in the rest of Morocco, to a scratching for burying in the ground, well adapted moreover to the nature of many of these fields. Nevertheless, one practices the loosening of the [171] compost by dressing, ttkerbil or ttneqqich, around the olive trees, but without using a special tool, as is done in Tunisia and even in the Aurés.

242 The imperfection of the system is manifested in particular by the rusticity /162/ of the rotation of crops (1).

242 171

1. Let us compare it, for example, with Roussillon, M. Sorre, Pyrénées méditerranéennes, 1913, p. 304; with Andorra, Brutails, Étude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 5 sq.; the Valencian huerta /irrigated region/ and the instructive rose of cultivations figured by Brunhes, op. laud., pp. 56, 65, 66; J. Caro Baroja, Pueblos de España /Pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (interesting bibliography on irrigation).

242 Even the name of what might correspond to it among the advanced agriculturalists of the Gharb or of the Doukkala, the bernicha, is known by only a small minority. It is to be noted, however, that a piedmont amghar cites in this regard, but in Arabic, a disabused axiom: lberninch ih'iyyed t'innich, t'innich ma idir lberninch, "rotation would eliminate poverty: but poverty is incapable of putting it to work." The lack of available

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can [171] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul^{c}wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal 241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational 441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms 237

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[191] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[191] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/167 cont./
245 industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present
[178] monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, lh'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.

423 While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual --
245 to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch
[171] is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/171 cont./

121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type; mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

121 But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest clas-
182 sical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They
171 are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1),

182 1. We choose this example not only as a case
171 "of montagnard analogy," but also because
121 the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite
114 from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

/172 cont./

182
171
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182
121
[171]

nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

/172 cont./

182
121

/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

• [171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

/174 cont./

233 241 182 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering, irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 171 [233] Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

/175 cont./

121
171

/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
[242] posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182
171

Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

182
171

/footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the Ier Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 poles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ tribes, the Ud ᶜAbdi and the Ud Daud, now called Tuaba. Each of their villages is surrounded by a perimeter of careful horticulture. One might thus believe that the distribution of land corresponds to this compartmentalization. Not at all.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the operations of the Sénatus Consulte, seeing to breaking up the old tribal entities into "commune-douars," which offered sufficient guarantees of human and economic homogeneity, established vast confusions of habitat and of property in the Aurès. The description that the commissioners setting the boundaries give of it leaves no doubt in this respect. In the Wâd Labyod', the 5 traditional subdivisions of the Ud Daud interlace their dependencies all along 74 kilometers of valley. Certain villages belong at the same time to two, three, indeed even simultaneously to the totality of these "sheikates." With the exception of Menâa, the 14 subgroups of the Ud ᶜAbdi are similarly interlaced. The plain of Nerdi has dispersed on it a veritable sampling of ownership. More to the S., behind the great barrier /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the Zalato, the Beni bu Slimân present "entangled fractions," the officer tells us, "like crops, courses, and even villages." That over 12,000 hectares. This confusion is all the more remarkable because the use of "granary-fortresses," aqliᶜt, plur. iqliᶜin, corresponds here to the personality of each agnatic group rather than to that of the village or of the tribe.

Thus it seems that this discontinuity of ground, this group interlacing are the rule in the Aurès and

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

12 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[191] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchâ^c of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/230 cont./
423 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
613 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenom-
184 ena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ[c]. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

●171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

[613] Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
[571] an intemal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
[619] among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
171 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

779 /242 cont./
671 ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern
175 norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only
779 with each other. They have found before them, beneath them,
671 more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and
[171] competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

/243 cont./

671 171 the whole ensemble of local law of an inspiration outside of or prior to Islam, the French magistrates of Algeria consider as a body of customs the ensemble of local laws, of Islamic origin or not, in contrast to the Civil Code. Did not one of our sociologists some twenty years ago entitle a work, and not one of the least ones: Loi française et coutume indigène en Algérie /French law and native custom in Algeria/ (1)?

1. R. Maunier, 1932, a book moreover picturesque and intuitive.

A second qualification is to be made concerning the term of "Berbère" /Berber/. The ubiquity of this local law, more or less even, makes very difficult its qualification as Arab or Berbère. The fact is that its most coherent expression appears especially in Berbérophone sectors, forming by that also a figure of reserves or of archeological evidence. Sectors which have constituted, for the Arabs as well as for us, both the most expressive sign and the extreme case of an autochthonous genius. A quite superficial view.

779 171 For Mussulman orthodoxy, the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/, and, with all the more reason, of a Berbère law, is an intolerable scandal. W. Marçais has acted justly to observe the very particular malevolence with which the geographer al-Yâqût stigmatizes, in the note that his dictionary devotes to them, "the singularity and the excess" of this race, h'ida wa t'aych (2).

2. Yâqût, Mu^{c}jam (1224), Wustenfeld ed., 1870, in the art. barbar., t. I, pp. 540 sq. He is struck by some aberrant aspects: ah'wâl ^{c}ajîba wa içt'ilâh'ât gharîba. W. Marçais observed that the entire note is of an unusual violence.

The last word, still living in dialectal Arabic, recovers the an-
171 cient notion hybris, "immoderation." Now many Eastern Bedouins

/243 cont./

171 are governed by a customary law, which, among the sedentary Yemenites, for example, is stated even in codifications bearing the singular name of t'aghût (3).

3. Ettore Rossi, "Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen /The consuetudinary law of the Arab tribe of the Yemen/," Rivista degli Studi orientali, fasc. I-IV, 1938, describes a whole patriarchal and chivalrous society where interdictions protect the guest, the suppliant, the client, the refugee, the traveling companion, and up to the namesake. There are even some dissertations on the man^{c}, an idea related to the taboo. Some problems, such as that of the disinheriting of the woman, are posed simultaneously for this society and for those of North Africa, in relation to which it offers, moreover, a more archaic shading. The homogeneity of the problems and of the solution that is applied to them is nonetheless suggestive. After the description, already old, of P. Jaussen, E. Rossi's article constitutes a new and considerable contribution to the knowledge of an Arab customary law.

671 That way, even the juridical originality of the Moroccan moun-
719 tains, to take an extreme case, could only, in the eyes of the
171 orthodoxy, be absorbed in this theme of survivals or rural deviations, of this "eternal Bedouin," both nightmare and reason for being of the proselytism of the towns.

/244/ Certain traits of the Mussulman juridical technique must have contributed enormously to this unitary confusion (1).

1. On all this, see J. Berque, tr. of al-Wazzâni, Les Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a

/244 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ du Mi^cyâr /The Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^ca of the Mi^cyâr/, 1940, pp 27 sq., and Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine /Essay on the Maghrebi juridical method/, 1944, pp. 33 sq.

First the concept of d'arûra, "necessity," and "law-making necessity," which allows absorbing, without derogation of principle, all resistant and aberrant facts, because one cannot master them, and without there being any question of penetrating their shell. Then, in the same sense, this Malekite opportunism imposing in the name of the "social good," maçlah'a, the acceptance of the illicit: but momentary, precarious and almost haughty. Finally the immoderate role of the presumptions in the penal and civil law has introduced, under the appellations of ^corf and of ^câda, "usage," a mass of local institutions, but, it goes without saying, without recognition of their character of internal obligation.

Consequently, the negation both instinctive and rational of the Berbère /Berber/ law by Islam is accompanied, in the juridical technique, by multiple means of absorbing it without admitting it. And not only without concession of legitimacy, but without an attempt at analysis. Consequently the Maghrebi reality has maintained the fiqh as an immense stock of facts without justification or depth.

For the strict orthodoxy, there is no problem of customary law.

Quite the contrary, the European exegesis, after long gropings in Algeria, and especially under the influence of institutional spontaneity, which it discovered in Kabylie /Kabylia/, then in Morocco, has let itself be dominated by a realism as unattackable, as long as it rests content with observation of the facts, as it is hazardous when it finds other inspirations. The joy of discovery has perhaps sometimes brought about a belief in a primitivism all the more malleable and assimilable as certain Mediterranean affinities "defended" it against the Orient: from there to the simplistic idea of division, there is only one step, which the system's detractors have not failed to make it cross.

/245 cont./

000 671 779 171

extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qâdirî, justifying the ᶜAmal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qâdirî nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

(114)

3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marcy, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/245 cont./

671 In any case, this is what forms the originality of the Sous and the
779 Mzab (4).
171

4. On this aspect of Mzabite law, L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâas du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâas of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 223.

But everywhere one finds this double character of Islamic option and cantonal conservatism. Whether it is transactional or, more rarely, insurrectional, the local law has always and everywhere reckoned with the fiqh, has set itself in comparison with the fiqh, indeed sometimes has pretended to be absorbed in it, or believed it.

/246/ Islam and Individual Belief

779 From the innermost subjectivity of the Chleuh /Shluh/, whose Islamic option is profound and ever bursting forth, to the most well-considered social affirmation -- this society wills itself Mussulman. In its great epochs it sought to be the Mussulman society. We find the Prophet everywhere. It is for this reason that it is so difficult to determine his part: it would not be if it were not total, or, more exactly, if it did not will itself, if it did not feel total. Such in fact must be the lot of a universalist faith. As a permanent appeal to the profession of the Unique, to the imitation of His noble witness, the Messenger of God, as a cultural and ethical system, it inspires and governs the soul of the person and that of the people: it has become an essential trait of the country. It would be a fine subtlety to distinguish in as specific a synthesis the part that, of an order properly institutional and of oriental color, has been, not rejected, but eluded by the societies of the Atlas, or adapted and assimilated by them. Nevertheless, in the realm of the law, one can circumscribe the indigenous legacy and the oriental contribution. Concerning the belief, the

/246 cont./

779 discrimination will be much more delicate and in many respects impossible.

It seems, however, that the progress of Islam is the very one of individual behavior. It asserts itself fully in this extreme case that is sanctity. The communitarian and naturistic character of the basic rites is naturally further removed from it. Hence the criticism of it that the scholars make. They were not mistaken in denouncing what they called paganism or idolatry: awkward expression of a certain specificity which we would prefer to attribute simply to the vitality of a rural system. Hence, on the other hand, the tendency of the ethnologists to overaccentuate what they believe to be agrarian "magic and religion," whose articulation to a hierarchized ensemble, which is indeed that of a Mussulman society, they do not recognize. Does this mean that, on even the echelon of the jemâa, the Islamic qualification loses in importance what the communitarian play gains? Such an assertion could be upheld only suitably nuanced. First of all, Islam is there in local law, whether it be the inspirer of it or, on the contrary, if I may venture to say it, the driving bolt /Fr. repoussoir/. This will be studied in detail farther on. But Islam reigns equally in the communal house, in this timezgida where the recitation of the Koran punctuates the time of the village and contributes, by periodic feasts, to the most intimate of the collective rites. Finally, it opens up possibilities of escape, felt by each one, and where each vaguely perceives a recourse against the terrible order of /247/ the city: it is true that here one falls back on individual cases.

779 However that may be, in fact it is certain that in the societies of the Atlas the stage of Islam is that of the person rather than
● 171 of the group. A fundamental difference from what it was traditionally in the Arab Maghreb, where, conforming to its origins, it corresponds above all to the madîna life, to the professional and scholarly municipal life, of which Fès /Fez/ constitutes in Morocco the privileged example. Here the city is peasant, and proceeds from structures perhaps autochthonous, in any case far removed from the mercantile urbanism which the oriental

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnious... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux"
[114] /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171]

2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

/252 cont./

541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women. About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting [536] two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

121 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of
541 knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

121
171
541

1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

/260 cont./

779 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between
346 religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another
671 level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
627 source./ The oath is the golden settlement, Ifçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of sworn law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

627
171

1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/261 cont./

627 171

/footnote 1 continued/ can exist for a very long time, or even rise again under the influence of archaizing conditions (cf. the role of the oath in the constitution and defense of the medieval manse). In the Roman procedure, the sacramentum in rem would also be, according to the original interpretation by H. Lévy-Bruhl, "Sur la laïcisation du droit à Rome /On the laicization of the law in Rome/," Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité, 1951, pp. 83 sq., "a test to which one can presume that by reason of the redoubtable forces that it unleashes a party would lend himself only if he considers himself quite sure of his right..." But is this not again a rationalist interpretation?

627 773 And, on the other hand, the religious accent that the myth confers upon the oath indeed risks being only an explanatory addition, quite like the formality of the oath itself. What could count in the archaic stage that appears under there is undoubtedly the gesture of touching the chain which "hangs from the sky": it properly establishes communication with the sacred.

627 Another remarkable thing, it is not to a matter in litigation that the myth's preferences go. It is to a sort of settlement brought about by the parties themselves, and the essential of which resides in the efficacy of an attitude. Technique of sudden releasing, "golden" technique, technique of "the golden age": that is what the instinctive option, the nostalgia, still discernible under the Seksawa's procedural extremism and the passion for the judiciary joust, come to. Nevertheless this archaizing is also accompanied by a critical reflection. Such ambiguity is not surprising.

Be that as it may, to the course familiar to this study, and which consists in approaching the institution only by its most concrete holds, corresponds something in the very opinion of the subject: this primacy given to the techniques of direct settlement and a fortiori to the purest among them, that of settlement without debate.

423 /262 cont./
629 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[154] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[162] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

• [171]

1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" in-
[171] cluded, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most
ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation
of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness
that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

/265 cont./

42 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper:
627 itrama, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the tamuzunt can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2):

[171]

2. Similarly in old Kábyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," R. al., 1930, p. 247.

if it is after uktuber (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individûals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the rrahn or from assault are certainly numerous in the
[578] Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the istirᶜâ' or "act of reserves" (3).

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 369.

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

/274 cont./
792 ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tam-
184 grût (2),

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is that of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

[171]

3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough vis-
778 age, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

{825}
{171}

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to
782 Laila Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae,
[634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles
[823] the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ...., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
[785]
[783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

[171]

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical
175 cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/295 cont./

776 Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2).
551
171

2. Istiqçâ, A. M. tr., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ᶜAzzûna: Istiqçâ', A. M., XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ᶜAzzûna" (ibid., p. 476). Bû ᶜAzzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ᶜAzzûna and a funduq of the same name.

notably /296/ the "famous Taᶜazzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ᶜAzzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the
776 hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number
171 of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ᶜAbd Allah, expert in uçûl (1).

1. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

776 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the
538 ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of
171 veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

/296 cont./

776 538 [171]

sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb, W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the 776 theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Maçmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4).

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ[c], for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 121

792 171

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

787 [539] /317 cont./

-- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [171] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hîba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ'a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât' of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

695 /328 cont./
212 pedantic and rustic, and the rudeness of the characters. To this proliferation of the writing corresponds the major judiciary role
171 that it is made to play. A comparison with the neighboring fiqh
695 /Islamic law/ will help one understand better how exorbitant this
212 role is.

In the fiqh, the act is only the materialization of the testimony (2).

2. E. Tyan, Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman /The notariate and the regime of proof by writing in the practice of Mussulman law/, 1945, p. 5.

Its link with the human word is always present in that this word both offers solemnity (cf. the chahâda, in the sense of "profession," of "attestation") and must express sincerity. The Mussulman criticism of testimony will also oscillate between the two poles of psychological verification and control of form. Law of the human word, the fiqh will have no particular respect for autographic proof any more than it will for objective inquiry. It rejects, almost like two equal idolatries, the cult of the writing and that of the facts. Between the two, it will follow an elegant road, that of formulas well regulated and not at all inclined to formalism so much as to a certain precision of tone, fixed once and for all, and subjected to the double control of the grammarian and the moralist. The motives for infirmation will consequently be the impurity of the agent and the defects of the language rather than the inadequation to the real. The content of the "allegation," al-qawl, and the authority of the "alleger," al-qâ'il, remain the principal objectives of the criticism. Therefore the system of proofs is hand and glove with the enchainment of tradition and the application of the essential norm, which is the "dominant opinion," machhûr. A remarkable unity of methods is manifest in all this. The same criticism of /329/ oral testimony presides over the imitation of the Prophet, the construction of the law, and

695
212 /329 cont./
[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istirᶜâ'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t't'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

/333 cont./

175 greatly anterior to the first: by several centuries! It is probable
695 that these Seksawa societies permitted simultaneously institutions, minds of both forms, indeed impulses of one or the other genre within the same minds. Any genetic explanation consequently appears singularly suspect. On the contrary, what is likely is that this genre of contrast has existed all the time, and that this society, if one may say it, has looked upon it favorably.

695 /334/ A Document on the Historical Relations Between the Plural Oath and the "lafîf" Testimony

The Moroccan judiciary practice ended up by admitting a subsidiary form of "testimony," initially reserved for only the "just," ᶜadl. In opposition to this canonical concept, the lafîf restored the statistical concept of any witnesses whatsoever, that is to say, close or complaisant (1).

1. Al-ᶜIraqî, "La preuve par témoins, lafîf /Proof by witnesses, lafîf/," Revue du Maghreb, 1939, No. 9, pp. 1 sq. ("Doctrine"). Question frequently approached in the Moroccan juridical literature. It is the subject of an entire treatise by al-ᶜArabî al-Fâsi in the seventeenth century. Cf. also al-Wazzânî, Commentaire de l'ᶜAmal /Commentary of the ᶜAmal/, pp. 93 in fine sq.

Let us take heed, that was only the pure expression of a support of the group. Between the ordeal, which is the basis of the plural oath, and the moral criticism to which the religious law subjects the testimony, the lafîf constitutes a sort of third position, influenced by the notarial practice. The latter being specified, one no longer discriminated between witnesses as "just," ᶜadl, and
[171] nonjust, but as professionals and private persons. At Fès /Fez/
695 this mode took some time to assert itself. Polemics on this sub-
175 ject prevailed throughout the sixteenth century. The lafîf was

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594
191
114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

1: Berque--474 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ the literature of the "bureau arabe" /Arab office/, Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., had insisted upon the "patriarchal" side of Maghrebi life. These views are systematized by M. Morand, Etudes de droit musulman algérien /Studies on Algerian Mussulman law/, 1910, pp. 10 sq., and A. Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The Evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1906, in their very rich chapter IX on the social life, pp. 271 sq. They give an account there of the profound study by E. Doutté, "L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'âh'a /The domestic and social organization among the H'âh'a/," Rens. col., Jan., 1905, which approaches our sector, pp. 8 sq. Observations by W. Marçais in a domain more distant, but valuable for the North Africa ensemble, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arab texts from Takrouna/, 1925, pp. xi sq.; good bibliography by A. Mouliéras on the ᶜazwa of the Jebala, Le Maroc inconnu /Unknown Morocco/, 1895, t. I, p. 66; by H. Bruno on the ᶜaz'âm, "Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central /Introduction to the study of the customary law of the Berbers of Central Morocco/," Arch. berb., 1918, p. 306. In this context of observations, R. Maunier does not hesitate to approximate the Kabyle takharrubt to the Roman gens, Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works of North African sociology/, 1930, p. 64, and describes a "segmentary" society. These ideas have been very widespread. Vidal de Lablache himself, Principes de Géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 291, compares Berbère /Berber/ society to an ensemble of Hellenic

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121
594
613

Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/342 cont./

586 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can ob-
562 tain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison
171 between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where
171 the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584
171
114

1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/343 cont./

584
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 104, finds in very ancient Roman law an opposition between the "betrothal," more conservative form, more imbued with magic rites and with the notion of patria potestas, and "marriage," individualized and consensual form. In Rome, however, the juridical tie of the betrothal fell into decadence early. Similarly in Mussulman law the institution's point of departure in time, in the juridical sense of the term, is the fâtih'a. Nevertheless in Chleuh /Shluh/ law the frequency of litigations that we would call "breach of promise of marriage" is significant, and at the very least covers the notion of a juridical state already established anterior to the pronouncement of the fâtih'a. This is what I call the prenuptial stage, by allusion to practices of this order fallen to the level of simple folklore in certain European milieus, for example. Cf. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français /Manual of French folklore/, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. In the Berbère /Berber/ domain itself, it would not be adventurous to compare this phase of "frequentation," where the daughter remains at the home of her parents, with such a trait of Touareg /Tuareg/ marriage: "custom requires that the newly married live near the parents of the woman for a year," M. Benhazera, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar /Six months with the Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1908, p. 18. In Morocco itself, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas knows different practices dependent on a conjugal life first paired with work at the home of the parents, according to the Biblical theme of Jacob at the house of Laban. This is the custom of the amhares. Something analogous among the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara,

/343 cont./

584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprencticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh 581 /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, §§1 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab coun- 581 171 tries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the çadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[192] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

[586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/344 cont./

585
675
171
[586]

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675
585
586
121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/346 cont./

585 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is
675 even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose,
175 wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 However that may be then, not only in the division of the ac-
[562] quests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contrac-
585 tual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out
171 better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

585
171

/347 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, pp. 48 sq. What is striking in the stage described by H.-L. is the nullity of the woman's rights, not only concerning what would correspond to acquests, but even concerning the "nuptial price," taâmamt or tutchit, which I translate thus provisionally, for lack of anything better, and even concerning the conventional supplements, or chrut'. What is called cedak' in Kabylia (H.-L., ibid., p. 162) is in sum only a facultative marriage settlement handed over by the parents and deemed equal to renunciation of inheritance. The powers of the husband are exorbitant, since they sometimes include beyond the grave a sort of right of retention, taâllak'ith (ibid., p. 156), and, in case of repudiation, a negotiable power of interdiction, capable of rendering the woman thamaouok't (p. 178), etc.

which one would imagine to be quite close to it by reason of so many analogies in the habitat and the public law. Now what is striking in the Kabyle system is its brutal masculinity, its negation of any bilateral equity in the status of the conjoints. In the eyes of the French reformer this is a permanent scandal, but a very resistant scandal, against which up to now one has been able to do very little. That speaks of its profound adherence to the milieu.

Let us content ourselves with this brief reference to another Maghrebi law, in order to make the balanced character and the moral value of the Seksawa type stand out. And the comparison will have another advantage: that of dissuading the investigator from calling on a hypothetical common basis of Berbère /Berber/

/347 cont./

585 171 institutions in order to account for their originality (2).

2. The comparison with the neighboring Ud Bessebâ^{c} is characteristic. The "masculinity" of their mores is so marked that the woman often gives up the rights that the fiqh gives her, such as, for example, the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ food allowance for the children. To tell the truth, the Moroccan ^{c}Amal has naturally registered as a "Bedouin" practice the calculation of an indemnity corresponding to the si^{c}âya of the woman, that is, to her comings and goings outside the house. This is what is called the kidd and what the cadis willingly apply to Berbère /Berber/ tribes subject to the chra^{c} /Sharira/, such as the Mtugga and the Mez'ud'a.

/348/ The Family In Time

613 Under such a rubric will be grouped aspects that a classification excessively steeped in our manuals would study successively by the titles of filiation, the state of persons, guardianship, successoral status, adoption, and foundation (1).

1. This is what is done by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

This family in time, which is also, as one has seen, a family in space, is the ikhs. Now its traits appear only in the form of twists or of subterfuges, of flights from the fiqh. This is, moreover, a classic method, but here one whose coherence, obstinacy as

613 /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Here is an act of 1168 Hég.: 1755. It concerns
[623] the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the
personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today:
a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a.
613 Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to
178 only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a.
Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved
and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions
would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken
here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant
for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Ex-
amples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incer-
titudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely re-
newable.

594 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmos-
671 phere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning
the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here
either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the
occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence
671 with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of
sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on
[191] that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaī. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423
[128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

432 /362 cont./
as has been seen, of a very ancient imprecatory law that disappeared under the adaptations to the fiqh. An amusing expression of these repentances is offered by an act from Imsker. The witness goes gack on his declaration, proclaiming that the sale did not take place, he was misled by Satan the accursed and the enticement of a few pounds of honey! (1141 Heg.: 1729.) It is not rare that the troubled conscience of the t't'olba becomes clear toward the end by the inscription of these curious acts "of repentance," istighfâr, infirming such-and-such of their testimonies. The act remains hidden at the bottom of a leather bottle. Its accidental discovery will produce a striking procedural event and will cause everything to begin again at zero: the ancient possession will no longer count for anything in opposition.

Correlatively a veritable profusion of orthodox formulas will come to color the hazardous alienations and compensate for their obvious precariousness by a virtuous verbalism: "Firm, licit, executory, definitive purchase, exclusive of any cause for redemption or option, concluded in full knowledge and elimination of ignorance concerning the price and the thing a price was put on, for a sum and a forfeit of an ounce and a half of whole coin, the two rightful claimants being put in possession, one of his money, the other of his property." It is doubtlessly thus that the buyer runs his risk. Although he enters into a perpetual dialectic with the progeny of his seller, he hopes to make his rights valid, and, seniority helping, to constitute an açl. It is possible that this açl may be contrary to the old agnatic distribution; in any case, the thing will not go far, since about five centuries of play of notarial writing have not noticeably disturbed the order of the grounds of the valley.

These purchases and these rrahn-s ordinarily bear on, rather than land topographically delimited, parcels individualized by the name of the legitimate owner in such-and-such a quarter. The expression is sometimes: "all that on which his name bears" (1).

[171]

1. In a completely different society, the France of the upper Middle Ages, it was the name of the

/362 cont./

432
171

/footnote 1 continued/ estate that identified the land: a formula diametrically opposed to ours and which rests, as has been seen, on a completely different conception of the "field." Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, L'alleu et le domaine rural /The allodium and the rural domain/, 1889, p. 18.

With any aim at comparativism set aside, but by title of a geographical lesson, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ let us note that in the milieu, similarly montagnard and conservative, of Andorra the so-called sale with power of redemption is by far the most frequent. Like the rrahn of the Chleuhs /Shluh/, the Andorran redemption can be very long term, transferable to a third party, and the operations of repurchase are connected, in their validity and their effect upon the pending harvest, with considerations of agricultural season! J.-A. Brutails, La coutume d'Andorre /The customs of Andorra/, 1904, pp. 198 sq.

432 /363/ The sale is then called "aggregate," muchâ^c (1),

1. Al-^cAbbâsî, Ajwiba, lith., t. I, p. 169, l. 8 sq., defines this muchâ^c sale, the name of which he writes, ibid., p. 174, l. 15 sq. Locally muchû^c or lmuch^c is also said.

an expression of bookish origin that we will find to designate the collective, with an unexpected oriental analogy. Other terms are sometimes used: busiyyar or basiyyar in Nfîfa, for example. [195] Sometimes the pen of the writer even rises to hyperbole: a whole

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 [432] [184]

/footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 428 562 [171]

From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175]

War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulît. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

/370 cont./

613 182 114 121 695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771 769 627 681 [114] [171]

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/371 cont./

627 681 (171)

/footnote 1 continued/ observations and those of C. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

The dîâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrasting with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value other than a didactic one?

627 681 121

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

681 627

In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known; never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^ca..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [179] ^corf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

/380 cont./

The Wording of the Rule

000 Made from harsh internal competitions, from inexpiable vendettas, the group nonetheless presents to the exterior a cohesion which is that of a fagot of thorns, inextricable and untouchable. And is it not significant that this image of a fagot was inspired in the Middle Ages by our first communes?

671 This thorny cohesion is sealed by a juridical act. It is these
171 penal codifications called qânûn in Kabylia and inçaf among our Chleuhs /Shluh/, veritable commonplace of the Berbère /Berber/ institution. Revealed by Hanoteau and Letourneux, found, with what profusion! in the Moroccan South, producing in Algeria around 1930 a scandal of surprise of an indeed sympathetic naïveté, their history is already long (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Les institutions kabyles /Kabyle institutions/," R. E. I., 1932, pp. 138 sq., and "Les qânouns kabyles /The Kabyle qânouns/," in the work by Hanoteau and Letourneux, pp. 1 sq., 26 sq., ibid., 1933, remarkable historical critique of the documents provided by these two authors.

One can follow the chain from the edict, already mentioned, of Yah'yâ u Tâfûft (1510) up to the deliberation submitted to the prefect, in the cadre of our municipal law, by a Kabyle village in 1945.

671 It is probable that they represent one of the first uses of
212 Arabic writing in the Sous. The synonymy of chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, ar. /Arabic/ alwâh', "tablets," "tables of the Law" (2).

2. The jurists of the Sous often speak of these "tables," alwâh', which corresponds to chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, "bits of wood,"

/397 cont./

121 literarily exploited apropos the "Berbère," but more precisely of this incertitude that is at the bottom of it, formed by intimate transactions, relinquishments, and circumscribed resistances. To give and to retain: such is his law. Culture of contractions and circumvolutions, I should venture to say.

How, in the apprehension of a justice for which this man violently thirsts, can such a state of affairs be reconciled with a vitality with tension and alternations, so equipped to be patient and to endure? The just, for the Seksawa, risks being both the thing of importation, or at least expected from the exterior, and the thing that one hides within oneself without ever discovering it. Evasion on the one hand: through emigration, apprenticeship in Arabic or French letters, sometimes such an ostentatious treachery, almost romantic, such profanation: then the individual rushes forth, casting all behind him.

But also inaccessible flame in the depths of the heart, in the depths of history, in the depths of the grimoires, and which a rhythm of communal dancing, an inspiration from the saints of the Tichka or of Z'init' alone come to revive from time to time. /Page 398 is blank./

000 /399/

Fourth Part

Attempt at Interpretation

/Page 400 is blank./

/401/ I. Limits and Range of the Seksawa Type

Position of the Seksawa in the Ensemble of the North African Sedentary Peoples

171 The method of parallels is obsolete. Even to stop at criteria
121 as provisional as sedentariness or Berbérophony, the present knowledge of North Africa does not permit a precise enough comparison between sectors. The latter, however, are ordered by geographical masses. Once the Rif, because insufficiently studied, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, because governed by economic and

/401 cont./

171 social movements too different from those that concern us, and
121 finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /Tuareg/. My thanks to all.

[114]

171 Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

/402 cont./

171 what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

[241] Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion [342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branés architectures" (1).

1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

/404 cont./

000 will barely survive the event that roused them (1).

1. Daumas and Fabar, op. laud., pp. 45 sq.; C. Devaux, op. laud., defines the çoff-s as "a hostile state of observation that the various parties maintain between them" (p. 41), and he describes many fluctuations, pp. 241 and 242; Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, p. 67, show the evanescence of the "tribes." I find several examples of this in the Archives of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863 (G. G. of Algeria). After a war between the Beni bu Yusef and the Aqbil, two villages passed from the first to the second, with whom they henceforth became integrated. The Beni Ithuragh of the Tirurda constitute the federation of 18 villages operated after the submission of the rest of the country at Randon. Other examples could be found for the Turkish period in S.-A. Boulifa, Le Djurjura à travers l'histoire /The Djurdjura through history/, 1925, especially pp. 300, 311, 319, and passim.

More than entities, these are virtualities. Undoubtedly it would be somewhat paradoxical, on the other hand, to contest all that village life inspires for the Kabyle in rites, practices, sentiments: a community results from it, of course. It does not abolish, on the very plane of the public law and of the political course, the autonomy of the groups that it divides as much as it unites them. A deeper study of this society would be necessary in order to discern, under the contribution of a century of /405/ proceeding in the French fashion, the anterior base: and we would find it itself well "second," well elaborated.

171 The contrast nonetheless blazes out, in relation to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, for this economy, these mores, and especially this organization. Relation of political unity here communal, the

171 /405 cont./

taqbilt; there federal; the thaddert, with their subdivions on the one side, their multiples on the other side. Treatment of the natural milieu, attachment to institutions or to transcendent values finally: all seems differently arranged on the two sides. Although the materials are perhaps identical, it is this diversity of arrangement that determines the general judgment.

Here, on the contrary, is the Aurès (1).

1. G. Marcy, "Cadre géographique et genres de vie en pays chaouia /Geographical cadre and ways of life in Chaouia country/," L'éducation algérienne, 1942, pp. 28 sq.

The analogy of the physical milieu, of the economy, of the ways of life directly suggests comparison with the Haut /High/ Atlas. The tribes, abstraction made from numerous personal varieties, and with a general hue of rusticity, strike the observer by their adaptation to the chances of a difficult country. Sedentary, doubtlessly, but in perpetual movement. This is a sedentariness with successive stages. These people play fully on the clavier that offers them four climatic formulas: valley horticulture, cereal crops on the heights, transhumance of animals, and recourse to the border resources of the Sahara. Whence a system of displacements far exceeding in complexity what Morocco can offer as analogy. An incessant "remue" /moving/ expresses in mobility of enterprises, in variety of techniques, a remarkable exploitation of the geography. Like the arrangement by valleys where the villages are echeloned, this utilization of the differences of level, this montagnard privilege of strewing herds or tillage in the plain recall, in a profusion of combinations without any doubt superior, traits observable in Morocco. The country's general allure itself, with its streets of greenery, it tilled slopes, its forested summits, the bareness of the high aretes, across the differences in morphology, presents the same elements of an economy peasant and pastoral at the same time: but the one of the Aurès owes to a position more concentrated between the Mediterranean and desert influences new vocations, a more acute nervousness.

/405 cont./

171

The resemblance is further accentuated in the habitat. Same joined villages, same houses with terraces, only driven more into the slope, and as if closer to troglodytism. Certainly, stories are much less widespread, the same as /406/ the loggia. Except for nuances, the texture of the masonry, the arrangement of the square of open air in the middle of the covered one, the tunnel streets: everything of the Chleuh /Shluh/ village is found in the Aurès dechra. Same techniques for retention of the soils and distribution of water. The irrigated tammurt of Menâa reminds one, as its very image, even though in a botanical variety pushed further, of such a southern Moroccan tamazirt. Here is the "ditch," targa. It flows from the "basin," imajen, or from the "dam," ssedd, branches down to the last "platbands," isura, and to the "cuvettes," th'ud', skillfully arranged at the foot of the apricot trees. "Murettes" /low walls/, tirutin, set off tiers of crops. On the neighboring slopes, in the dry, gentle epaulements break the declivity and set off long, unraveled fields, ir^{c}aqay. The intense manipulation of earth, of water, of animal manure gives a harvest destined for ensilage and for preserving. Terms all the more obligatory because this life, with continual displacements and subject to terrible hazards, demands reserves at a fixed point. Another analogy with the Morocco of the igudar. The "granary-citadel" (1)

1. G. Marcy, "Un règlement coutumier de guela^{c}a chez les Chaouia de l'Aurès /A customary regulation of guela^{c}a among the Chaouia of the Aurès/," L'éducation algérienne, 1942, pp. 33 sq.; a substantial article by Mme Faublée, which was communicated to me in manuscript before appearing in the Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1953.

of certain Aurès tribes, aqli^{c}t, abound, for example, among the Beni bu Sliman, who store their grain there between two

/406 cont./

171 migrations towards Biskra, the Dikhla, or the high territories of Tafrent.

What is to be said about institutional resemblances that sometimes go as far as identity? Without speaking of these codifications, of granaries or other things, where a very general base is perceived, here is a society which organizes, as has been seen, the landed interlacings of "fractions," where the ubiquity of the family habous, the generality of sales under resolutory conditions protect the landowner patrimony and tend to maintain the seat of the group. Let us descend into the reddish fault where the village of Buzîna has been built conically. Let us make our way downstream from the springs amidst the murmuring waters, the rumbling of the hydraulic mills and the bustle of the gardeners. Let us speak with these Chaouia graybeards rich in origin legends and so faithful to the juridical tradition that, even in penal matters, their law is applied concurrently with the French law. We shall experience, in truth, the poignant sensations of Maghrebi, montagnard, and Berbère /Berber/ identity.

000 But here is in what the two societies diverge.

The precise organization of the granary-citadels is not at all the deed of the village grouping here, but of the agnatic subdivisions /407/ of the tribe, called nah X, nah Y, etc., which our territorial norms have effaced no more than the Arab entity of the ᶜarch has. In Beni bu Slimân, for example, they are about twenty, for about fifteen granaries, of which each agglomeration counts up to five: thus at Channâura. In principle, each subdivision possesses its own, or, if it has grown in number and prosperity, several of its own. But the original granary sometimes corresponds to an individualized gentilitial agricultural perimeter, a sort of flight base, which can be indicated to you. Thus at Bu Yighd, beneath the impressive cliff of the col of Ferqus, for the Nah ᶜAbderrezzâq who concentrate there a vast "habous" of plain and plateau, marvelously notched with ressauts, talus, and ledges for the conservation of water and lands. The assembling of Aurès families into the "tribe" has not been, at least in this, up to the synthesis that the agadir of the Moroccan South expresses.

/407 cont./

000 Correlatively, the status of the woman (1)

1. The essential work is that of Mathéa Gaudry, La femme chaouia de l'Aurès /The Chaouia woman of the Aurès/. 1929. In what concerns the application of the fiqh, G.-H. Bousquet, R. al., 1952, pp. 109 sq., R. afr., 1952, pp. 449 sq.

evokes an "Iron Age" that no ethics of general or local inspiration, no regulations come to soften. Almost always disinherited, defrauded of the ṣadāq to which she can lay claim only after the death of the conjoint, deprived of the benefit of the very dispositions that the family habous stipulate for her use, she was in certain tribes given up to prostitution. The sexual liberty of the ᶜazriya, "single woman," is inserted moreover in a system that one divines to be ancient, and where she plays her official role with compensatory revenue and traditional function.

The weekly markets are lacking. Monetarism has penetrated so little up to now that formerly, at Tkut for example, it was once a year, at the feast of sidi ᶜAbdesslām, that the commodities were tariffed and the amount of the fines fixed. Grave discord- [171] ance with the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, formed so in the laws, in the play of money, maintained by speculative exportation, the hoarding, devastated by inflation, and where all the exchanges are equally stamped by communitarian values and by individual capitalism.

171 Above all a strong institutional inequality sets the Chaouia
181 society, as well as, moreover, the Kabyle society, against that of the Sous. The privilege of the latter, in comparison to the two others, lies in a greater maturity of the state organization, more ample references of the social system to the external and transcendent. Perhaps this transcendence comes from /408/ Islamic universals, with which a balance was knowingly sought. Perhaps, on the contrary, from collective symbols linked to certain periods of the past. These are two plausible explanations of

/408 cont./

171 181 an essential fact. On the other hand, Chleuh /Shluh/ life does not have the violent complexion of the other two. It does not know to the same degree the hyperboles of gentilitial honor, any more than it as spontaneously arouses the analogy--be it superficial with such Mediterranean images of not long ago: the Corsican bandit of honor, the Albanian highwayman. What characterizes it, besides the singularly mature level of organization, is a pious and regulated pace, of more patient virtues, of more complex sentiments, more in half-tints.

171 That way, and in spite of everything that might oppose a peasantry to the townsmen, military vigor to mercantilism, haughty orthodoxy to a no less devout heterodoxy, an airy and muscular existence to the shadow of the mosque and warehouse -- it is of the Mzâb that these latter traits make one think. The richness of historical, legendary, and doctrinal foundations, a double vocation that is spiritual and trade, the precision of the play of its subgroups, qbâil, within communities, a juridical organization balanced between corps, recorded by writing, rich in jurisprudences burst forth there (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâ^c a-s du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâ^c a-s of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 193.

The Mzâb thus offers several of the aspects that have appeared to us both constitutive of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society and distinctive from it in comparison to other Berbère /Berber/ socieites. This time, however, institutional superiority is not on the Chleuh side. 000 What one can surmise, through too rare documents, of the functioning of the Mozabite ittifâqât proclaim a surprising success. The cities are governed by a consistory that is both senate, because of the meeting of the qbîla delegates, and moral magistery because of the presence of clerks. A jurisprudence as attentive in regulating the equilibrium of the families as in censoring the mores or in resolving the problems of the hour has left us its

/408 cont./

valuable testimony. Its sanctions are strangely archaic; ostracism, for example, of which it made great use (2).

2. Id., ibid. The text cited, p. 205, distinguishes five kinds of exile.

Because it knows how to maintain, in a constant effort of adaptation to modern life and of Islamic rigorism, inspirations more profound and older than any juridical or religious formulation: the idea of forces attached to the territory, for example. Its success resides there, the principle of which has not even suffered from the French laicity, for it was posed /409/ on another plane. And a solid proof of authenticity, a sign of juridical perfection to the Berbère /Berber/, is this h'awît'a of Ghardaya, with its ellipse of flagstones borrowed from tombs, and where the deliberation of the jurists, the cunning of politicians are ennobled by the mysterious complicity of the dead (1).

1. Characteristic jurisprudences in the article by G.-H. Bousquet, on a "Recueil de délibérations à la mosquée de Beni Isguen /Collection of deliberations at the mosque of Beni Isguen/," Ann. I. E. O., 1951, pp. 18 sq.

The Moroccan South offers nothing as advanced as the Mozabite constitution. But it surpasses this type with all its rural power. Here one is no longer shut up in the schism, the minority, the more or less clandestine exception. The Chleuh /Shluh/ system extends over immense portions of the country and today has even invaded the large towns. One day this expansion will be able to bring about between agriculture and industry, with strong rural virtualities and the concentrated spirit of the cities, this synthesis which has as yet been lacking in the history of Morocco.

171

/409 cont./

Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb

171
121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/ type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berberophone societies of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These
175 high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years
121 of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have played the role of relay of independence and of the continuity of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must, however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

/418 cont./
çoff, leff (1).

103
182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibubân arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634]
[619]

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171
103

An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/418 cont./

171 103 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

/419 cont./

182 from a successoral distribution. Here the jemâa begins, one might say, where there is no longer natural or conventional kinship. Or rather -- since the preceding formula arouses the idea of a composition starting from the family -- the specific attribute of the group is that it is divided into heterogeneous subgroups, that this heterogeneity results from a diversity of origins or from other variations. One could say as much of the Kabyle thaddert, or of the Mozabite city.

[171]

000 Let us set in opposition the Arab tribe, which we are going to observe in the Orient, so as to eliminate from the type the influences and the evolutions peculiar to the Maghreb (1).

1. P.-A. Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab /Customs of the Arabs in the country of Moab/, 1908, pp. 107 sq., and the masterly account by Hertz, Ann. Soc., t. XI, pp. 323 sq. Cf., more recently H. R. P. Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London, 1951, pp. 108 sq.; G. W. Murray, Sons of Ishmael, London, 1935, pp. 35 sq.

The veritable unit there is what /420/ P. Jaussen improperly calls the "clan," united by consanguinity or adoption. It is the h'amûleh or ᶜachîreh. Everyone is supposed to have descended from an eponymous ancestor. Several clans form the "tribe," qabîleh, indeed the "confederation," bedîdeh, loose and unstable groupings. "The clan serves as model for any community whatever it may be. The tribe also claims identity of name and blood, by the derivation from a single ancestor." The cult of this ancestor appears even characteristic of the Bédouins, governed by the agnatic formula, whereas that of the saints, with territorial basis, reigns almost exclusively among the sedentary peoples. Such a form is naturally no longer to be seen in the pure state in North Africa. For all that, it reigned there at certain periods or in certain zones -- and one thinks of the Bédouin organizations that the Hilalians were able to propagate -- no doubt it was opposed, trait for trait, to the type of the Haut-Atlas.

/423 cont./

619 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodo-
634 logical import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/ III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616
121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1).

121
171
616
114

1: R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^Cokkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

1: Berque--590 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ᶜAbda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'ogg^w at of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq, 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616
121

resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114]

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171]

In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/430 cont./

616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/431 cont./

616 171 or on the Hauts Plateaux /High Plateaus/. Truthfully speaking, it is intelligible only in this broad, analogic context. Replaced in an area going from the Saharan socle to the littoral of the Maghreb, the facts of the Sous, of Kabylia, of the Rif are amenable to the same institutional ensemble as the relations of protection between nomads and gardeners of the oases (1),

1. Dj. Jacques-Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, institutions traditionnelles des Draoua /The Oases of the Lektaoua and of the Meh'amid, traditional institutions of the Draoua/," Hesp., 1947, p. 420.

as the herarchies between Mauretanian tribes (2),

2. In. /unpublished/ note by Ahmed Miske Ould Atiq, Hormas et Ghafers, Atar, 1935. Contribution au coutumier indigène /Contribution on native customary law/, Cercle de la Baie du Lévrier, 1931.

and as the still living dualism between Touareg /Tuareg/ "nobles" and "vassals" (3).

3. Besides the work of Foucauld, Duveyrier, H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, and oral references by Lieut. Berthé.

The relations between imochar and imghad have in vain affected the most precise modalities, in essence both chivalrous and fiscal; they are nonetheless irreducible to the analysis of origins, just like the Maghrebi dualisms (4).

4. The amzid is often richer, and as martial, as his suzerain, notes H. Duveyrier, Les Touaregs du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, pp. 334 sq.

616
171

/431 cont./

/Footnote 4 continued./ The origin of the "dues," tiussé, is incomprehensible.

Even in the latter, any qualitative nuance is not excluded. In the Anti-Atlas, the Tah'ogg^{w}at is opposed to the Tagizzult, as what is less "chic" is to what is more so. If this already ancient notation is highly instructive, what will the comparison with the series, similarly, but more strongly dissimilated, of the Sahara be? In these last there prevails a plenitude of content, whose system seems little by little to be stripped away in proportion /432/ as it is applied to zones nearer the Mediterranean, and more signs of its dry, reasonable, and individual genius. Is not this impoverishment the ransom that must be paid, one might say, in order to be admitted into the classic culture? The antagonisms in it tend to preserve only the formal arête. At this stage the notion has little but nominal value. It is an antithesis without content. Such as we observe in the Haut Atlas, and even more in Kabylia, where it crops out in the most modern electoral debate.

A perpetual exchange appears to operate between configurations of consistency and breadth as discordant as these "balanced dualisms," the simple leagues, and the thousand regroupings of politics or of faith. Basic structures, tactics, tendency and fantasy are then inextricably mixed. Whence a constant reaction of each on the others. The morphological virtue of great style that the antithesis of the leff-s, or of the çoff-s, possesses, when it attains all its geographical breadth -- this is the case for the Haut and for the Anti-Atlas, in the same way as for the Sous; that of oriental Morocco; that of the Constantine South with the confrontation of two great familial parties -- is often broken, exploited, disguised. But it may also be revived in new kinds. The old dialectic then becomes that of electoral propagandas, and tends to be no more than that of a "right" and of a "left" to the French one (1).

1. The matter is current in the elections in Kabylia. Cf. the interesting study by Laurette,

/432 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ "Aspects de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie /Aspects of the social life in Little Kabylia/, "ESNA, 1951, pp. 21 sq.; Jean Menaut (Aug. Berque), "Circonscriptions arabes et kabyles aux Délégations financières /Arab and Kabyle circumscriptons to the finance Delegations/, " Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française, 1935, pp. 64 sq., with historical reminders. In Tunisia, two çoff-s are affirmed and defined in the long struggle of the bey Husayn and his nephew Ali pacha at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are the Husaynîa and the Bachîa. The interference between the tribal antagonisms and a conjuncture of central politics from which they borrowed their names is significant, Cf. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse-Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Lower Steppe/, 1940, p. 208. The çoff, Europeanized, modernized, has become in Algeria a literary theme that runs, for example, through all the work of R. Randau.

In these movements, there is more than an evolution that destroys or restores, modifies or refreshes. There is their very possibility. It expresses a fluidity of terms, an aptitude for substitution, a facility and almost a gaiety in the exchange of territorial and moral forms, which seem characteristic of North Africa.

Examples of Variations

000 The theory of the leff-s, in its classic formulation, made much of evolutions of this genre. It noted that the name of such a great /433/ league is none other than that of a more limited assemblage found by a chance discovery in Almohade archeology. The inverse is also observable. Such great constellations or "races" of the Maghrebi Middle Ages have only left their name to puny tribes: thus Zenâta, Maçmûda, Ghomâra, etc.

/436 cont./

preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 182 [695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 634 578 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, [613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

000 "tribe," the ᶜarch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ᶜarch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ᶜarch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

[619] [634]

M1 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

/438 cont./

171 613 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ᶜazri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs [592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely regative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

/444 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 1948. p. 12.

In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédouine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the fiqh, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

/445 cont./

177 in it, the same problems posed, sometimes the same solutions in-
171 tervening from Fès to the Atlas and from the Gharb to the Djérid. At the same time heterogeneous, if one thinks of the no less important evidence of varieties of comportment going so far as violent affirmation, secession and insurrection. Most often, it is institutional denivellations, shifts in emphasis, themselves arising from local structures, that introduce variety, indeed discordance.

000 When the study of these phenomena is undertaken systematically for the ensemble of North Africa, the richness and the precision of relations that it will discover, their firmness of contour, the constancies that will stand out between the most modern evolutions and the oldest foundations will no doubt console the investigator who has found nothing here that calls to mind the Dogons and the Nambikwara.

177 Contemporary sociologists describe under the name of acculturation the transformation of a society in contact with another, expansive or superior. There results on the part of the more receptive one, the client or the conquered, an instinctive simulation of the most intimate realities, a search for arguments drawn from the model. A mass of ancient traits sinks into a system of survivals, of practices more or less clandestine or disdained. The same in the individual consciousness. Folklore on the one hand, psychological vestiges on the other. The reaction of the Maghrebi system, formerly in regard to the Orient, today in regard to France, points up in many respects this sort of phenomenon. Mixed and adulterated society, certainly, and from as far back as one goes. Society in which the problems of reinterpretation, of opposition or of transaction have outweighed all others. But in this eternal conflict it takes on such a strong personality that even its most protected cantons remain unintelligible to one who does not consider them from the dimensions of a whole space, a whole history.

/446 cont./

181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

[171]

1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

/448,cont./

12/ the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of
184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The
[197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in-
[171] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/6 cont./

121
[101]

/Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The Makhzen /makhzan/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn /7/ and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in reduction, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

121
•171

While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. From examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

121

Only the country of the seminomads of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of our protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
• [171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three milleniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/53 cont./

181 [171] and development of the ancient cities of the Occident; likewise, we shall see appearing here, in the bosom of the tribes, leaders similar to the tyrants of the earliest times in Greece, who, like them, will succeed in founding their principalities on the ruins of small, dominated and subjugated republics.

In truth, the deep vitality of the western world at the time of its origin is lacking in Berbérie /Barbary/; the great myths capable of associating the local cults with the brilliant destinies of the gods of the cities have always remained unknown there; one only finds with difficulty in these miserable market towns of North Africa /54/ a few traces of an art without delicacy and from which imagination and feeling seem to be absent. Decoration, the technique of the jewels, arms, fabrics remain rudimentary and seem imprisoned in a fixed tradition that is preserved within the narrow limits of a tribe or valley. Thought alone crosses vaster spaces and the poets' improvisations, repeated at great distances, express the popular soul in a form not always unworthy of being compared with the elegiac verses of seventh-century Greece. But Berbère /Berber/ life most often remains attached to the earth of a village; its humble desires can be satisfied within the boundaries of a canton. Consequently one understands that in studying the political evolution of the tribes there is manifest to us the powerlessness of men to found true kingdoms unless influences foreign to the genius of the race come into play to break the numerous cadres of their little states divided by internal struggles. Left to themselves, the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the South of Morocco know only how to sketch the first phases of the founding of empires: the conquest of the tribe by a fortunate military leader.

For lack of poetic religions born in the cities, which, by means of festivals and games, achieved the unity of the Greek world, it is Islam that brings the idea of the State here. This strict and formalistic religion first pursues with infinite patience the ruin of the ancient beliefs so deeply bound to local life; it gives to men of various countries, opposed by unyielding interests, the same duties and the same language; finally, it comes to

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/145 cont./

*631 121 [178] shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of centuries, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Morocco underwent several times. In a still more general way, the *631 121 171 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spectacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 121 178 642 *634 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover, thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

/160 cont./

619 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we
174 have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that
*634 all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth.
[616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

619
•171

1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

/160 cont./

619
.171

/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

([13])

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the A'lt Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

619
174

But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

*631 619 175 [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 •171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

/168 cont./

*631 174 •171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to * [634] [616] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/170 cont./

*634 XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- Thus the cell of the Berbère /Berber/ society of the Sous is, at least in our day, an elementary state larger than the village, smaller than the tribe, and we shall later see the importance of this minuscule unit confirmed in the course of our investigation of the circumstances in which the chiefs rise and grow.

*634 *631 •171 But it is not only in this province of the Sous, where it has been possible for us to multiply our investigations, that one observes the role played in local life by these small cantons that absorb /171/ the greatest part of the political activity of the country. It is the same in the various parts of the north of Africa peopled with sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. Without trying here to redo the study of the social morphology of these regions, we believe it necessary to indicate in broad features how, under aspects sometimes a little different, the same cellular structure that we discover in the Moroccan South can be found among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the Moroccan North, in the Rif, and in Kabylie /Kabylia/; it will most often suffice for us to tell how certain of the observations already made by our predecessors agree exactly with the ones that we have been able to make in the Sous and the Anti-Atlas so that the profound unity of social structure of all Berbérie /Barbary/ may appear.

000 The land of the Jbala presents many analogies with the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; the one as well as the other border the plains held by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, and in both countries the mountain tribes apply themselves with all their strength to preserving their independence.

M. Michaux-Bellaire, who was studying this region in 1911, at the time when it was living in a state of complete liberty, distinguished, as we have done in the Moroccan South, several superposed organisms: the village, the "khoms," and the tribe (1).

1. Michaux Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives marocaines, Vol. XVII, p. 43.

[113]

000 /181 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ these units and the ones found among the sedentary populations, comparisons rigorous enough to permit one to affirm identity of structure.

/182/

Chapter III
The Alliances of Tribes and of Cantons

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- V. The leffs during peace -- VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- XI. Political role of the leffs. -- XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs. -- XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- XV. The Soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- XVI. Kabylie has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

*634 616 171

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- Each of the little Berbère /Berber/ states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which lives within the narrow boundaries of its valley while following the tradition of the ancestors, comes out of its political isolation by entering into one of the two great alliances between which the mountains are divided. Secular bonds thus unite all the "taqbilt" according to particular rules impossible to uncover, but in a way so as to form two opposed parties of equal strength, capable of sustaining their members in peace and in war. Under the name of "leff" or "soff," analogous alliances have been observed, not only among the Berbère /Berber/ tribes having preserved their

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616]

1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of
• [171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the
[616] territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose
[578] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/216 cont./

000 unity of the fractions, such as appears in the most anarchical regions of the Rif.

Whatever may be the value of the hypothesis that we are proposing in order to account for the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, a comparison of the various aspects of this institution suffices to show how it is bound up with the most general conditions of the material, social, and political life of the tribes. When one studies the existence of these little elementary societies, one is struck both by the tyranny exerted on the individual by the group and by the powerlessness of the latter to make anarchy disappear from its bosom. The leffs materialize and project on the soil, one might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berbère /Berber/ life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord.

/217/ Chapter IV

The Republican Organization; the Political Institutions

I. The institutions of the Mouda^{c}. -- II. The council of the canton. -- III. The inflas; their magical origin. -- IV. The moqaddem. -- V. The distribution of the fines. -- VI. The councils of cantons or of tribes without moqaddem. -- VII. The justice circuits. -- VIII. The internal and external wars. -- IX. The festivities and the dances. -- X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Jbala, of the Branès. -- XI. The Riffian anarchy.-- XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 121 •[171] We have shown the particular importance of the small social unit that, under the various names of "taqbilt" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "khoms" in the Anti-Atlas and the Rif, "^{c}arch" in the Djurdjura, is the true fatherland for the independent Berbère /Berber/. Indeed, it is within these narrow limits of a state to which we have given the name of canton that the simple and patriarchal institutions of the oligarchic republics, in which the inhabitants of the high valleys have delighted for long centuries, have developed.

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples [571] of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by [782] making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

/245/

Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.

VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda^{c}," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
•171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
•[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 794 43 191 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as members of the Mussulman community, but the community, for them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaʿa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 191 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confederations have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/249 cont./

423 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).
171

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" consti-
794 tuted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the
621 manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at
437 auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as
423 belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it
579 seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining
486 security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to
651 plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203
R
[681]

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
443
.171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
[114]

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

•[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
[182] Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daou has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/262 cont./

121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2),

2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still know who the Aït Arbaᶜin were, who at each siba revived the former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas," the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate and by the economic transformation that has been taking place for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life. The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when /263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

/288 cont./

175 *634 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ [170] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammou was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the [184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 174 •171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated [648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

/359 cont./

*631 174 171 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 565 174 171 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 174 171 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism, said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/360 cont./

*631 174 171 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).

1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 174 171 423 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves, [567] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the [566] villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 *634 174 171 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
•171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ʿOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
•171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself; the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/378 cont./

648
619
177
* [634]
* [631]
[113]
[651]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

• [171]
[113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623]
[632]

/393/

Conclusion
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- In the various regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, as we have seen in the course of this long study, the same social institutions rule the Masmouda, sequestered in the depths of the remote valleys of the Deren, the inhabitants of the market towns and hamlets that rise on the parched plateaus of the Anti-Atlas, the Jbala and the Riffians in their harsh mountains with peaks crowned with cedars, as well as the Kabyles of Algeria whose villages occupy the summits of the Djurjura like eagles' nests.

In all these regions, separated from one another by immense spaces, men live while obeying the same laws in spite of their diversity of origin and notwithstanding the variety of the conditions of material existence. That they have kept their millenary traditions they owe to the isolation of their territories. The present-day evidence of their institutions has a historic value; they give us the picture of what the Maghreb might have been if the Arab invasions in the East and the formation of the great Empires in the West had not ruined the minuscule states in which the Berbères /Berbers/ like to conceal their activity.

Two primordial tendencies determine the political life of the Berbères /Berbers/: in the first place they feel repugnance toward the constitution of a state of some size, they spontaneously organize themselves everywhere into small units whose dimensions do not exceed those of a mere /394/ canton and which are the veritable fatherland for the sedentary peoples; in the second place, by a kind of instinctive genius, the Berbères /Berbers/ form systems of balanced alliances that permit the small autonomous

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the boundaries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
578 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
• 171 Ma^c^cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
* 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
128 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
* 631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

R
175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
•171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are in-
•171 spired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like it-
*631 self. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly de-
554 voted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all cir-
182 cumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
171 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their mem-
*631 ory, as do all the companions from their village associated with
554 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
182 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
578 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
[616] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
•17 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
578 the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
•171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
*631 istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
•[175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
[178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
•171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

792 /408 cont./
795 to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain,
*631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.
•171 In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Ta'lbi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ᶜAli Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792 The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
795 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families,
*631 thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the
182 fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can-

/409 cont./
792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
*631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
648 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
•171 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries between the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
*631 efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
648 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less servile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that of the representatives of the Sultan.

178 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
792 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
795 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
*631 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
648 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary populations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peaceful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
171 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171 •
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jū*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
192
171.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jaris*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qaḍis*...

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other native *ijājgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijājgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfīqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfīqin* of their own...

In the Wuryāghli sense of being a "whole family", the internal solidaity of the *thārfīqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijājgha* of a *thārfīqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfīqth* of a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfīqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence... (Hart, 1954, pp. 60-62).

613 Among the Shluh the minor lineage is of equal importance, and
[171] many of the features described for the Riffians also hold true.
613 However, the complex and almost haphazard connection between
621 a minor lineage and a village, or part of a village, is particularly prominent. An *ikhs* may constitute part of a hamlet or village, together with other such units; it may constitute an entire village by itself; or parts of it may be distributed through several villages, sharing these with other lineages. No set pattern apparently exists, and there is no close relationship between this pattern and the political or administrative units. This situation is reflected by great confusion in the sources – a confusion which can be best be avoided by carefully differentiating between units defined primarily by kinship (though also by geographical proximity in the higher levels), and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, 623
Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of 634
superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are 635
designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic [171]
ejjemaa. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer [192]
to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest 621
groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* 623
inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "not- [554]
able" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character [561]
of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 000
96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

695 great *baraka* (religious power or blessing) – such as the Koran, the mosque itself, or a saintly shrine. In Berber customary law, however, the oath is employed not only for its supernatural consequences, but also as a legal device, that is, the oath is used in judicial proceedings as a means of establishing the guilt or innocence of a person accused of a crime, and may be taken either by the accuser or by the accused, or by certain other persons who, in addition to
695 the latter, swear to his innocence as conjurators. This procedure,
• 171 which is also found in Moroccan Moslem law, has been described by Westermarck (1926, Vol. 1, pp. 509-510):

> In Fez, for example, if a person (A.) accuses another person (B.) of theft and the latter disputes the accuracy of the charge, A. says to B., "Come then with me to the governor". The governor asks A. if he can produce witnesses, and if he can do so, sends a soldier with him to hear the evidence. If more than two persons bear testimony to B.'s guilt he has to compensate A. for his loss and pay a fee to the soldier or is otherwise thrown into prison; but the witnesses do not appear before the governor, nor are they sworn in. If they simply testify that B. has stolen something from A. without stating the amount, the latter has to confirm his accusation on oath. Again, if A. declares that he cannot produce witnesses, the governor says to B., *Ḥälf lû*, or, *A'téh ḥaqq lláh*. If B. obeys and swears to his innocence he is acquitted and has nothing to pay. On the other hand, if he refuses to swear, saying, *Qläbtsû álih*, "I turned it on him", the governor asks A. if he is willing to swear that B. is guilty. If he swears, B. has to pay or, if he does not pay, is put into prison; but it may be that A. has to swear twice, since B. may insist that A. shall not only swear to his guilt but also confirm by oath the amount he has stolen. If A. says that he cannot take the oath demanded of him because he did did not see the commission of the theft but only heard of it, or that he strongly suspects B. of it, then B. has to swear or, if he refuses to do so, is compelled to pay or is thrown in prison...

695 Among the Berber tribes the number of conjurators varies according to the gravity of the alleged offense, and includes the accused person himself and male members of his kin, including young boys – this being a consequence of the concept of the collective responsibility of kindred and their duty of mutual assistance. Thus, among the Beni Sadden (64),

> ... the *imggilla* [conjurators], as they are called, are five in case of theft, and one of them, called *amnqqar*, is chosen by the accuser. The latter decides where and how the oaths are to be made, how many and who

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

•••Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n* • [171] *l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

•••... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration.*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171.

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (*See Text for Sources*)

571 609 574 754 171 192

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*taimat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relation-
563 ship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If
[621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the al-
628 liance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur;
571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic
628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see
571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most
171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171
lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628
teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

616 in the area around the mouth of the Moulouya, and weakest in the
• 171 central Rif. In the area of the Beni Uriaguel (99), in fact, the *leff* structure was already at this time of only historical interest and expressed itself only as a mild antipathy towards the opposing group. The primary function of the *leff* as it is known in the southern areas, that of defense against aggressors, is here handled by simple intervention – a point completely missed by Murdock (1956, p. 143) in his discussion of Riffian *lfuf*. The interveners assume this role largely on the basis of their proximity to the area of disturbance, without regard to their *leff* affiliation (as can be seen by comparing Coon's list of interveners with the *leff* structure as given by Montagne and shown in fig. 7); their motivation to take such action springing as much from a desire to secure a share of the fine imposed upon the errant group as from a desire to restrict the conflict and maintain the peace.

000 ... If a lively internal war has broken out in the tibe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal council (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* [districts] five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place [sic] and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its differences quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton* [commune], and from each *bone* [minor lineage]. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reinforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebâᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanïdri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
133 /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
101 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
634 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
[134] slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
10 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
133 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moresr from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
[795] erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the orig-
174 inal source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
619 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief,

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
	a. Daud.	a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in [172] a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave [176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Abderrah'man u Messud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Buimâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper [172] there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

312 /148/ A hundred séguias represent, for the Seksawa, a realization of considerable volume, although they might be only very rarely walled up. The Talh'archt of the a. Abdella crosses several aqueducts, one of which is eight meters high. It is so wide that each year, at the time of cleansing, the old amghar Ah'med u Lah'sen made a bundle of thorns float in it, from the intake to the ending, without its catching anywhere. The thing has remained proverbial. Sometimes, along a schistose wall, the conduit is conveyed overhanging, passes through tunnels under rock. Even the saints are used there. But neither the intake, a simple weir of dry stone, nor the line, which winds capriciously, for the current is left to do as it pleases, neither the crossing of the hollows, often reduced to a simple "gutter" of wood, lqend'ert, nor the basin of distribution, chcharij, which is frequently reduced to an uncemented hole, afraw -- none of all that is durable. An infiltration aided by the axial impact of the water on concave walls, the absorption by plants insufficiently cut down, finally numerous losses in a system in which the sluices are made and unmade by pickax, with a little mud: so many incessant deficiencies, the adding up of which soon makes the water dry up. Also
312 the abandoned séguias are numerous, notably in Moyen /Middle/
172 Seksawa, in the cursed sector which the a. Gasa formerly inhabited. One can follow at long intervals, as though fossilized on the slope, their network forever fruitless. The decadence of the fields, the petrification, if one may venture to say it, of all the countryside sanction neglect. There is nothing more melancholy. The native avoids reviving places that, according to him, are demoniac. He does not persist in repair. He gives up the place.

312 Thus the fragility of this whole agricultural infrastructure is great. It holds together only at the price of constant care. It is necessary to repair every instant what has not been built to endure and what it is nevertheless necessary to make endure. Veritable sieve of the Danaïdes, where the work of generations has been lost! Nothing is more proper to confer on this humanity at the same time as the idea of effort, that of its precariousness. An act of constant will is necessary to any survival. But this will is often wasted wrongfully, in the futility of perpetual repair.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than [175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did [172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the car-
172 rot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saïd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Abdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of
423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ- [172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by
173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

/239 cont./

776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
823 (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
•172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

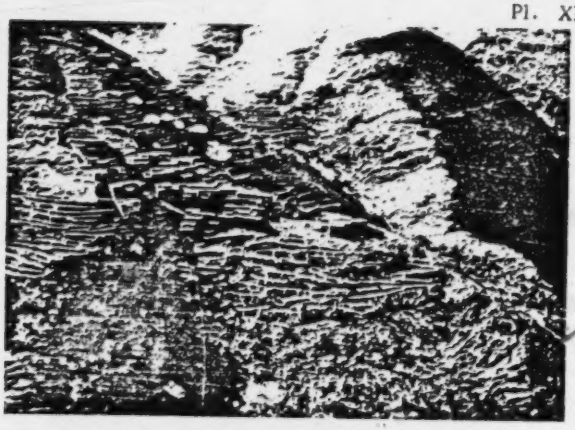
103
133
312
•172
346
423
778

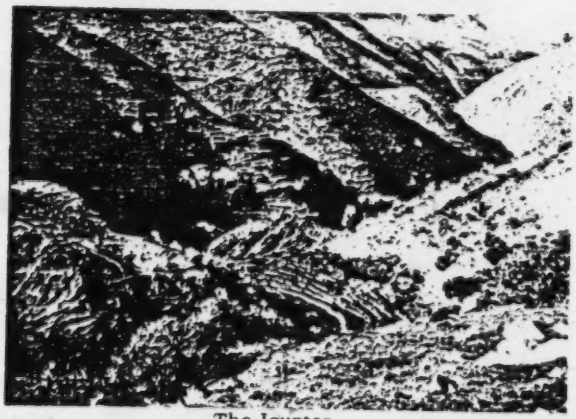
/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. XII

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[172]
[712]
[343]
[487]

/86 cont./

*175
•[172)

/footnote 1 continued/ pp. 43-44. -- We believe we can identify "Culeihat el Muridin," the fortress of ᶜOmar Seyyaf, with the one that exists at Tameloukt among the Mtougga, 15 kilometers to the southeast of Bouaboud, at the place called "Agadir n Jorf." The site and distance in relation to Tasegdelt (Lalla Tasegdelt) from the map at 1/200,000 of the Service géographique du Maroc /Geographical Service of Morocco/ seem to us to correspond to the description by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, p. 155.

But other, less frenzied disciples were to gather up the religious heritage of the Imam el Jazouli. In the first years of the sixteenth century a whole flowering of saints appeared, whose role was above all to maintain the spirit of holy war against the Portuguese settled henceforth at Anfa, on the Tensift, at Agadir, and allied with the Arabs of the plains of the South. The most famous of these personages are Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed Es Sogheir el Amri, from an Arab tribe of the Sous, whose tomb is found in Marrakech, Abou Mohammed ᶜOmar Ajaṇa, buried in the Sous plain at Tajemmelt near the Leben wadi; these saints, with Sheik ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz Et Tebbaᶜ, buried in Marrakech, were the masters of Jazoulism in the south of Morocco. Another honored "moujahid" /leader in the holy war/, killed in the struggle against the Christians or their Arab allies, was Sidi ᶜAbd el Malek Sbaᶜi, mortally wounded on the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho at the "Fortress of the Gold" and buried in the forest of Harjan, between the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud, "with /87/ the ax he used against the Christians" (1).

1. Tradition collected by F. de La Chapelle (unpublished note on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

/259 cont./

343 114

/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343 178 But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343 172 In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343 175 726 In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth [217] [127] century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: [721] whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of [769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, [349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic [776] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to [197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. 173 Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a walk, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Said is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

[443] [478] [484]

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong

634 619 [342]

634 173 619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addδ. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

174 /60 cont./
some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness.

619 634 128 613 173 619 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
[101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To [173] tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.

[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction [167] turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 173 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread 619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of [613] which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
634
621
613
173
166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^{c}). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101] [312] [142] [181]

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./
634 pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).
619

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Âbdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella, is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

634 632 613 166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

/69 cont./

423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration: the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkāla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspsing populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Ennmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wa[illegible]zgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 174 619 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 619 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 619 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief,

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the
619 sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers: but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls
174 three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/
619 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

174 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
619 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

/74 cont./

487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
175 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).
619

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of çafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2).
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
[776] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in- [613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [796] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their eliminat[illegible]n was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
619 613 173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch. a. Wakrim.	Idma, came from Tasselli. Iseqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 175 619 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. Abdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ât.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1). [731] [428]

1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619
173
175
[428]
[731]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

[648]

173
619

His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/36 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and Mençur.

619 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
634 cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[176] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is extreme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnmiya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
	a. Daud.	a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [779] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. Waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat': communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

133 (361) [613]

General Characteristics of the Population

634 613 312 (173) It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'oggWa expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us (613) observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The 634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes 613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure

173
669

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634 613 [173] [423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102 133 361 423 613 634

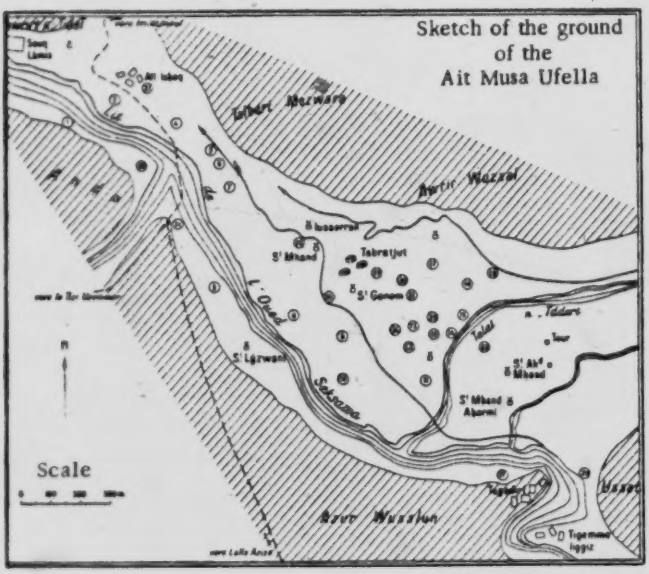


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).

The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and [173] antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of 423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ- [172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by • 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1); [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

• [173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison
796 with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/284 cont./

346 794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except 794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small • 173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes [784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away. [211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence 776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to [778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the [619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin, [634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on [796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few [443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations [692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
● 173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
776 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 776 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sustains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They accord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1).

[794] [423]

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 776 794 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when?/ — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
[178] inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
[173] suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
[562] property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(184) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoying the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but sim-
ply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

•173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*63 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
[778] dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
695 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
671 in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
• [173] /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/158 cont./

*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group suc-
131 ceeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
728 valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
619 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
•[173] as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/189 cont./

*634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two frac-
726 tions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the coun-
try still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the
•173 time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
*634 of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
616 at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of
726 Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaouia of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege, cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there. Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exterminated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collective fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the "Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the terri-
*634 tory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
616 fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitution and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right "to speak" in the assemblies.

*634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwon-
616 sekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa,
726 are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success, the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesmatert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
648 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
175 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
• [193] ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
* [631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century. It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
* 631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

/329 cont./

175 In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
*634 the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords, who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

•[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa "khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./

121 Seksáwa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col
of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi
Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus: one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
13 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
133 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
101 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

/59 cont./

114
175

/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

128
127

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

174 /60 cont./
some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness.

619 634 128 613 173 619 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. Sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

101
174
619

Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in a. Abdella, these a. Bihi u. Sâid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Ikis, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the a. H'adduyws. Above Ammern is seen a Tagadirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'âh'a). Let us also mention the a. Ish'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in a. H'adduyws; the Iqorran of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Châib; the Ikessan, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the a. H'ogg^{w}a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ogg^{w}at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these a. Hogg^{w}a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the a. Umgan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the Indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these a. Umgan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukânî distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryun, but to places such as Tawennrrast, Igelwan, not situated in a. Gâir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the liaison of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the orig-
174 inal source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
619 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the
619 sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers; but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls
174 three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/
619 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

174 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
619 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

174
487
619

/74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1),

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

/74 cont./

487 174 619 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 166 619 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

> 2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 175 619 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

> 1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/." Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./
174
175 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for
634 Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

Here now are two documents from annals.

175 The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.
619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gfir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174 Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the
175 Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

[Ait Gasa]

175 /84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and prob-
174 ably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Ager-
619 sili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and
[126] Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of
[361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ǎjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ǎjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istirᶜǎ', "ritual protestation" against
[539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gǎr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâlî, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the
619 mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
[176] cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity, guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tiborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave
[176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper
[172] there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 124 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113]

/footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly true then on the scale of the Atlas. [184] Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

121 [114]

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 121 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones, [114]

174 12 [114]

/94 cont./
have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. Afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/95 cont./

174 sides of a sacred place. They are no more than a sampling. But the matter is important: for by means of them a legitimacy survived. The originality of this history from then on will be the re-establishment of this legitimacy, in spite of the growing misfortunes of the times and in an ever narrower cadre. And that this re-establishment of a name, and of a person, be done by external contributions, with the exclusion of any recourse to the original substance.

Thus the group underwent a long identity crisis. And it resolved it in a striking fashion: by modifying its content. Even if the a. Gasa are authentic Seksawa, they will be eliminated from this tradition and replaced as such by allogenes. In what therefore does this group identity consist? Such a question, which puts itself in the very heart of our research, illustrates the central discussion and the unity of a history small in bulk, but typical.

It is in the period of two and a half centuries, starting in the middle of the sixteenth century, that the essential part of the new mise en place /putting in place/ was done. The intervention of two armed groups coming in, and absolutely contrasting in style with the other elements -- warlike migration or conventional hospitality -- was the main event in it. This vivification was brought about by way of the South. Doubtlessly that is a general phenomenon for the Atlas and perhaps for all of Morocco. What is peculiar here is the signification that it assumes. These fresh forces found in place an ally in a certain constancy, ritual and juridical, bound to the name and to the country. They exerted themselves to remove the usurpation, to restore a people.

It is tempting to relate the intervention of these new factors to the great mystic movement from the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But another idea emerges. The origin of the newcomers, the fact that the mountains remain outside of the hagiology of the times, and still other features make one think that these immigrations proceeded not from the expansion from the Sous at the time, but indeed from the local resistance that it encountered. Not from the movement, but from its repercussions. Among these Iguzulen, then prey to a spiritual and political push,

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171]

1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâlî is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

/97/ Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/ I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

113 114 1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyara). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

[423] [427]

/104 cont./

174 648 221 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Bessebâ^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the system of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Bessebâ^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Abdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

[312]

174 221 121 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./

174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).
221
121

1. It is the sāh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldūn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qāhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sāh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A [634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

•174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by [571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were [171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

121 619 634 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 619 133 [571] [137] Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their livestock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation. Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 648 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khéla Tifernin, the ᶜArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maᶜqil formerly was.

*175 167 •174 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of [101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives,

/35 cont./

*175 167 •174 101 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, settled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït ᶜAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

*175 648 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do [101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/107 cont./

*175
.174

XIV. Insufficiency of the historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- From the time of the reign of the sultan Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman (1822-1859), the documents that might enable us to know the history of the Moroccan South become fewer and fewer. On the one hand, the writings of the historians Akensous and Ahmed en Nasiri show us the life of the Sherifian Empire under more and more conventional aspects; on the other hand, it seems as though, in the isolation in which it is shut up, the far Maghreb is seeing the activity of the dynasty and of the tribes diminish and that great deeds capable of striking the mind and fixing themselves in the memory are becoming rarer. For want of sufficiently complete texts by means of which we might be able to know what the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ policy in the South of Morocco had been for a century, tradition and the memory of the oldest old men can, however, suffice to /108/ enable us to find the major lines and understand the reaction that it evoked among the tribes.

By putting together, at the price of patient investigations, the thousand small events that stirred the Berbère /Berber/ mountain cantons, one can actually arrive at some knowledge of the deep life of this province precise enough in order to distinguish well the nature and the importance of the main political forces, which oppose one another, as we shall see, according to constant laws. Local history, thus reconstituted, is the web of the study that we are going to try to make of the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, of the birth and development of personal power, of the submission of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/; but the fabric of this history is so uniform, the threads that cross one another in it are so numerous and so closely woven that it would perhaps be difficult to perceive at first, if we tried to make too complete an exposition here, the simple rules according to which the facts are connected. Therefore we shall limit ourselves, for the moment, to choosing from among the numerous pieces of information collected on the spot by our efforts the events that make known the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the reigns of the last Filalian sultans. In the course of our study of the

/108 cont./

*175 •174 institutions, on the other hand, we shall draw besides from the history of the tribes for the past century, applying ourselves to finding, among so many obscure struggles, the examples that make one understand how the transformation of the Sous province was brought about.

*175 XV. The policy of the Makhzen under Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman. -- In the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, sherifian policy relied, as during the preceding period, on the forces of the Arab or faithful Berbère /Berber/ tribes charged with keeping the more rebellious ones obedient. On the whole, the Atlas of the Masmouda remains little changed by the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/, but through the Telwet pass and the Tizi n Fedghat to the East on the one hand, by the coastal road of the Haha to the West on the other, leaders in the Sultan's service try to reach at a great distance the tribes of the Dadès, the Dra, the Feija, or the ones of the western Anti-Atlas. Finally, in the heart of the Sous plain, Taroudant forms another center that directs its activity toward the central Anti-Atlas.

In the coastal region the champion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is El Hajj /109/ ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, kaid of the Haha; the Sultan's enemy is the marabout of the Tazerwalt.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi appears about 1844 and in the South of Morocco takes over the tradition created by Aghennaj 50 years before. After reducing to impotence the minor kaids of the Mtougga, his rivals, whom he expels from their house of Bouaboud, he subjugates entirely the country of the Haha, whose tribes of the South have regained their independence; he immediately conquers the Ida Ou Tanan and establishes himself, as the Sultan's caliphate, in Taroudant and among the Chtouka of the plain; he draws to himself the minor chiefs of the fractions of the Dir, and with the aid of a sherif of the Haha, Moulay Idris, to whom he entrusted the command of Taroudant, he keeps all the tribes submissive in obedience.

The domain of the sherif of the Tazerwalt begins beyond the territory of the Chtouka, on the left bank of the Oulghas wadi. At Illigh, Sidi Hachem has recaptured, since the death of his enemy

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 .174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 342 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the *634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/136 cont./

*631 *634 [578] traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favorable occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 619 121 Without having the importance of the independent group of the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evolution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient [178] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and [174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 *634 619 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pastoralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Qalla, in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys. [669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re- [712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. *634 But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/154 cont./
*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou [619] Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The [131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all *634 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, 184 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap- •174 proximately (1)
178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
184
•174
178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/159 cont./
*631 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape
619 all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe
*[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three
[184] and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum-
*634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given
/160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Aït
•174 Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

/160 cont./

619 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we
•174 have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that
*634 all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth.
[616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

619
171

1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

/160 cont./

619
171

/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

[113]

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the A'lt Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

619 But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it
.174 seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

/161 cont./
619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).
•174

2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- An-
616 other element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends
619 up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

/164 cont./

619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
619 find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
•174 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

*631 619 175 [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Ait ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

/168 cont./

*631 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of
•174 their ethnic unity (1).
171

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the
[726] Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These
[178] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the
[666] "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of
* [634] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions op-
[616] posed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could
174 thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

*631 /168 cont./
[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through [648] the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger [792] the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, [642] a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains *631 619 and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the [796] patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives [692] in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
•174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/185 cont./

•174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/195 cont./

616 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït
174 Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However
616 that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in
926 the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

/196 cont./

571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
616 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the insti-
•174 tution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

/197 cont./

616 on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any
•174 argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

[601]

1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "Altmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "Altmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

616 One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing
*634 to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of
174 the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

/198 cont./

*634 616 •174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. [361] Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

*634 616 578 174 619

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

195 *634 619

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Ait Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

•174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

•174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./

•174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/204 cont./

616 619 648 175 [173] of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him contingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 578 174 [184] XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 174 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
.174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Ma'qil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

2: Montagne--274 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
Rif MX3

S
616
.174
[167]
[648]

/205 cont./

produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Ait Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R
616
171

XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/221 cont./
*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[178] [174]

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 184 /222 cont./
replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 •174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)

[113]

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2),

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas Ibaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

[184] *[631] [619]

[113]

> 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
174 intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
789 the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
184 consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*631 so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
619 things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Ait ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
798 must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 789 •174 178 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the *634 789 184 [174 178] number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

/261 cont./

343 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the
712 regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus
178 it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past
712 and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the
174 evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps
178 it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/." Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--
178 Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 174 171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated [648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

/359 cont./

*631 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the
•174 Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of
171 slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development
565 of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression
174 in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of
171 the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism,
174 said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and
171 it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/360 cont./

*631 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).
• 174
171

1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the
174 social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country
171 of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no
423 way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves
[567] on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves,
[566] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the
*634 kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have
174 been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power
171 and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
•174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself; the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: [175] the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, [167] which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
• 175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a

101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.

175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue

[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment

[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,

133 at the foot of an uneven ridge which points to the Awrir Waluggu.

241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously

101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet

634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.

[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds

[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enor-
mous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor al-
mond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: por-
tions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
[631] the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talâint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the 634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to 175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the 726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a 619 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)
175

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

114 175 /footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

128 129

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/60 cont./
174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the 175 realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an 619 unhoped-for richness.

634 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. 128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ- 613 ent ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi- 173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. 619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

●175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.

[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Âbdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Âbdelâ, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all 173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it that the a. Âbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 634 619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Âbdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of [613] which has its legend of origin.

/74 cont./

487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

> 2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
175 On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
619 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

> 1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
[176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 a. Ikru, 619 "those of 613 the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two conquering branches.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt,
175 the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of
619 Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. 'Abdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ât.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed
[731] estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epi-
[428] demic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1).

1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619
173
175
(428)
[731]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

[648]

173
619

His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met at Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./
174
175
634

Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

175 Here now are two documents from annals.

The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
639 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.

At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan
619 and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619
175
726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night
539 from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left
726 on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a.
619 Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Taint'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gâir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

[Ait Gasa]

175
174
619

/84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and
[126] Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 174 619 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occupation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of [361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ājj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ājj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istirᶜā', "ritual protestation" against [539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gār between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâlî, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
[176] cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity, guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened bus little among the Seksawa, 175 except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this 631 order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of 648 Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammō. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'āh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbās in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asān made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. [661] After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Māl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammō as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./

175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
651 central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[901] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)
[121]
[113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/111 cont./

246 prohibiting cutting or opening the $ag^{w}mi$ constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our $ag^{w}mi$, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: $ag^{w}dal$).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhumance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 kʷel. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people. Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his arrival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up" /Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb used in the expression sbidd lᶜâr, "to enjoin ritually" -- but here

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than [175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did [172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
/207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs and, like Bul^{c}wân downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counterdemand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban, ...

133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

133
175
177
184
619
[634]

613
312
[184]

This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

/237 cont./
778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not
/238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

779 /242 cont./
671 ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern
175 norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only
779 with each other. They have found before them, beneath them,
671 more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and
[171] competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'îl, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbî (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] Th[illegible] matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of adminis-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./

175 794 675 [876] [126] the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2)

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/282 cont./

776 /footnote 3 continued/ arabes de
778 Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/,
[825 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliog-
[171] raphy.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds
778 only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to
[773 the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people
[823 see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

175 More significant are the archeological elements revealable
726 toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the
727 Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa,
[776 and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the vil-
[776 lage of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about
[774 forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects
000 every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

1: Berque--413 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776
175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/296 cont./

776

/footnote 4 continued/ du Maroc /Customs and legends of the Berber part of Morocco/, Hesp., 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, Conférences, A. M., 1927, p. 16; De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A. M., 1933, pp. 202 sq. For our region, let us cite the important unpublished study by Oqbani on "Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana /The sanctuaries of the annex of Argana/" (Arch. I., see especially p. 11, translation of a genealogical document). The Regraga of the high a. Abdella, in Seksawa, also display a genealogical document dated 1687, and a dahir of tawqîr of the sultan al-Mançûr (1643), where the area of the zaouia is also called sâh'a, as in the text of Ibn Khaldûn.

one of whom was formerly pointed out among the a. Gasa. Or also these men of God, makers of rain and marvels, such as this sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli who resisted the great purges of Ibn Toumert. On that, unfortunately, the imprecision of the sources makes us confuse the epochs.

175 776 /297/ We would be reduced to these hypotheses, if the windfall of a text did not permit a much more radical conclusion. It is a passage by the cadi Ibn Qunfûdh the Constantine (1),

1. Abû'l-^cAbbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1340-1408) left Constantina in 1358. In 1362 he visited the house of Ibn Toumert: it is from this time that one can date his passage into the Dir, although he stayed in Morocco a certain number of

1: Berque--417 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

175
976

/297 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ years. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, "La Fârisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide /The Fârisiyya or the beginnings of the Hafsid dynasty/," Hesp., VIII, pp. 37 sq.

who stayed in Morocco toward the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the student of the famous Andalusian vizier Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khat'îb, himself a poet inspired by the Maçmûdian mountains. He visited the region toward 763 Heg., that is, 1362, and as sightseer called at the house of Ibn Toumert. In his book Uns al-faqîr wa ᶜizz al-h'aqîr (2),

2. Rabat manuscript, fol. 41a, l. 2 sq. The spelling of the name of the Seksawa has been touched up and is thus given: skswia.

he collected valuable notes on the chain of the Deren, which struck his imagination, and the religious atmosphere of the place and of the time. He extricated from it the impression of a spiritual life nourished by contrasts and drawing a lively fervor out of the fierceness of these populations. Now, our Constantine savant met Lalla Aziza.

/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "I have seen in Morocco, on the border of the Seksawa in the Deren, at a place called al-Qâhira, 'la dame princesse' /the lady princess/ (3),

3. I translate thus on the testimony of G. S. Colin, Sources in. Port., III, p. 157, n. 1, apropos another sayyidatu'l-h'ufra. But it is to be noted that this term is constant in the documents of the Moroccan S.

the saint ᶜAzîza the Saksiwîya.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 [114] 1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

175
776
792

/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^c^za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^c^Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

175
776

What historical precision! ^c^Amir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^c^Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/298 cont./

175 776 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] [798] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 (778) (634) Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola 776 of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and 794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the (778) direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that (796) here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

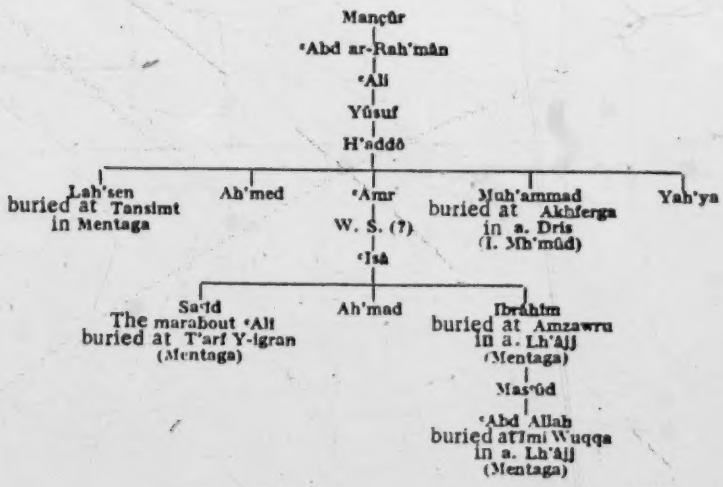
• 115 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in 776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late 794 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga 428 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
796 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 428 602 776 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga, whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left as heir his cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, whom this mention undoubtedly identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 127 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 602 428 776 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜîd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 602 428 776 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh', Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line, thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants. [613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 [175] [602] The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal personages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre-[127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum-[693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 175 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field in Inzzūyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzūyma, or Qaçba n-Qīhra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghānem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqīh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ᶜArība, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supernatural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh
/sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[176] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

/324 cont./

693 692 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-târad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 634 69 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and [794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous [681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 69 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710, and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./

175 69 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods, dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'în, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693 121

1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

[114]

/327 cont./

695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Marc, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
[794] 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work
there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

/332 cont./

695 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our
571 intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower val-
[175] ley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait dif-
695 ferently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described,
613 but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the
[674] agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 /333/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it
695 jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the timez-
613 gida, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of s.m.h', gh.f.r., ch.h.d., proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental initium thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between ikhs-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primi-
695 tivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a fqih, Abdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a cojuratio. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," radda nafsahu fî jihat, and "is returning," tâb, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/333 cont./

175 695 greatly anterior to the first: by several centuries! It is probable that these Seksawa societies permitted simultaneously institutions, minds of both forms, indeed impulses of one or the other genre within the same minds. Any genetic explanation consequently appears singularly suspect. On the contrary, what is likely is that this genre of contrast has existed all the time, and that this society, if one may say it, has looked upon it favorably.

695 /334/ A Document on the Historical Relations Between the Plural Oath and the "lafîf" Testimony

The Moroccan judiciary practice ended up by admitting a subsidiary form of "testimony," initially reserved for only the "just," ᶜadl. In opposition to this canonical concept, the lafîf restored the statistical concept of any witnesses whatsoever, that is to say, close or complaisant (1).

1. Al-ᶜIraqî, "La preuve par témoins, lafîf /Proof by witnesses, lafîf/," Revue du Maghreb, 1939, No. 9, pp. 1 sq. ("Doctrine"). Question frequently approached in the Moroccan juridical literature. It is the subject of an entire treatise by al-ᶜArabî al-Fâsi in the seventeenth century. Cf. also al-Wazzânî, Commentaire de l'ᶜAmal /Commentary of the ᶜAmal/, pp. 93 in fine sq.

Let us take heed, that was only the pure expression of a support of the group. Between the ordeal, which is the basis of the plural oath, and the moral criticism to which the religious law subjects the testimony, the lafîf constitutes a sort of third position, influenced by the notarial practice. The latter being specified, one no longer discriminated between witnesses as "just," ᶜadl, and nonjust, but as professionals and private persons. At Fès /Fez/ this mode took some time to assert itself. Polemics on this subject prevailed throughout the sixteenth century. The lafîf was

[191] 695 175

/334 cont./

695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long
175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the complementary oath imposed by the cadî on the cowitnesses of the lafîf was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
[195] inal source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ᶜAbd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: ᶜalâmuᶜâyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ᶜalâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-duᶜâ'i bi'lbarakat. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (sic): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the baraka, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of bayyînat in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/
[212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in lafîf. "Astawqafa (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (sic) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses astachhada in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/335 cont./

695 175 initial act, here called sijla, recopied "for fear of destruction by wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole with three rudimentary responsa justifying the operation. This evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the former oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging into the solidarity of the jemâa, and doubtlessly illustrated by the rite evoked by the word du^{c}â', has been pronounced. The son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses, the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not sufficiently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover falsify the interpretation of the first text (1).

1. As-Suktâni, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud ^{c}Abdalmawlâ, who was interested in several of these technical notions as a result of the numerous epistolary relations that he maintained as consultant with the justiciables of tribes still plunged in custom, bâb achchahâdât, pp. 135 sq., seems to use murd'iy in the sense of "accepted witness." But this whole affair is extremely confused. Although allusion is frequently made to wathâ'iq formularies, practice often stops at the single witness and at the interferences between the oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural history of six centuries, from the Wathâ'iq of al-Matîtî to the recent commentary of the Fir^{c}ûnîya. At what time did this art

/335 cont./

695 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq
175 from Daud at-Tamulît or at-Timît, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evo-
794 lution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to com-
693 pare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 11 sq.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/346 cont./

585 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is
675 even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose,
175 wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 However that may be then, not only in the division of the ac-
[562] quests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contrac-
585 tual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out
171 better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

613 /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns
[623] the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the
personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today:
a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a,
613 Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to
178 only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a.
Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved
and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions
would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken
here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant
for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Ex-
amples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incer-
titudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely re-
newable.

594 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmos-
67 phere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning
the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here
either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the
occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence
67 with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of
sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on
[191] that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an
671 old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by
[428] the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the
671 child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator.
[881] Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from
421 the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
421 inal source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw
175 Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/351 cont./

593 421 175 evaluations, drawing of lots, convention, measuring." Moreover, the distribution is performed "in front of the jemâa, with the reed, according to the boundaries and by the drawing of lots, and followed by the taking of possession in the presence and under the auspices, bi-wajh, of the father." The latter reserves for himself, the same as the mother, a margin, h'âchiya. All this under the presidency of the grandfather, the chaykh /sheik/ Sa^{c}îd b. ^{c}Abdallah. Patriarchal ambiance, but careful about preconstituted proofs, communitarian, but accountable. This double aspect of the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution stands out nearly everywhere.

593 421 Such a practice, in which both the patrimonial permanence and the autonomy of the person are combined, passes only distorted into the acts to which it gives rise. A discordance breaks out at this place between the juridical base and the form that it has assumed: the latter depends on the free disposition, indeed even the liberality, of the father; but it is not very probable that this tie expresses the authentic climate. The latter is indeed one of a veritable right exercised by the son over the father, still alive, in the name of a certain solidarity among them all concerning the ancestral patrimony, and with a view toward freeing the initiative of each rightful claimant in the realization of the "augments," zawâid (1).

1. It happened this very year that in Demsira, taqbilt of the Irohalen, some children came to claim against their father, still alive, the right to divide /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ the land. One finds, in another Moroccan domain, this attempt having passed to the stage of jurisprudence, R. J. cout., No. 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu of Ahermoumou).

To amass, to round out the plot by /352/ progressively nibbling at the slope or the forest, to accumulate from generation to

/355 cont./

423 /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the oc-
691 casion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgit. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{w}a. The jemâa proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{w}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{w}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

175 A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.:
691 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the
423 ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack
425 the Idma recovered it. But certain ikhs-s were false, being on the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment
[192] (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

428
[192]

/356 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ᶜorf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175
423
425

/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (ᶜimâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, acl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

/357 cont./

423 denying any value to possession, have been /358/ found in Imt'd-
671 dan and in Idma. I have given elsewhere (1)

1. "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 386 sq.

the text and the translation of the second of these documents, which it seems useful to reproduce, as much for its basic interest as for an illustration of the singular disposition of these groups to legislate.

175 /The following six paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
423 inal source./ Copy (1348) of an act of rabîᶜnabawî 1266 Heg.:
671 1870. Be it known by these presents that in the custom of the Idma country there can be no rights drawn from possession. The latter, even prolonged, does not constitute valid title.

It is only if the titulary of the possession establishes its origin: how the right to the property passed to him, and the proof of his entering into possession by sale, redemption, donation, inheritance, that his possession will be valid. The party arguing faulty sales, or redemption, will again claim his title, and the original right will return to its origin.

Consequently, possession legally requires from the one who argues for it a legitimation. But if the origin that it invokes was reduced to nothing, the possessor would be no more than a usurper in our country. If not, not.

That is what we hold in all certitude from our past ancestors, and what they have written in our acts anciently and successively.

Still today, whosoever does not produce his origin, his possession depends on the pillaging of the goods of orphans, and on the iniquity due to the fact that in an unruly country the weak one does not obtain his rights (2).

2. Fine trait of what a modern school would call a feeling "of alterity"!

/358 cont./

175 423 671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

/359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

425 This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^cAbdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

/359 cont./

425 to tolerate the latter as a fait accompli. They even use the argument of this vicious clause to rescind the sale in exchange for reimbursement. And that even after lapses possibly exceeding a century, and during which the possession effected no prescription. Rescission and application a posteriori in this case come back to practically the same thing. They are of interest to us only through the judicial preoccupation that they express to offer a local form absolutely irreducible to orthodoxy.

But here are further significant aspects. With the assimilation with the classic thunyâ are already distinguished some elements of of a singular archaism. Thus in the modes of "resiliation." It takes effect reckoning from the payment of a portion of the sum, tamuzunt, /360/ tauqit, that is, of an "obole." In a. Abdella, the deposit is made on the pile of fruit. Everything happens as if the lessor thus re-establishes communication that was interrupted by the collecting of the price. Such seems to be the substrate of what was later interpreted as security, sale with power of redemption or with resolutory condition. Even at present a devaluation of a hundredfold to one has not taken from the Seksawa any of the gravity with which they effect the liberation of the field, its ransom, tefdiyya, ifda, iftida, in exchange for sums of a ridiculously small amount. For there is in all that indeed something other than the quantitative.

425 175 Truly an ancient form: al-Bakrî points out the existence of it in this part of the Atlas in the eleventh century. He undoubtedly connects it with some montagnard heresy: râfidî-s or worshipers of the ram. During periods of religious zeal the reaction of the learned became vehement. Thus, in 970 Heg.: 1563, the official interdiction of this contract was proclaimed at Taroudant. This was a period of fervor and strong political power. At about this period the mystic Ah'med u. Musa died. The Sâadian Mawlây ᶜAbd Allah al-Ghâlib bi'llah begged for his approbation and had conferred on himself the quality of ᶜadl by the doctors of the South. This was also the time when the Arab notarial practice became generalized in the Atlas. However that may be, the interdiction did not hold against the customary unanimity that it

/360 cont./

425 tried to break, and whose riposte, significantly, assumed a pious
175 and juridical coloring. The jamâ^ca cadi of Taroudant, Sa^cîd ibn ^cAlî al-Hawzâlî, consulted the saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanârtî, who, by classic reasoning of Malékite /Maliki/ pragmatism, concluded in favor of tolerance: "And that is why this practice is thus perpetuated throughout the country of the Sous up to our day."

425 If the saints come to the rescue of the lender at interest, it is because it is a matter of a particularly powerful social fatality. In fact this mode of credit on a landed-property pledge is not only an economic and juridical category. It is also a sentimental motive power: the lessee's effort to consolidate his possession is opposed by the continuous attack of the lessor. Any means will do: feint, fraudulent denegation, falsehood, etc. All is fair in war. The two parties, as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, confront each other like cat and dog: one seeks to disguise the rrahn as a definitive sale, the other to do away with it without any outlay by title of pure and simple monopoly. More than gain, it is probably an advantageous position, fame in the bosom of the group, that one seeks. That against preoccupations of subjective sincerity, indeed old rules of obligation that the rrahn still expresses, /361/ this is undeniable. But what counts here is triumph in the joust. Something superior even to patrimonial legitimacy is affirmed in this tension that divides the group in conflicts of sometimes several generations. These mores give the skillful litigant and even the falsifier his chance. Must one accordingly attribute them to the decadence of the institutions? No, undoubtedly, but rather to a procedural primacy. And beneath this last is divined an old agonistic structure.

432

The Ruse-Sale

This is undoubtedly what explains the fact that, in spite of all the objections against landed-property alienation, it nevertheless exists. It is rare in Seksawa, and certain neighboring populations have purely and simply abolished it. Out of four "sales" one is affirmed as definitive: such is the ratio

/361 cont./

432 that one can very roughly imagine from the lists of ancient acts that sometimes fall into our hands. Naturally during periods of famine usury practices its ravages. People remember in a. Ab-
[175] della the years 1295-96 Heg. when a piece of land was sold for one riâl! But the grandfather of the present amghar confiscated all these acts one day, put them in a pile the height of a donkey in Inzzūyma, and set them on fire: and everyone regained his rights.

This was a violent procedure. There are others. In fact the ratio of sales is much smaller than that of one out of four. Now, whatever might be the nature of the terms that there has been care to have consigned to it, the local law will change the resiliable act, make it slip in some way into the inferior category, if the wording in the least presents a weakness or irregularity of technical order: a single notary instead of two, and two who are qualified; the seller's suddenly producing an iqâla, "resiliation," the fact that there has been no tradition; that the lessee does not have peaceable possession, etc. Obviously all sorts of obstacles are raised against the consolidation of the sale.

It is thus that a dissertation, undated, but attributed to the son of sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, who would have to go back to the second third of the seventeenth century, assembles in a potpourri all the nullities that can infirm a sale: indetermination, chance, injury, conditional stipulation. Fine manifestation of pedantry conspiring with the inalienability that local instinct wants and which such codification will express by decreeing that whoever is convicted of wanting to alienate land to a foreigner must sacrifice a cow as an offering to the jemâa.

/362/ Indeed, even better, the seller can unilaterally go back on his act, either because he declares himself wronged or constrained: this is then a declaration of istirᶜâ', or because he "repents": this is then an istighfâr al-bayᶜ. Lacking written jurisprudence, one poorly knows what the judiciary effect of these declarations might be. Undoubtedly to contribute to creating a climate propitious for revendication, rather than to orient the procedure, henceforth bilateral, decisively. A trace undoubtedly,

/363 cont./

432 country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093
[195] Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the
[175] forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains
423 the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794
423
428
562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the
423 woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is
428 exercised not only in the margin, /this foot-
562 note is continued on the following page in
the original source/ Ih'âchit, that the "agnatic
sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant
[432] procedural theme. The women's share often
being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will
later bring about their annulment for all that
concerns the women's share, and without pre-
[184] scription intervening. On the other hand, in
neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example,
if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ mon-
ograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess
landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa,
a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the
contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir,
Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is for-
428 mally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been
562 observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of
[171] "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a
procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does
not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The
founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches,
there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the
428 so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An inter-
[175] esting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult
of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-
over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order
of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed
with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the
jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b.
Ibrâhîm at-Tamullî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in
this manner.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamîc umur as-sufahâ' wa jamîc il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, cabbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^c anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/375 cont./

634 554 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^c^wân. On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice specia modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between (613) ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 634 554 (648) There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gâsa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^c^a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^c^âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been considerable. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

634 554

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^{c}a and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[794] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
[693] which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/381 cont./
671 212 many dissertations to it (1).

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlî, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 212 779 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 685 671 779 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for robbery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of amputation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 683 671 779 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735, emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qāhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/393 cont./

175
121

Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tarifications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

175
121
343
712

1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s. [184]

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/409 cont./

Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb

171
121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/ type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berbérophone societies of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These
175 high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years
121 of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have played the role of relay of the independence and of the continuity of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must, however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

●175

[For a detailed cultural history of Morocco from Roman times to the early 20th century, with special emphasis on the region of the Sous, see category 116, pp. 25, 34-48, and 71-151.]

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
•175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the in-
terior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
133 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
361 Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
[226] cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain
[439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mussulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101]

2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt. [792] [795] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this 159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan •175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

/121 cont./

*631 159 [175] succeeded in again extending his power further after the submission of the chiefs of the South to France. The death of that great policy, which took place in 1919, did not lead to the ruin of his work; his nephew, Si Hammo, received in his inheritance most of the mountain tribes; his young /122/ brother in particular, El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, was consequently able to play an important role in the pacification of Morocco. His military and political successes earned for him the highest distinctions. Through his cleverness in gaining the support of the highest authorities by multiplying sumptuous receptions, the pasha acquired the reputation of an all-powerful and magnificent leader, and he willingly appears to foreigners as the viceroy of the South of Morocco.

In the upper valley of the Nefis dwells the old Si Tayeb Gontafi, already famous in the reign of Moulay el Hasan for his courage, ambition, and immense wealth. Although his political fortune has not been as brilliant as that of the Telwet chiefs, from his medieval burg of Tagontaft or his picturesque dwelling of Talat n Yaqoub he governs five large mountain tribes in the very center of this country which in former times was the kingdom of the Almohades. Not long ago, after the death of the vizier Ba Hmad, regent of the young Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, Gontafi warred in the Sous plain and conquered part of the Anti-Atlas. Won over to France in 1912, he commanded the marches of Tiznit in the name of the Sultan for four years and held in check the last unsubjugated Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South.

Still more to the West we find, in the casbah of Bouaboud, ᶜAbd el Malek Tiggi, chief of the Mtougga. Like his rival of the Nefis and his Telwet competitor, he has command on the two versants of the great chain, but his possessions extend besides, toward the North, over several Arab tribes of the "Azaghar" of Marrakech (1).

1. Azaghar in Berbère /Berber/ has the meaning of plain, most often large plain. The small plains, particularly when they are cultivated, often take the name of Tagregra.

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
*175 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
178 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/133 cont./

• 175 *631 Moreover, at that time domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised in a form very different from that which we observe at present. At the foot of the great chain, on the Dir of the North versant, in all the large villages that form natural centers of exchange between mountain and plain, were settled minor kaids entirely subject to the Sultan. Horsemen coming from Marrakech used to bring on every occasion the orders of the "Pasha of the casbah" to the minor chiefs of Agergour of the Ouzgita, of Amismiz and Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, of the "Agadir" of the Mzouda, and of Bouaboud of the Mtougga. In the tribes 175 located higher in the mountains, each canton had its sheik chosen *631 from one of the old families of the villages and who represented *634 the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Narrowly limited in his privileges, this sheik or "amghar" was often reduced to coming to terms with the council of old men and notables in order to make it accept the demands transmitted in the name of the Sultan. But [651] the demands of the kaid were so light -- an annual tribute in silver and the "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ of a mule on the major feast days -- that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely felt the weight of the foreign authority.

On the south versant of the Atlas, north of Taroudant, the penetration was still less advanced, the kaids were replaced by simple sheiks, who maintained /134/ friendly relations with the small republics of the Dir and the summits.

Actually, in all the South of Morocco, the sultan's absolute authority stopped at the plains. By imperceptible transitions, while penetrating into the Atlas, one found the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weaker and weaker and the oligarchic institutions more and more developed. On the Dir or in the large valleys the sheiks governed, assisted by a council of notables. Farther on, it was the representatives of all the families, the "Ait Arbaʿin," who deliberated under the command of an "amghar" (1).

1. "Amghar" (pl. imgharen) Berb.: temporal leader who commands a tribe or a tribal fraction. In this region the "amghar" owes his power to

/134 cont./

•175 *631 *634

/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

[178] [671] [652] [712] [343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631

The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/135 cont./

•175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the in-
*631 fluence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*634 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the A'lt ᶜAbdallah, the A'lt Lhasen, the Idma, the A'lt Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the tra-
[178] ditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the "amghars," one still sees the "A'lt Arbaᶜin" and the "moqaddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aït arbaʿin" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the
•175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At
*631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely
*634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aït Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among
[651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices
[127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the
[114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/138 cont./

114 *63 *634 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

*631 *634 VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the [619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the [178] Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases [621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant •175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the *631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi 792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom: they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/139 cont./

•175 *631 178 [619] [578]

In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliphate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 128 *631

/140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/165 cont./

*631 typical example: made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
•175 distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence, attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
619 of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The diverse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After
[728] a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

/166 cont./

*631
*634
619
175
131
[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of A'lrt /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the A'lt Atman and A'lt Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631
619
175

But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*631 619 •175 [178] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Ait ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

*631 [174] /168 cont./
conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619]

3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ʿAli, disciple of Sidi Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouʿazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619

[796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
• [175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

*634 616 578 174 619

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

•175 *634 619

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Ait Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Ait Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Ait Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Ait Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Ait Fademt and Ait Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
619 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
•175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[193] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 619 648 175 [173]

of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him contingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa. Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 578 174 [184]

XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 174

The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/259 cont./

343
114

/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343
178

But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343
172

In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343
175
726

In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/260 cont./

343 712 *634 726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

•[175] *[631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
•175 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had succeeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt." In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat, these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation, was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him, following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the warriors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/274 cont./
•175 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).
*634

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous
/Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the A'lt Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "A'lt Atman" and "A'lt Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "A'lt Atman"
*634 and the "A'lt Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n A'lt Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "A'lt Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n A'lt Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arbaᶜin"
*634 of his "moudaᶜ." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
*634 family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
616 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
726 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
616 Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
726 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his canton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

•175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ʿAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaʿin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command,
726 espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ʿAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/279 cont./

•175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the A'lt Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of
Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly
stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the con-
quest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of
the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of
the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Ber-
ber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of
the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the A'lt Waggon-
san, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of
inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the A'lt Soual, the
Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by
a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market
towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/
existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a
tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring
regions.

/280 cont./

175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/281 cont./

•175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the A'it arba^c^in come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the A'it arba^c^in, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the A'it arba^c^in among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "mouda^c^" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and A'it Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/285 cont./

*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

•175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/286 cont./

•175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
*634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
[648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
[712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries, and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the "Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/287 cont./

•175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
*634 Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs, intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

[177] But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20 years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
*634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15 years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913, the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors, by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him, ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

/288 cont./

-175 *634 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ [170] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the [184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

•175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

• 175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "A'lt
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
* 634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.
* 631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "A'lt Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "A'lt Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "A'lt Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the A'lt Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "A'lt Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "A'lt Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "A'lt Iraten" and "A'lt Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

•175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
* 631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
* 634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
* 634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

•175 159 *634 [343] [712] storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally, in the middle of the fields of the "A'lt Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub, left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 159 *634 578 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the A'lt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "A'lt Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of the Atlas (1).

175 159 *634 578 616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "A'lt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the A'lt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

/304 cont./

175 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
159 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of [727] Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.

726 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ʿAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ʿAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat
[727] n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

•175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

•175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

• 175 159 *634 726 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

*[631]

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 159 *634 726 616 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat, of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 159 *634 726 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former

/307 cont./

175 159 *634 726 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 159 *634 [625] [602] Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 159 *634 616 578 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator, relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

•175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ʿAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influ-
726 ence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
616 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/309 cont./

•175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ʿachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaʿin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going
616 back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/310 cont./

*634 616 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

• 175 *634 616 726 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqaddems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ʿAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

* [631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/311 cont./

•175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
[361] enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./

•175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important [178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

•175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ʿAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ʿAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ʿOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
*.63 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

159 /313 cont./
•175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Ait Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the 'Imsifern' of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

•175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. [616] In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, [648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

•175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
•175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[212] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
[796] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
*[634] power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
•175 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
791 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
792 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
554 zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of
the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/325 cont./

*634 648 178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III
The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

•175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./

121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
•175 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs. Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.

175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the
[648] vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment; they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/327 cont./

•175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

[648] /328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

175 There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*631 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
*634 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
159 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
616 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an
726 amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Pour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./

•175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aît Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
616 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
726 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by
night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he
came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the
North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the val-
ley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the
North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last
expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards
and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

/329 cont./

•175 In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
*634 the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords, who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa "khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

The favor of the
•175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
[648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader, charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
*631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
[648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Actually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

•175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben ʿAli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
578 the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
*631 the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*634 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
[712] enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
• 159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ʿAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
175 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

• 175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
* 631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
* 631 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
326 reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even suc-
[669] ceeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and
named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal,
supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally for-
tune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the
Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids
of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards
ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by
the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to
take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed
toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/333 cont./

175 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the
*631 Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el
726 Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar
*631 Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as
648 well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the
*631 kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of
*631 the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi,
648 Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

/334 cont./

175 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on
*631 guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is
648 resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1);

> 1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

121 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the
*631 Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

•175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
*631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
713 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
648 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
439 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*634 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
726 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
648 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

•175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
726 "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[713] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./

175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
*631 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
*634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the su-
726 premacy of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends toward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa
[669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expeditions for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain fortress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his conquests (1902).

175 ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left vacant by the kaid in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the plain and the Dir revert to ᶜAbd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appropriates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids -- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid Saᶜid of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country. A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

•175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
[912] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
*631 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of
578 conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi, chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Marrakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of collecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his elevated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marrakech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz. His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/.

/339 cont./

175 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself
*631 the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the
726 minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

175 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of
*631 the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez
648 during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani,
726 followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

175 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/
*631 the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have
648 had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/340 cont./

• 175 *631 648 619 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c, Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa, Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal, Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

* [634]

1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of ^cAbd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Ait Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Ait Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remaining at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/ formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

/341 cont./

•175 *631 712 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft, from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long [312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the necessities of the moment. [595] He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a territory always being enlarged. [574] Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n Gouj, [333] near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./

•175 *631 712 [333] the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the A'it Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

[466] [333]

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

•175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would
imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to
bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that
power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so
much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of to-
day came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still
be observed in the more distant territories that have been succes-
sively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various com-
mands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and be-
cause this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu
in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the
great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be
called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get
entangled with the government of the Empire through their
intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the
rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the
tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

• [175] In the short period during which the large commands were
constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the
efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over
the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs,
sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original
territory.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

•175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
*631 action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
178 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel," traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
*634 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
616 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
726 and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/351 cont./

•175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
* 634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

•175 *634 619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^c^cho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^c^Abdallah Ou Bihi,

/353 cont./

•175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
926 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

/354 cont./

175 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*631 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
*634 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
726 enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Boua-
boud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living. Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
*631 Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the combined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
175 mation of the tribes.
648
669 The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
•175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
•175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the
middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a
command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself;
the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king
or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

*631 • 175 648

/363 cont./

*631 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to
•175 the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the
648 Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

/365/

000

Chapter IV
Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/
178 mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

• 175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
*631 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
648 kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the
[554] mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

•175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[342] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*63 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, con-
tained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted store-
houses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, in-
tended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the ma-
terial aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great
chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other
Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we
have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands
of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is
the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him
to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the
Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the de-
feated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*63 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circum-
stance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
*631 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
712 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

*631 /382 cont./
•175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
175 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/385 cont./

648 619 669 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until the strongest or cleverest has won. [175] The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 648 669 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
•175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
•175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*634 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of
*631 the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said, within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*634 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
• [175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

•175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [195]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [691]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

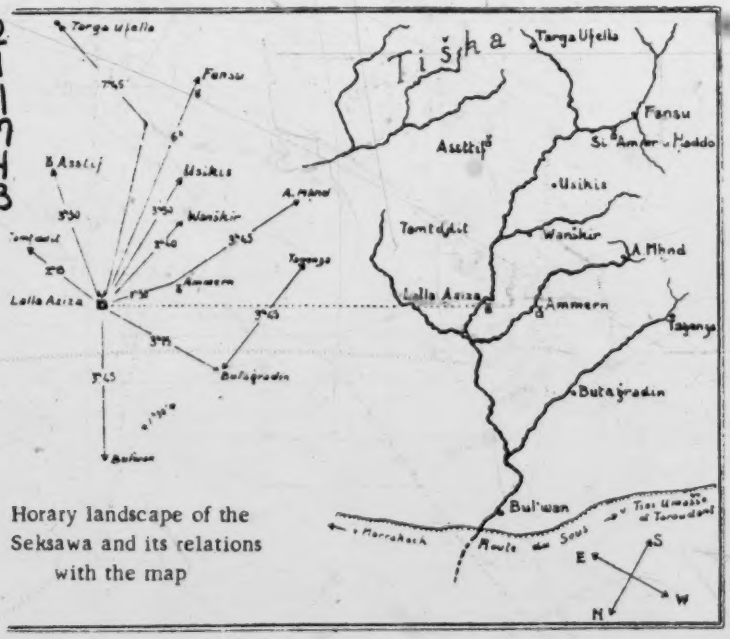
635 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which
631 in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the
669 representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of
175 the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted or these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

(127) 1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/170 cont./

244 The ensemble appears nonetheless as a decline of a former state, which must have known a completely different variety. That is true not only of the fruit trees, but further and especially of what we call "vegetables." The valley of the a. Lh'sen, whose conservation and vitality are striking, keeps a whole gamut of these crops: eggplants, gourds, pepper, tomatoes. The present success [177] that the potato, recently introduced, finds there, as in Idma, is perhaps a sign that this variety is an authentic trait, merely better preserved there than elsewhere. A new phase of progress could bring it back. In any case there is a relationship between the crop variety and the vigor of the group. We perceive there, very much alive, a new trait of these correlations between space, techniques, and the social structure, the delicate firmness of which the populations of the Atlas make us understand.

244 Let us carry on the observation. Market gardening is not at
242 all amenable here to the perspective of gardens. It is a large-scale cultivation whose value in rotation, in the formula turnip on barley, would be efficient if it were not borne on too-restricted areas. The distinction, for each of these crops, between an early kind and a late kind also contributes an element of interest. The eggplant and the tomato give rise to cautious sowings in general near habitations. Flat flagstones or interlacings of pink laurel protect the delicateness of the young sprouts from the beak of the hens and the danger of frosts. Some crops, like that of the gourd, present, according to cantons, instructive diversities. /171/ In the high cantons, it creeps among the stalks of maize. In Idma, it adorns the banks separating the benches. Lower, it grows in special squares. Mint, alone of all the plants of the valley, including fruit trees, knows grafting. It is crossed with the
244 "origanum," flayo. One would not know how to carry away an optimistic conclusion from only such details; they are in fact only details, or curiosities. The important fact is that this agriculture has become poorer in gamut without perfecting itself. The use of wild or subspontaneous species is no more than residual. The reduction in the number of cultivated species does not express, as in Europe, a selection of types, but a decline. Monotony reaches

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
[177] fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

133
175
177
184
619
[634]

613
312
[184]

This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

423 /230 cont./
613 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
184 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
● [177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebā[c]. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/358 cont./

175 423 671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to swom law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

/359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

425 This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^cAbdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in [671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428

On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(562) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/385 cont./

000 understood, feint, surprise, violence temporarily broke up a legitimacy that adequate means, brought into play by the other party, came to re-establish in the end. Emigration, which one may consider as going back to a very ancient practice, had an important function: that of creating voids. Individual absences, ritual flights, military dispossessions unbalanced the local group. Today we see the return of the exiled child, who is not "prodigal," /386/ but miserly, take place in feast and scandal, because the one exiled brings back his savings, and because he is immediately going to attack sedentary capital. Formerly the role of these movements of individuals or of groups seems to have been preponderant. At the same time that it reconstituted the substance of the groups, it formed the bond between the two contrary elements whose tension we are observing even at present. Right of the soil and of origins against right of money and convention, on the one hand; right of the absent one against right of the one present, on the other hand: the antiquity of the system probably resided in the play of these four terms.

177 The contemporary stage expresses the organization that is built between these basic data and the oriental contribution. But when and how does this contribution intervene, and from which foyers of diffusion? Insoluble question for the moment. What is sure is that the amalgamation took place on levels of unequal depth according to the sectors of the institution. An important thing, because the oriental norms seem to have sometimes been accepted or submitted to in such a way that the practice contrived to palliate them, sometimes voluntarily elected, indeed systematically exaggerated, or diverted toward other ends. The hypothesis of phases of deliberate adoption or of authoritarian imposition, Almohadism, for example, is not excluded. With less gigantic, less legendary proportions, there were perhaps other cases in which adjustment was attempted by the indigenous legislative genius between the ancestral ideas and the universal
176 alphabet that Islam brought. Whence the importance of so many
177 founding heros, today submerged under a dull or rude hagiology, but in which one has a presentiment of appurtenance to an old

/386 cont./

776 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Âmer u H'ad-
177 dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-
779 sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and
182 undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated
[212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
•177 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Aerobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qāhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to [184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new [613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, them- [423] selves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a [177] makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/442 cont./

182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 186 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

/443 cont./

177 186 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[197] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

/444 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 1948. p. 12.

In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédo. ine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the fiqh, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

/445 cont./

177 in it, the same problems posed, sometimes the same solutions in-
171 tervening from Fès to the Atlas and from the Gharb to the Djérid. At the same time heterogeneous, if one thinks of the no less important evidence of varieties of comportment going so far as violent affirmation, secession and insurrection. Mos' often, it is institutional denivellations, shifts in emphasis, themselves arising from local structures, that introduce variety, indeed discordance.

000 When the study of these phenomena is undertaken systematically for the ensemble of North Africa, the richness . :d the precision of relations that it will discover, their firmness of contour, the constancies that will stand out between the most modern evolutions and the oldest foundations will no doubt console the investigator who has found nothing here that calls to mind the Dogons and the Nambikwara.

177 Contemporary sociologists describe under the name of acculturation the transformation of a society in contact with another, expansive or superior. There results on the part of the more receptive one, the client or the conquered, an instinctive simulation of the most intimate realities, a search for arguments drawn from the model. A mass of ancient traits sinks into a system of survivals, of practices more or less clandestine or disdained. The same in the individual consciousness. Folklore on the one hand, psychological vestiges on the other. The reaction of the Maghrebi system, formerly in regard to the Orient, today in regard to France, points up in many respects this sort of phenomenon. Mixed and adulterated society, certainly, and from as far back as one goes. Society in which the problems of reinterpretation, of opposition or of transaction have outweighed all others. But in this eternal conflict it takes on such a strong personality that even its most protected cantons remain unintelligible to one who does not consider them from the dimensions of a whole space, a whole history.

/450 cont./

184 is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with
177 the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back nto its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

/451 cont./

181 surrounds them and menaces them: Bédouin mobility, the decline
177 of the surrounding countryside, this universal culture itself, to which they have so profoundly adhered. Whence the excess, the feint...

Participation or resistance to North African history have doubtlessly both acted. But which more, and according to which variations in time, and in which context of facts: here a new investigation begins. /Page 452 is blank./

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the in-
133 terior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
361 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
[226] Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the
[439] feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 •177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mussulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
+631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
+634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
•177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
433 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
439 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
182 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
177 objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
433 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
184 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
182 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.
177

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
• 177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/50 cont./

771 entirely; in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
178 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
[825] are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[787] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
•177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

/133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
*631 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
175 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of
178 the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

121 /140 cont./

128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation. *631

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, •177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent. [726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was *631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo- 648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/142 cont./

*634 648 sometimes, on the other hand, circumstances counsel him, through prudence or ambition, to put his force at the service of the Sultan and to make himself the agent of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

In this last case, having become a kaid in his turn, the Berbère /Berber/ chief meets with the other chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/, who have set out from the foot of the mountains or important cols for the conquest of independent or autonomous tribes. Allies or enemies, there they are, henceforth involved in the same intrigues, whatever their origin might be; they argue in the Azaghar over possession of the rich tribes and vie at the "Dar el Makhzen" in order to obtain the favor of the Sultan and his court. Later they will grow still more important and try to direct sherifian policy for their profit.

*634 •177 But at the same time, mixing with the Arab kaids of the plains, the Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains, sons of the independent amghars of the high valleys, will hasten to forget the recent usages of their tribes that they had kept and will apply themselves in every detail to living and thinking as is done in the cities by the high personages whose friendship they seek or whose position they covet. Thus they will enter still more completely into the tradition of the Empire. As a natural consequence of this spirit of imitation, the exercise of their power tends to become similar to that of the chiefs of regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for several centuries; the more so as the final ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions has already made the mountain tribes of the Masmouda, formerly so attached to their customs, almost identical in appearance to those of the Gharb /Rharb/ or of the Atlantic plains: disorganized mass of ruined cultivators, bent over their lands, who know their masters only in order to pay the tax to them, and whose sole hope is that of the next rebellion upon the death of the Sultan.

*[631] Doubtless the evolution whose broad features we are indicating here does not proceed everywhere according to the same regular progression; rapid conquests or, on the contrary, obstinate

/142 cont./

*634 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transforma-
*631 tion. The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intel-
177 ligence of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions, the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/ world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied,
*634 less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the
*631 oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all
177 made up in an identical way, the representation of the families
642 is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the command, is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment of personal power. Likewise, when the little states of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for the new master. These frequent differences between the small local constitutions have great importance; it is through them that is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality, of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover, of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*631 It remains no less certain that the great political-regime
178 transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve
177 toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary,
642 succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It is the existence of these general movements that justifies, in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Srair, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
•177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
•[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
moqaddem. This is the case in several small
619 tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/263 cont./

178 More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in
184 the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the
limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by
*[631] assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a
veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the
Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where
imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs,
and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly
existed.

178 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic.
179 If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to
rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of
Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to
destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons
dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long cen-
turies of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the condi-
tions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes
of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the
whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is
noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are dis-
appearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on
the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to
disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the po-
litical action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by
the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness.
New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses
of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance
now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal or-
ganization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the
Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate
its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Ber-
bère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the
patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority
of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

/281 cont./

*634 642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

• [177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
• [177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/287 cont./

175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
*634 Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs, intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

[177] But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20 years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
*634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15 years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913, the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors, by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him, ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

/288 cont./

175 *634 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ [179] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the [184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 •179 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

/365 cont./

121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
•177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

648
*631
651

/377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648
619
•177
*634
*631

V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda ᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

648
619
• 177
* 634
* 631

/377 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last: in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

/378 cont./

648 619 •177 * [634] * [631]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

[113] [651]

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] [113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623] [632]

/378 cont./
648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).
619
•177
[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*63 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new frac-
[616] tioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, dimin-
ishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere
agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid;
finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role in-
cessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and
give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
•177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
648 the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
671 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/389 cont./

177 648 671 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At the same time the part of the "chra^{c}" /shar^{c}/ grows unceasingly; it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

177 648 671 It is most often at this moment that the political penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes, the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba^{c}in, falls into the hands of * 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of * 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? [681] Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least [693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
•177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/416 cont./

648 In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being
[178] held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ᶜAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more
•177 peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life
166 that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of
*634 that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [591] [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases [177]
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.),
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

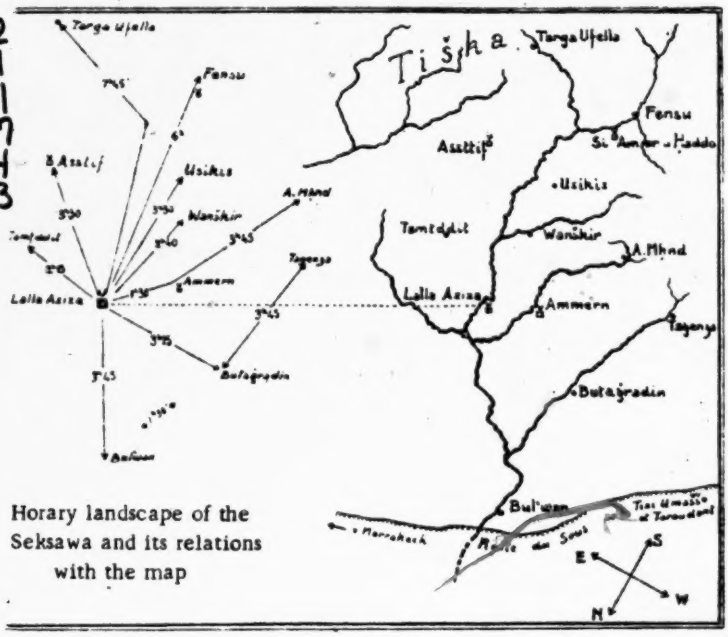
The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

[127] 1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchδ, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: africh in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272 178 /36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592 476 [233] [464] [241] ooo

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 173 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread 619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the [613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
24 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
22 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/103 cont./

178
24
22
[171]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Bénl bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

171

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

[361]

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible [423] vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that [429] they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/111 cont./
246 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
● 178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/112 cont./

675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233
241
171

2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni." Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/114 cont./

233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^c confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178] [427] [494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241

Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, [539] get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. [233] The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ſchura or amſchur. [796] Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazûz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al- [539] ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," âg^{w}las, for fodder.

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

312
241

2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

241 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain,
178 an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the compost of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have dis-
178 appeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard
613 closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the
423 losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/157 cont./

312 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is
423 of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage
178 of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to
[425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear
312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For
423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that
171

/167 cont./

245 industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was [178] greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, lh'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.

423 While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual --
245 to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch
[171] is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/170/ Crop Variety

241 Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1);

[178]

1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

[412]

that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

/175 cont./

182
171

/footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the Ier Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

/198 cont./

423 794 [452] peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here, and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 613 592 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Ali, are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen.	10 --	105 --
a. Ali	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Ali each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Ali have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Ali	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen.	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 423 178 613 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phenomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Rea-
423 son invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimo-
178 nies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the
613 a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave
178 no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property
[613] mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has
[794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up [103] to several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: 'ords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
/207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs and, like Bul^{c}wân downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counterdemand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban, . . .

133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâîd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
[624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to
178 groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of
(624) the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

703 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor [312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/228 cont./

121 423 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons, one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, [178] a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 184 243 [312] [181] [613] [492] If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water, and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sîdi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is necessary (634) in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, 184 the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/348 cont./
613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

613 The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only
779 with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No
178 part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say,
671 in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil, istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaça, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the ççadaça.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./

178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
212 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
671 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
178 of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the perma-
178 nence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'eydur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

613 178

594 671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 671 [191] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/." R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaï. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423 The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position
[128] will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(562) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/367 cont./

121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
[613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
• 178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
179 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/426 cont./

616 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The
121 procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any
[184] case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghōrti, plur.
619 Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously
634 Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Ali, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-pow-
133 erful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
361 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
619 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
648 from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma'cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but sim-
ply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}in of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
• 178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./

771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
178 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
[825] are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/129 cont./

*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
[361] around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
[131] some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
• [178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/130 cont./

*631 619 attachment proved by incessant revolts. Then, in the course of their "siba," one would see the councils of notables reappear, known by the name of "ineflas" /sic/ or "Ait Arbaʿin," who resuscitated the old Berbère /Berber/ organization and, when necessary, united some of the Ida Ou Tanan with their free neighbors. Moreover, sometimes during the great periods of anarchy, [178] such as were produced upon the death of the Sultans and the appearance of pretenders in the various provinces of the Empire, control by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was so /131/ incomplete that in the course of the "siba" one would see the ancient traditions flower again at a single stroke over immense areas. In vain the presence of Arab groups dispersed among the Haha and in the Sous plain disturbed the Berbère /Berber/ peopling; in spite of the government extended from the plains by sheiks subject to the kaids for centuries, in the South the rebel movement won over the Ksima and Mesgina and extended by degrees across the Chtouka plain up to the boundary of the Anti-Atlas, which the sherifian policy had never actually approached. During this period of liberty, each tribe re-established its political council and restored, imitating it in its own way, the organization of the fractions of the Ida Ou Tanan; thus, until the arrival of the Sultan's harka, throughout this coastal region, the independent Berbérie /Barbary/ of the plain of the South was restored.

The tribes of the Tichka have still more originality than the Ida Ou Tanan. Never in the course of history, as we have seen, did the former Makhzen /makhzan/ really penetrate into this difficult region. From the minor kings of the Seksawa, who indeed seem to have personified the resistance to the Almohade and Mérinide dominations in the thirteenth century, up to the sheiks and preachers who, under the Saadians, revived on the contrary the memory of the Mahdi of Tinmellel in order to fight better against the power of the Sultans, an effort of obstinate resistance has kept the populations of the high valleys in isolation.

The spectacle that would await us, if we could leave our high observation-post for an instant to visit the territory of one of these tribes farthest away from the plains held by the Makhzen

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
175 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
•178 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Ait Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/134 cont./

175 *631 *634

/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

[178] [671] [652] [712] [343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Ṭizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631

The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the in-
fluence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
*634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the
cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part
of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them
by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three
generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère
/Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in
spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independ-
ence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the
great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high moun-
tains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to ac-
cept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible gov-
ernment of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar."
Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in
the fractions of the Aït ʿAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the
Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the
Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the tra-
ditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
[178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaʿin" and the "moqaddems"
holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the
progressive development of personal power prepares and announces
the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our
intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs
in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course
of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been
able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid
and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their
secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648]

1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
•[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ʿAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
[669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of resistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the west-
*63 ern Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
[619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions
• [178] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
[621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
• 178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
[578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fic-
*631 tion of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/142 cont./

*634 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transforma-
*631 tion. The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intel-
177 ligence of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions, the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/ world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied,
*634 less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the
*631 oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all
177 made up in an identical way, the representation of the families
642 is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the command, is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment of personal power. Likewise, when the little states of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for the new master. These frequent differences between the small local constitutions have great importance; it is through them that is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality, of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover, of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*631 remains no less certain that the great political-regime
•178 transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve
177 toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary,
642 succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It is the existence of these general movements that justifies, in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
•[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Srair, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
121 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
648 dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs, dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until /145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the in-
*631 ternal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[578] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
•178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./

*631 shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social
121 forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of cen-
•[178] turies, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Morocco underwent several times. In a still more general way, the
*631 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spec-
121 tacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by
171 ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the
121 fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken
178 up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see
642 in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover,
*634 thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

[619] [131] *634 184 174 •178

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
184
174
•178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These • [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to * [634] [616] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been
•178 profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
[175] together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
•178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
[178] however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/192 cont./
*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances: /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Ait Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
•[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
• [178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[177] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/221 cont./
*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[178] [174]

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 789 174 178 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the *634 789 184 [174 178] number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïlq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 681 652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 [651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
•178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/228 cont./

*634
184
178

VI. The councils of fractions or of tribes without moqaddem. -- The ancient constitution of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the region of the Tichka and of the mountain Gedmiwa, always assumed the presence of the moqaddem. In our day, even in the regions remaining independent, this elected head has often been replaced by an "amghar," who keeps supreme power as long as he is strong enough to impose his authority on the rival families. But in the other mountainous regions of the South of Morocco, the public mind has remained more hostile to the appearance of personal power. One tribe of the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Aït Ouaᶜzzoun, knows neither moqaddem nor amghar; likewise, most of the cantons of the Aït Waouzgit, before the conquest of the Glawa, had only a small senate and Aït Arbaᶜin without a president. Finally, among the independent tribes of the western Anti-Atlas, small councils of notables -- six per fraction in general -- administer the "khoms," without having a designated leader. Sometimes there, it is true, an influential notable exercises, thanks to his energy, true authority; but by his feigned modesty in the councils he tries to avoid the appearance of command. In the assembly he is only one "anflous" amidst his brothers, and if people consent to give him the title of "moqaddem," he bears it without ostentation, carefully guarding against appearing to direct the deliberations, whose outcome he has dictated in advance in secret talks with his creatures (2).

2. The tribes of the foot of the western Anti-Atlas or of the irrigated oases of the plains /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ possessed, however, before the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, moqaddems similar to those of the Haut-Atlas -- at Tiznit and among the Ida ou Gersmouk, for example. The "ᶜorf" of the Ida ou Gersmouk collected by M. Ben Daoud begins with the following proclamation: "Know

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

/229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the [613] councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to 619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that 184 the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 184 •178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arba^{c}in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named delib-
[625] erate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1),

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arba^{c}in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arba^{c}in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^{c}a" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^{c}a" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables
[695] and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are sum-
[681] moned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
•178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[578] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center
[361]

/247 cont./

466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] [177] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] [651] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 [651] [681] In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened. 735 794 431 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har- [465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^c," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343
114

/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343
.178

But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343
172

In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343
175
726

In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/260 cont./

343 712 *634 726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[175] *[631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 •178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/261 cont./

343 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the
712 regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus
178 it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past
712 and in other regions of sedentary Berbèrie /Barbary/ what the
174 evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps
178 it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--
178 Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/262 cont./

121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2),

2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
178 cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still know who the Aït Arbaʿin were, who at each siba revived the former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas," the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate and by the economic transformation that has been taking place for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life. The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when /263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

/263 cont./

178 More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in
184 the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the
limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by
*[631] assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a
veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the
Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where
imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs,
and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly
existed.

178 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic.
177 If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to
rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of
Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to
destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons
dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

/264 cont./

•178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Alt ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Alt Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, [726] the Alt Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 361 343 712 [726]

them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows. Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecognizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

/Page 266 is blank./

/267/ Book III

000 The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

/Page 268 is blank./

/269/ First Chapter

The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of 642 the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At *634 other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the 198

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
•178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

[681] [651] [794] [735] [465]

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

/281 cont./

175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the A'lt arbaᶜin come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the A'lt arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the A'lt arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and A'lt Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/281 cont./

*634 642 .178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

616
*634 /282 cont./
642 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
•178 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
[177] suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff, without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

*634 697 671 /283 cont./ for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

• [178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/284 cont./

*634 616 726 178 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy leff: thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of the tribe of the A'lt Semmeg, who were fighting among themselves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the A'lt Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the A'lt Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. [651] Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules of composition of the leff. To these alliances the A'lt Waouzgit *634 616

/285 cont./

*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

• [178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
*634 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by
619 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
•178 who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
*634 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
619 a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
*634 bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
[554] that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/290 cont./

*634 [616] actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts necessary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When [178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaʿin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up [726] the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true, [642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 642 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/309 cont./

175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
•[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going
616 back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

[178]

We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*631
*634
619
616

IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634
616
121
648

At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

*634
133

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
• [178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 [648] Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./

*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance, he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
178 ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
*631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
• 178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an im-
182 portant role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 •178 791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

[113] 2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
•178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

•178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came: he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/325 cont./

*634 648 •178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III
The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Ait Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
• [178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house..

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
•178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
•178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
•178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still be observed in the more distant territories that have been successively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[[75] In the short period during which the large commands were constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
•178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes. Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the establishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/349 cont./

*631 *634 721 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what conditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 *631 *634 616 178 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institutions were still very much alive in part of the confederation. About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifhout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 *631 *634 616 726 [669] Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel," traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
*634 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
616 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
726 and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later, all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 *634 619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^{c}Abdallah Ou Bihi,

/354 cont./

175 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*631 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
*634 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
726 enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living. Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
•178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
•178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
[175] mation of the tribes.
[642]
[669] The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/356 cont./

*631 *634 •178 /footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 616 *634 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 398.

multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 616 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

/357 cont./

178 616 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends. Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rivalries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

[578] * [634] * [631] [648]

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the Atlas really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

* 631 * 634 * 631 178

/358 cont./

*631 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in
178 the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of
174 the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid
171 tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of
[712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated
[648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some vraisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

/363 cont./

*631 175 648 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

/365/

000

Chapter IV
Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 178 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/365 cont./

121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
•178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère
178 /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

125 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

[712] In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his [342] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by [343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/386 cont./

175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
*631 by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
175 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
648 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
669 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
*631 and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka
with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double
stages, sought refuge with Si ᶜAisa ben ᶜOmar, the powerful kaid
of the ᶜAbda, and from there reached their country in secret.
Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi,
succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the
other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most
venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands
taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the difficulties of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at grips with Bou Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long months of effort.

178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
669 and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
*631 notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
*634 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transformation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its "siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as formerly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

/387 cont./

•178 of Aït Arbaʿin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council; each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without
restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific
fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away,
and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to
obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended.
It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his
tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is
raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but
only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-
bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed,
to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive
out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the
whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Ber-
bère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle
in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
*634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
648 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
669 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
178 to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are re-
[616] peated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids re-
appear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the
banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little
people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arbaʿin are abandoned
and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too
much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.
669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
•178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït ᶜAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/389 cont./

•178 *631 726 648 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, engaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to [177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 648 671 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists [179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
•178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
[642] their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[185] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
* 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
• [178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
128 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
* 631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/409 cont./

792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
*631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
648 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
171 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries between the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
*631 efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
648 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less servile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that of the representatives of the Sultan.

Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
178 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
792 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
795 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
*631 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary populations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peaceful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/416 cont./

648 In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being
[178] held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ʿAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more
177 peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life
166 that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of
*634 that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
191 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

343 /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in
712 use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been
[178] in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is
[312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where
[351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series
[417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule
712 of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless
124 practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among
[671]
[178]

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wān (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[571] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361 342 113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

[Idma]

/46 cont./

remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded. It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili, at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu. It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there. A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [137] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talïint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
•181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Every-
thing here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion nas most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
[241] on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets, risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101] [312] [142] [181]

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./
634 pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).
619

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and Mençur.

619 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
634 cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[176] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [179] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus [428] they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Âbdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the car-
172 rot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saïd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Abdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond
311 trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order):
[103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/237 cont./
778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/239 cont./

776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
823 (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being
able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
(181) vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they
have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside.
Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so
marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid
u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the
North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who
has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right
bank of the Sous.

776 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or,
more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding
tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-
Tichka ensemble.

/The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
794 source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own
484 taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might
say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais,
the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga,
of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the
Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer,
of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him
on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of
the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn
Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In
January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage
to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March
he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is
in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of
527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia.
The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a [181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeîhat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûîî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to [634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the [619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also [794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou- [184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
776 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Âli are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who,
again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^c^lâm registers him (1).

1. ^c^Abbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^c^lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u
[181] Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor,
[693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^c^Abbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the
794 t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/343 cont./

584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprenticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

581 What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, 881 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab countries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the çadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

581 171

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaI. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423
[128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
●181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qâhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/407 cont./

000 Correlatively, the status of the woman (1)

1. The essential work is that of Mathéa Gaudry, La femme chaouia de l'Aurès /The Chaouia woman of the Aurès/, 1929. In what concerns the application of the fiqh, G.-H. Bousquet, R. al., 1952, pp. 109 sq., R. afr., 1952, pp. 449 sq.

evokes an "Iron Age" that no ethics of general or local inspiration, no regulations come to soften. Almost always disinherited, defrauded of the çadâq to which she can lay claim only after the death of the conjoint, deprived of the benefit of the very dispositions that the family habous stipulate for her use, she was in certain tribes given up to prostitution. The sexual liberty of the ᶜazriya, "single woman," is inserted moreover in a system that one divines to be ancient, and where she plays her official role with compensatory revenue and traditional function.

The weekly markets are lacking. Monetarism has penetrated so little up to now that formerly, at Tkut for example, it was once a year, at the feast of sidi ᶜAbdesslâm, that the commodities were tariffed and the amount of the fines fixed. Grave discordance with the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, formed so in the laws, in the play of money, maintained by speculative exportation, the hoarding, devastated by inflation, and where all the exchanges are equally stamped by communitarian values and by individual capitalism.

[171]

171
181

Above all a strong institutional inequality sets the Chaouia society, as well as, moreover, the Kabyle society, against that of the Sous. The privilege of the latter, in comparison to the two others, lies in a greater maturity of the state organization, more ample references of the social system to the external and transcendent. Perhaps this transcendence comes from /408/ Islamic universals, with which a balance was knowingly sought. Perhaps, on the contrary, from collective symbols linked to certain periods of the past. These are two plausible explanations of

/408 cont./

171 an essential fact. On the other hand, Chleuh /Shluh/ life does
181 not have the violent complexion of the other two. It does not know to the same degree the hyperboles of gentilitial honor, any more than it as spontaneously arouses the analogy--be it superficial with such Mediterranean images of not long ago: the Corsican bandit of honor, the Albanian highwayman. What characterizes it, besides the singularly mature level of organization, is a pious and regulated pace, of more patient virtues, of more complex sentiments, more in half-tints.

171 That way, and in spite of everything that might oppose a peasantry to the townsmen, military vigor to mercantilism, haughty orthodoxy to a no less devout heterodoxy, an airy and muscular existence to the shadow of the mosque and warehouse -- it is of the Mzâb that these latter traits make one think. The richness of historical, legendary, and doctrinal foundations, a double vocation that is spiritual and trade, the precision of the play of its subgroups, qbâil, within communities, a juridical organization balanced between corps, recorded by writing, rich in jurisprudences burst forth there (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâ^c a-s du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâ^c a-s of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 193.

The Mzâb thus offers several of the aspects that have appeared to us both constitutive of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society and distinctive from it in comparison to other Berbère /Berber/ societes. This time, however, institutional superiority is not on the Chleuh side.
000 What one can surmise, through too rare documents, of the functioning of the Mozabite ittifâqât proclaim a surprising success. The cities are governed by a consistory that is both senate, because of the meeting of the qbîla delegates, and moral magistery because of the presence of clerks. A jurisprudence as attentive in regulating the equilibrium of the families as in censoring the mores or in resolving the problems of the hour has left us its

000 /416 cont./
hagiology, which could have been a rich repository, nor the popular poetry reflected by any development the equilibrium of the ikhs-s, so essential to the life of the canton, and the meaning of which is so necessary to one who wishes to comprehend it. One is also struck by the relative poverty of the hagiology in personal saints and ancestors. A zone of leveling or of annulation drives back into antiquity everything that one might conjecture about the constructions of an agnatic genius. And perhaps there has never been any of these constructions. Society of gentes, one might say, but whose heroic phase is lacking (2).

2. We are straying here, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, from the nevertheless very suggestive ideas of Vidal de La Blache, this masterly exegetist of the Mediterranean, for whom the Berbère /Berber/ societies represent a stage in which there is not yet synoecism, and which by that especially differ from the classical societies, Principes de géographie humaine, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

613 181 Either it had never been, or it ceased to live in the hearts of the descendants and no longer speaks to the imagination. Individualism reigns even in the bosom of the house. It restricts paternal authority, makes acquisitive aspects predominate in marriage, precisely delimits the feminine autonomy, resolves the union of the couple in punctilious co-operationalism. Victim of its conquests, and even more of its permanent menace, the ikhs has suffered, from the fact of the commune, even more serious defeats. If analysis discloses, confronting the familial conservatism and the symmetries of the agrarian order, an individuation of rights that finds obstacles neither in theory nor in practice, is it not that the tension between the two orders of forces serves the vitality of the group?

1: Berque--621 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/446/

Original Characteristics of the Chleuh /Shluh/ System

181 Since it is necessary to begin with working hypotheses, some search in the Haut-Atlas, if not for the primitive, at least for the archaic and the spontaneous. But what have we found there? A mature society subjected to foreign influences, but re-establishing itself by a continual effort. A system with opinionated consciousness, in which comportments are organized, and are disguised even more than they are expressed. A construction contrasting with the mediocrity of the economic bases. This surpassing of the physical by the human, and almost this contrast between the one and the other, are characteristic. When one eliminates, as we have attempted to do, everything that this culture has in common with its North African neighbors, there justly remains to it in its own right a breadth going beyond the suggestions of the milieu, and an integration capable of putting one on the wrong scent concerning the variety of the constitutive elements.

The institutions of the Chleuh /Shluh/ rise by levels of depth, which imposes on the analysis its being diversified (1).

1. A Varagnac, "Cultures dissociées et cultures homogènes /Dissociated cultures and homogeneous cultures/," Ann. Histo. soc., 1945, t. II, pp. 94 sq., views that in certain respects join those of G. Gurvitch on the sociologie en profondeur /sociology in depth/.

Nevertheless, in North Africa such a structure has the peculiarity that, more or less manifest or hidden, according to the geographical province or the genre of phenomenon, it forms facts of different age, origin, character, and sometimes of a completely different tendency. It thus reveals a violent history whose contributions are irregularly arranged. The indications that it offers to knowledge, sentiment, or action are opposed to one another. The grasps of it are multiple and deceptive. This is why the Chleuhs /Shluh/, in whom this specious intelligibility is carried to its height, have been able, almost as justly, to be taken for ancient

/446 cont./

181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

[171] 1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

184 /450 cont./
is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 177 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back into its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

/451 cont./

181 surrounds them and menaces them: Bédouin mobility, the decline
177 of the surrounding countryside, this universal culture itself, to which they have so profoundly adhered. Whence the excess, the feint...

Participation or resistance to North African history have doubtlessly both acted. But which more, and according to which variations in time, and in which context of facts: here a new investigation begins. /Page 452 is blank./

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

101 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geo-
133 graphical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
• 181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
[166] pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammein and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] /53/ It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/53 cont./

181 [171] and development of the ancient cities of the Occident; likewise, we shall see appearing here, in the bosom of the tribes, leaders similar to the tyrants of the earliest times in Greece, who, like them, will succeed in founding their principalities on the ruins of small, dominated and subjugated republics.

In truth, the deep vitality of the western world at the time of its origin is lacking in Berbérie /Barbary/; the great myths capable of associating the local cults with the brilliant destinies of the gods of the cities have always remained unknown there; one only finds with difficulty in these miserable market towns of North Africa /54/ a few traces of an art without delicacy and from which imagination and feeling seem to be absent. Decoration, the technique of the jewels, arms, fabrics remain rudimentary and seem imprisoned in a fixed tradition that is preserved within the narrow limits of a tribe or valley. Thought alone crosses vaster spaces and the poets' improvisations, repeated at great distances, express the popular soul in a form not always unworthy of being compared with the elegiac verses of seventh-century Greece. But Berbère /Berber/ life most often remains attached to the earth of a village; its humble desires can be satisfied within the boundaries of a canton. Consequently one understands that in studying the political evolution of the tribes there is manifest to us the powerlessness of men to found true kingdoms unless influences foreign to the genius of the race come into play to break the numerous cadres of their little states divided by internal struggles. Left to themselves, the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the South of Morocco know only how to sketch the first phases of the founding of empires: the conquest of the tribe by a fortunate military leader.

For lack of poetic religions born in the cities, which, by means of festivals and games, achieved the unity of the Greek world, it is Islam that brings the idea of the State here. This strict and formalistic religion first pursues with infinite patience the ruin of the ancient beliefs so deeply bound to local life; it gives to men of various countries, opposed by unyielding interests, the same duties and the same language; finally, it comes to

/54 cont./

•181 favor submission to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the recognition by the independent communities of a government by divine right, alone able to finish by its political work the rough shape, always incomplete, of Berbère /Berber/ royalty.

/55/.

000

Chapter III
The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Origins to the Fifteenth Century

I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at the base of an empire. -- VI. The elements of resistance. -- VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- IX. The organization of the tribes of the Atlas under the Mérinides. -- X. A great kaid in the fourteenth century. -- XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous.

*175 Trying to write without gaps or obscurity the history of a province of Morocco in the course of the centuries, by calling on all the Arabic texts, European archives, and accounts of travelers, would be a vain enterprise that the most patient research could not enable one to carry out. This is because the documents available to us for knowing the past are inadequate both in number and worth.

First of all, the sources, abundant at certain epochs, are, on the other hand, entirely lacking at other periods. For example, history is masked in the first centuries of Islam by legends whose meaning and value escape us; it is illuminated at other times, from the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century, by the glory of the Almohade and Mérinide /Marinide/ dynasties, then is obscured anew at the time of the great anarchical struggles of the tribes during the whole fifteenth century and at the middle of the seventeenth century, after the fall of the Saadians.

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
•[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

/245/

Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.

VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda[6]," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

/384 cont./

*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court [662] to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

565 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain
[192] societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it,
241 his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with
31 respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulʿwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plã or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

/97/

Second Part
Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/

I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

113
114

1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

/99 cont./

113 114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between
182 the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/158 cont./

312 423 171 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 182 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

312 114

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

/158 cont./

312
114

/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121
182

In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657]

121
182
114

1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wān, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [162] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/171 cont./

121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type; mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

121 But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest clas-
182 sical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They
171 are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1),

182 1. We choose this example not only as a case
171 "of montagnard analogy," but also because
121 the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite
114 from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

/172 cont./

182 171 121 114

/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182 121 [171] nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

/172 cont./

182
121

/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233 433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds [182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

/173 cont./

233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ...., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

/174 cont./

233 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering,
241 irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a
182 hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known
171 that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open
[233] field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

121 /175 cont./
171

/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
[242] posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182 Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is
171 great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

182
171

/footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the Ier Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ouban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.
671 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/231 cont./

121 between North African societies. This explanation of collective psychology is worth what it is worth: precisely quite little undoubtedly, as explanation. But it is not negligible for the interpretation of the /232/ facts by their sentimental context. It is certainly indispensable today as commentary of traits from observation, such as the acuity of the landed-property litigation and the depth of the working of the mechanisms of patrimonial equilibrium. Finally, it might react on a theory of value, peculiar to the milieu, if ever our knowledge of North Africa included such research on it ...

"The Earth and Human Evolution"

Here let us stop the analysis of these economic structures. Besides one could not further develop the significance or draw conclusions from it without presuming too much from the rest of the inquiry. Whatever rules, whatever comportments correspond to this rural order, this is what the study of the religious and juridical institutions that it supports will extricate.

182 But here and now one thing is to be emphasized, because it relates to the peculiarity of the milieu or at least is expressed there with a force still intact: this is the precision of the relations between the group and the landscape. A historic constancy unequaled in the rest of the rural Maghreb, the richness of the toponymy and its agrarian correspondences augment the methodological import of such evidence. It is in fact not only the exchanges between this man and his ground that these relations govern, but a good part of the very ethics of this society. Their force of instigation, of inspiration, and, at the same time, of restraint is such that they not only tolerate individual or collective initiative, but demand it. In fact this is what maintains, over a space thus organized, the circulation of beings, rights, and things. Gradually, the economic life, because it obeys these correlations, appears as a factor of topographical animation. The more so because it was under this aspect -- displacement of the herds, lines of irrigation, rhythms of concentration and expansion, divisibility of the country -- that it first struck us.

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[778] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[783] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
776 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degrada-
[613] tions or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patri-
monial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed
[613] stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us
[769] note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the indi-
[776] vidual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ...., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
[785]
[783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

[171]

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182 and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Ali u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Milad of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical
175 cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. 792 Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanîya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/386 cont./
776 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Amer u H'ad-
177 dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-
779 sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and
182 undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated
[212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

671
779
182

/387 cont./
formation of large ensembles and broad styles, rather than the spontaneity of youth.

Among its traits, there are some archaic ones. And not only on the plane where one ordinarily looks for -- and finds -- the one of magic or of folklore, but on the plane of the law itself, a matter indeed more irrecusable. First of all, the notion of an agrarian order with ritual sanctions, with magico-religious defenses, survives in some techniques of immediate settlement, some attitudes generative of powers, of movements, or of juridical states. It is probably thus for what touches on the oldest economic foundations: relations for irrigation or pasturing, landowner equilibrium of the ikhs-s, exchanges with the communal sacred. More on the surface, an agonistic reality is expressed in the judicial joust (1)

1. J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 399 sq.

and in the very details of the procedural play. But only its expression is individual. It stems in fact from the same archaism upon which are founded the pacts of mystic patronage, seasonal feasts, and the ritual disputes for which they furnish the occasion: thus the auction for the sacrificial meats, still very recognizable under a cloak of notarial law.

But it is this elaboration that leads. A vigorous synthesis takes place at the communal echelon. It suppresses all the rest into incoherence and discontinuity. Collective tension has become /388/ dialectic of litigants. Relations with the sacred take the contractual path. The agrarian order is maintained only by resorting to contentious debate. Islamic schemas dominate the successoral material so much that the indigenous law no longer deviates from the fiqh, apparently at least, except in the quantity of subterfuges, ar. /Arabic/ h'iyal. All this law, which guarantees, through the duration, the permanence of the milieu, has

/388 cont./

671 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the
779 point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in
182 order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The
675 mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here.
421 The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus
182 personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkâl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawlîya çah'îh'a wa'starkaba-hu fî sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fî mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarik, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of swoin law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/411 cont./

311 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object:
182 it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neigh-
423 bors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that
182 the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

/412 cont./

312 eye, who can follow the cutting up of the principal séguia by the
423 successive trenches. In the dry, the notion of quarter is enlarged
• 182 to that of ground. In fact, the use of water no longer intervenes to impose so extended a differentiation of the landscape and of work. Correlatively the toponymy, which, in the irrigated, would be confined, would refine divisions and subdivisions, describes in the dry no more than very broad meshes. This changing of rhythm, linked to the agricultural technique, constitutes an important sign. The comparison of structures collected from the upper cantons with the immense deployment of the Mez'ud'a or the Mtugga furnishes another one.

423 But let us leave the fertile avenue that is open here to re-
182 search, in order to evoke -- if only for a moment, and only for the fine antagonism of the types -- the Latin fundus, with its individuality, its name, its mass: veritable syntheis of notions of patrimony, parcel, quarter, and ground. The economy of the high valleys permits one to observe the play separately. It thus permits analysis of it. The individual patrimony is dissolved into a sampling of parcels encased in the different quarters constituting the ground. The parcel is not a unit. It is a fraction. Several causes are undoubtedly responsible for its evanescence: want of economic consistency, lack of mass, excessive and exclusive liaison with human data. The parcel, if one wishes, is the atom of this rural world, but so /413/ paltry and so little charged with material that it is reduced almost to a purely social definition.

It is not the same for the quarter. It is a veritable collective object, for it consists of the assemblage of representative shares of the gentilitial elements of the group. To neglect such a character would be to abstract and mutilate a communitarian genius that alone explains and supports the institution. But the quarter is not only an object. It is above all the meeting place of the object aspect and the factors aspect. In it are conjugated the social forces and the natural conditions. It is at the junction of the group and the soils. In it a bundle of family names is compounded in order to be enclosed in a toponym based on a fragment of landscape and a concourse of agrologic elements. Thus, the Twuttyan

/413 cont./

423 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the
182 same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more
182 general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can ex-
103 ceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mal. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

613 /415 cont./
182 moral balance in which the group finds exercise and permanence. A good part of the ethics of these populations amounts to rules and sentiments that assure the persistence of this balance against the damage of time and the hazard of individuals. In a past that 000 is not merely hypothetical -- since several modern traits postulate it -- the ikhs could have partaken of a hierarchy of qualifications that conferred upon such-and-such a lineage the charge of common actions involving the collectivity, its soil, its future (1).

1. For example, at the stage described by al-ᶜAbdarī, who is witness at Ans, in other words, on the South reverse of the Tizi Umachcho, veritable jousts of quarters, where it is not risky to recognize a ritual manifestation of the tension between ikhs-s. Cf. tr. of this passage in Cherbonneau, Journal asiatique, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Only al-ᶜAbdarī wrote in the thirteenth century. That is a terminus a quo a bit distant!

/416/ Major role! For the existence of the group must bring about connivances with nature, with the unwritten laws of the kosmos. It would follow that war, politics, agriculture, justice, beauty, and even holiness were in certain respects and to different degrees gentilitial affairs. Now there is nothing of this today (1).

1. Let us not forget the timezgida, whose communal role has been described above in detail. Borrowing terms from Greek Antiquity, it is in certain respects a prytaneum, it is never a leschè!

This past, if it is necessary to place it, can only be within the four centuries that our archive documentation covers. What counts today is not the function of the ikhs, but the crisis that shakes it. Neither the juridical folklore, nor especially the

/416 cont./

A Third Element of the Analysis:
The Name (3)

103
182

3. The toponyms: these "fossils of human geography," as was said by J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine de la France, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

System of place names and system of group names are entangled according to a gradation and correspondences still /417/ readable between the quarter, the ground, and the canton, on the one hand, the ikhs and the taqbilt on the other. On superposed levels, divisions and subdivisions correspond to each other from one order to the other. The human civil state and the civil state of the space intersect, so to speak, their effects, each prevailing according to the level.

At the base, the "parcel" has almost no local substance, but a reality almost purely anthroponymic. It is a fluvial system that prevails at the summit, to the point that great collective designations like our Seksawa are perhaps only geographical expressions. In any case, in the intermediary degrees, the "group" corresponds to the "ground." The "quarter" expresses an equilibrium that forms influences and reflects, between the collectivity and the land, a complex appropriation conferring upon it complete consistency. In this privileged case, local definition and social definition are conjugated, leaning on each other, so to speak.

Now this entire toponymy, and not only that of the named places, but more profoundly the one that intimate exchanges with the man push to the most extreme detail, is original. Singularly the names of quarters, for which an almost constant intelligibility has been noted, within larger and less clear meshes, are evidence of a direct linguistic authenticity. How valuable an indication(1)!

1. Cf. L. Febvre, "Histoire et dialectologie," R. de synthèse historique, t. XII, p. 249.

/417 cont./

121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élémentaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

/418 cont./
çoff, leff (1).

103
• 182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634]
[619]

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African sooieties never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171
103

An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

418 cont./

171 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they
103 can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

/419 cont./

182 from a successoral distribution. Here the jemâa begins, one might say, where there is no longer natural or conventional kinship. Or rather -- since the preceding formula arouses the idea of a composition starting from the family -- the specific attribute of the group is that it is divided into heterogeneous subgroups, that this heterogeneity results from a diversity of origins or from other variations. One could say as much of the Kabyle thaddert, or of the Mozabite city.

Let us set in opposition the Arab tribe, which we are going to observe in the Orient, so as to eliminate from the type the influences and the evolutions peculiar to the Maghreb (1).

1. P.-A. Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab /Customs of the Arabs in the country of Moab/, 1908, pp. 107 sq., and the masterly account by Hertz, Ann. Soc., t. XI, pp. 323 sq. Cf., more recently H. R. P. Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London, 1951, pp. 108 sq.; G. W. Murray, Sons of Ishmael, London, 1935, pp. 35 sq.

The veritable unit there is what /420/ P. Jaussen improperly calls the "clan," united by consanguinity or adoption. It is the h'amûleh or ᶜachîreh. Everyone is supposed to have descended from an eponymous ancestor. Several clans form the "tribe," qabîleh, indeed the "confederation," bedîdeh, loose and unstable groupings. "The clan serves as model for any community whatever it may be. The tribe also claims identity of name and blood, by the derivation from a single ancestor." The cult of this ancestor appears even characteristic of the Bédouins, governed by the agnatic formula, whereas that of the saints, with territorial basis, reigns almost exclusively among the sedentary peoples. Such a form is naturally no longer to be seen in the pure state in North Africa. For all that, it reigned there at certain periods or in certain zones -- and one thinks of the Bédouin organizations that the Hilalians were able to propagate -- no doubt it was opposed, trait for trait, to the type of the Haut-Atlas.

/436 cont./

preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/439 cont./

000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

/440/ Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

/440 cont./

182 advance, or extension of the herd, collapses. The decline of the soils, the flight of the trees sanction the momentary victories. Such a view, it is true, concerns above all the plain. But it also applies to the valleys of the Atlas, for all that, even there, the techniques of refection of the lands and of collection of water do not arise out of any fathoming of the hydraulic or arborical techniques. Among these great sedentary peoples of the Maghreb, the view of the livestock raiser remains sovereign. Now that is undoubtedly not at all a matter of traits of montagnard rusticity, of economic and cultural archaism. The livestock raiser doubles as a speculator, sometimes as a man of letters with a townsman's aims, and always as the most demanding of citizens. In the material as in the spiritual, people from here go far. But their success does not bear on utilizing the milieu. It bears on social constructions, for which the latter is only the pretext, and which contain a part of hyperbole.

/441/ The superiority of the social apparatus contrasts with the relative mediocrity of the techniques. Extraordinary sureness of the system of distribution! The division of the water, that of the soil between groups attain a disturbing perfection. Incomprehensible and inimitable perfection, not only to the European, were he a specialized engineer, but to the Moroccan of the plain. The social here knows a veritable hypertrophy. Its profusion exceeds on all sides the suggestions of the physical milieu. All allowances being made, it ends up being a cause of stagnation as decisive as the ritual superabundance is in other milieus. The analysis has made stand out in detail this disproportion between material techniques on the one hand, the social organizations on the other. It is the very one that a brillant page of the Genséric of E. F. Gautier pointed out in Roman and Mediterranean antiquity. For other reasons, it could also be qualified as "oriental": superficial assimilations! The disproportion that is verified here has without any doubt causes peculiar to this society.

It always disconcerts the observer. It forces him finally to judge severely a system in which he admires the civicism and laicity full of promise. His judgment is that of history. In the

/441 cont./

182 remarkable and, if one wishes, pathetic contrast which bursts out between the precariousness of the foundations and the exuberance of the masonry, one cannot see an advantage, but a factor of ultraconservatism and sterility. The force of the man is exhausted, one might say, by these communitarian refinements. It loses its impact upon the material of the country.

That is why these societies of exact genius, of untiring energy have up to now only been able to progress by denying themselves. In the order of the taqbilt they find their own consummation, something beyond which nothing remains, except to begin again upon other foundations. Therefore they defend themselves to absurdity. Everything acquired in the way of resources, experience and ideas that emigration sometimes goes so far to seek, they use to reanimate the old and imperfectible machine. The latter, in contact with the world, cannot evolve. It persists, or bursts.

That it may be less an original form than an effected form, less a beginning than an impasse, this is what the observation of its internal disparities would already suggest. There is without any doubt a connection between its morphological profusion and the meanness of the milieu. The republics of the Haut Seksawa, and their equals of the Moroccan South, are little monsters of social ingenuity. Their creative richness on this plane, contrasting so strongly with the minuteness of their cadre, arises less from spontaneity, from an immediate inspiration /442/ from the country, than from a reaction against the scarcity of space and the troubles of the past. It is a richness of substitutions and requitals. Although we poorly know the causes and modalities of it, there has been a forcing back of Berbère /Berber/ societies. But if we did not know this, we would be struck by the contrast between the milieu and what this humanity institutes there. Numerous traits lead one to believe that it has wanted to adapt itself there less than to be exalted there and, in certain respects, to be exaggerated there with a goal not so much of survival as of affirmation, of play.

/442 cont./

Recourse To the External and
To the Transcendent

619
634
182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[179] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

/442 cont./

182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the
186 Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impa[illegible] of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

/446 cont./

181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

[171]

1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

/447 cont./

182 climates. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our
128 entire conception of these people and their history. It is now going to be necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrákech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
•182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 177 •182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Musulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
• 182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ᶜAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/188 cont./

*634 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the
616 parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to
726 one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who
571 enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^c" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before
•182 the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït
616 Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the
726

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifem," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
591 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
•182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
•182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The
182 great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. <u>The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès.</u> -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/249 cont./

423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group them-
[554] selves once a week. These then are the notables of the place,
[625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaʿa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

• [182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psy-
712 chology of the council of the chiefs of the
184 agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us
[127] to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of
712 its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the
182 number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door;
[443] special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of
[463] notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" --
[571] "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the
[625] maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organiza-
343 tion becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated
712 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties
182 of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the
671 most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the
571 Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted,
571 like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the
554 most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

*634 697 671 /283 cont./
for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 •182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "A'lt Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the A'lt Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the A'lt Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
•182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an im-
.182 portant role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

*631 121 •182 /321 cont./
trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them. It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

[651] [486] [485]

*634 *631 121 182 It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/322 cont./

*631 121 •182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 554 [778] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stakè is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 •182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*63 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
•182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
* 634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
• 182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
* 634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*654 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
•182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
•182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
•182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

R
175
631
182
648

/403 cont./

mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121
171
*631
554
•182

IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are in-
171 spired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like it-
*631 self. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly de-
554 voted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all cir-
182 cumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
171 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their mem-
*631 ory, as do all the companions from their village associated with
554 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
182 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
578 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
[616] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./
121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
*182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.
*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
578 house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
•182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

[128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

792 /408 cont./
795 to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain,
*631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.
191 In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Ta'lbi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ᶜAli Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792 The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
795 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families,
*631 thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the
•182 fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this
[578] moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity
[178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

*182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
*631 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
648 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
17 in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

/338 cont./

121 613 594 /footnote 1 continued/ different term that we employ seems to us to correspond better to the reality described. Its definition is no less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G. Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is
594 tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now,
613 for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussul-
183 man ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking, it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594 The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely
613 in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to inspire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family," ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights.
613 The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

/13 cont./

Measure of This Space

804 Nothing would be more erroneous than to appraise the mass of the country according to our metric system. The real unit, which is the man's very same measure, is the duration of the effort of the agile walker or the notable perched on a mule at a lively trot. Moreover, it would be necessary that this duration be appraisable quantitatively. It is not, of course, in hours and
805 minutes. At the very most, the interval between prayers, themselves marked by the positions of the sun, could serve as a standard. But one hardly prays. To tell the truth, it is even looser measurements: morning, noon, evening, ccbah', zziwal, icfirar, which would be the most sympathetic to the heart. But we shall not repeat here the reflections of Lucien Febvre on the "temps flottant" /fluctuating time/, the "temps dormant" /dormant time/ of societies of "médiéval" type (1).

1. L. Febvre, Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle /The problem of unbelief in the sixteenth century/, 1942, pp. 426 to 434, and G. Friedmann, "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

804 Moreover, it being a question of mechanical time, I mean very
805 precisely time serving to measure or to divide up an effort very precise and of constant duration, it is indeed hours that we shall avail ourselves of in order to measure Seksawa space, just as the officers of the penetration did.

184 Let us disregard the immense confines which, beyond the
804 villages, on the Tichka side, as on that of the Ras Mulay Ali, extend much farther still. Seksawa life, the life of the valley bottom, which is the municipal life, the dense life with full potential, is measured by /14/ very slight durations. We shall see, in fact: the intercalary spaces correspond to other rhythms, entablatures separating the valleys, rounded summits, and, with

/14 cont./

184 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure
804 is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths; arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

487 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1]
484 and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which
804 will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These dura-
823 tions, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

1. [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/30 cont./

341
184

/footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the lōh'h', made by framing and "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bulᶜwān, for example, (634) proudly dominated by the house of an amghar /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342
184

It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a (634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former amghar Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, agrur, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments Ibyut, tinwalin; above, facultatively, the tameçrit, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the asqqif, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
[171] mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," Imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such as the Ud Bessebac, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 343 712 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a [171] fortiori among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 178 592 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own. [593] [591] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 592 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
10 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines descending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
10 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 184 101 634 361 101 634 619 [776] [778] 133 101 634

The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The char-
acteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
[167] see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ibubanen]

619
634
[142]
[181]
[173]

/67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634
184
101
619

1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

[648]

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628]

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement
184 from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat
101 of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in
166 a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into
619 each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)
619
[173]

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella, 634 632 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as 613 follows:

166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad"erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Anono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113] /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly [184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the 121 [114] way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 121 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures [114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171] 1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlālī is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manāqib al-H'ud'aykī, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the mucha^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status:

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-yyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

241 796 619 634 184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

[525] [782] [787]

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

[782]

Rektu wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

[784]

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

[784]

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 796 619 634 189 [613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur. [541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. [578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; [262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair. [613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning [578] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; [262] battle by blows with clumps of grass. [541]

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibubân:

Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: 746 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest 634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrât:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj [783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest: [783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these 241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that 796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
[184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ᶜAchûrâ): the choᶜala of the Ud Bessebâᶜ redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Mîlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Âbdella make the fires of
241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
184 when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfîfa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-Ibûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/139 cont./

796 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in
241 themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts
184 breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen
121 -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or subfraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'açt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/150 Cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [162] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

241
407
492
184

and Iferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the Iferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*Iferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is.....	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt.....	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
442 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is
184 all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the glib, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

/168 cont./

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
[624] guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 The second striking trait, and which has already been indi-
241 cated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the
[184] area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the
233 milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 178 [624] distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits 794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution 184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

619
[423]
[657]

/217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals...	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idms	Sous	Nûfa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Cgdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chfib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor
312 of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail
423 this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation
178 of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork
613 mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

• 184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wād ᶜAbdi and the Wād Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

423 /230 cont./
613 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
184 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms
[177] of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ^c. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," Ikraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/237 cont./
about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882: "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them profoundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671
[829] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[184] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mal and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the 'chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t'r'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[798] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeîhat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûîî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

792 /274 cont./
184 ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tamgrût (2),

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is the of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

[171]

3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/." Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Abdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

794 184 /The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic gens of the Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Abdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two ikhs-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân, [613] the other of Agawz, furnish the mârûf of Sidi Abderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September.

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, taryalt, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a kharruba of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. It has [613] been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the ikhs.

In a. Abdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Abdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. Bûl^{c}wân does not pay chchard' to the outside.

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is neces- (634) sary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, 184 the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/276 cont./

794 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic
184 exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of indi-
[241] vidualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable
[221] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo
212 of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli-
875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together
[634] only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion.
[312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the
[423] liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
•184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkrim who,
again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa": the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/307 cont./

776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla
• [184] Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu^{c}ā. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and lafīf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 [432] [184]

/footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Ih'âchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 428 562 [171]

From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175]

War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulît. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
671 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(562) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we [184] can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/426 cont./

616 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The
121 procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any
[184] case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghōrti, plur.
619 Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously
634 Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Ali, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

616 571 184

/430 cont./

616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/448 cont./

/2/ the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of 184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The [197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in- [191] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/448 cont./

184 Among the Chleuhs /Shluh/ such segmentation implies the existence of vast areas. Linguistic or juridical facts, varying endlessly, belie in many respects the homogeneity of the country and ways of life. Sometimes they oppose it. At the very least they do not reflect it.

Many of these characteristics hence give the impression of the /449/ constructed and even of the factitious, of the desired and even of the exaggerated. The rural order with three terms that is found in the upper valleys clashes with so many other aspects of disorder or of evasion, of decline of the constraints of the group, that it is tempting to see there an issue, a precarious and threatened result, rather than an original legacy. The dispersion of this society in a body, and even more so in autonomous acts, reveals the work that it performs on itself rather than one knows not what congenital status. Diversification rather than diversity. Cantonal variety, social complexity, agrarian order would be only the three faces of the same historical effort (1).

1. The debate between ethnology and history has been enriched, in the course of recent years, by the studies of L. Febvre, "Vers une autre histoire /Toward another history/," R. de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, p. 226, on the different historicity of the various civilizations; ibid., G. Davy, "L'explication sociologique et le retour à l'histoire /Sociological explanation and the return to history/"; ibid., Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "Histoire et ethnologie /History and ethnology/," especially pp. 369, 373.

If it is so, would not the dualist structures that one observes in several parts of the Haut-Atlas, of the Anti-Atlas, and of the Sous arise from the same law? In them the content is hidden; it is the sign that counts; their mode of classification is interchangeable with others: it is necessary to consider above all in them the function. Now this function may be assumed diversely, whether it be

/449 cont./

184 a question of political or spiritual, territorial or moral groupings, charged with concrete substance or fictive values. The ones and the others are only means. All strive to maintain, in the bosom of the ensemble, the tension that is life, the variety that is solidarity. In fact, this world remains one. Its cantonal morcellation is not dispersion. Recourse to a plurality of collective types, fashioned by the joust, war, ritual qualifications, has assisted rather than ruined the survival of an ensemble. This ensemble, if one may say so, divides in order not to be broken up. The explanation is that the dualism of leff-s intervenes above all where there does not act, or no longer acts, any other mechanism of differentiation. I mean to say of cohesion. It is that wherever this culture remains deep-rooted, forces of dissimilation struggle against the forces of bursting or of uniformity.

This does not happen without waste. The consumption of energy and ingenuity in such a system is formidable. Here is the negative side of these organisms with solid virtues. Many of these evolutions go beyond the goals. The invention of forms is such that it ends in sterility. The disproportion between the social and the economic makes the machine turn in a void. The conquests or the re-establishments of the communal consciousness have been up to here those of archaism. Balanced between imitation and the denial of others, /450/ impulsive revolt and feint, this genius ends by clinging to its evasions. No more than its magnificent democracies withstand extension beyond the col, its souls do not escape the terror that their own mysteries cause them. Therefore, in order to grow, the individual must escape. With respect to the natal group, he will then remain divided between hatred and nostalgia. Conformist or inconoclast: he will be so simultaneously or in turn. It is that the mechanism of the parties, of the factions, of the groups, all this dialectic of qualifications, of names and of signs, end by suffocating their man. The "optimum de diversité" /optimum of diversity/ (1)

1. I am borrowing this expression from Cl. Lévi-Strauss, Race et histoire /Race and history/, 1952, p. 9.

/450 cont./

184 is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 179 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back into its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

[233] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
648 from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/24/

Chapter II

The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion. It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often bear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

/39 cont./

361
712
.184

/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 712 •184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
.184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
[642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth
[789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

> 1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Ait ʿAisi and the Ait Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
•184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
•184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[171] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
• 184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
512 brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/137 cont./

114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" ap-
*634 peared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
642 authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, dis-
619 tricts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic re-
gime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some, [184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/152 cont./

*634 •[184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^c," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^ca of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^c" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

*634 166 609

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 •184 [619] [131] *634 184 174 178

IV.. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
-184
174
178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

*631 619 184 [113]

/155 cont./

of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2).

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

*631 *634 619 184

One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

*634 184

In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

/156 cont./

*634 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages de-
184 fended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of
[619] the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of di-
[133] vision in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or
184 canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this
131 way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "moudef," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

*634 /157 cont./
•184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 131 728 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division, which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 131 728 619 [173] Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group succeeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 619 •184 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their dimensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/158 cont./

*634 Chaᶜib, the Aït Breher of the Demsira. There are some that
619 /159/ are still smaller, like the Aït Dris of the tribe of the Ida
184 Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid of the Seksawa. Finally, the Aït Mehand of the Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun of the Demsira, by their dimensions are no more than "moudaᶜ," but their institutions already give them most of the characteristics of true "taqbilt" (1).

*631
*634
619
184

1. By exception, in certain tribes of the Dir one finds territorial divisions smaller than the taqbilt as we have described it here. This is the case for the Aït Semmeg, divided into about 15 minuscule units whose territory scarcely exceeds that of a "moudaᶜ." Likewise the Mzouda are divided into ten "mia," each of which has only about 100 hearths. On the other hand, in certain regions peopled recently, such as the south of the Haha (tribes of the Aït ᶜAissi and of the Ida ou Bouzia), it happens that the tribe may be divided into several "khoms" whose villages are so entangled that it is no longer possible to trace their boundaries. Finally, an "afous" of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Id Mansour, has a territory divided into three parts separated from one another. These exceptions affect only an infinitesimal part of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and we can with good reason ignore them in an over-all description of the social structure.

*634 Thanks to the limited extent of its territory and the concern that its inhabitants manifest in defending the frontiers, the canton
*631 is a small state with great vitality. On the other hand, we shall
619 observe that the larger organisms -- the tribe and the confederation -- in the same region are much more difficult to define and

/159 cont./

*631 619 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe *[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some •[184] common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum- *634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given /160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Aït 174 Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

/162 cont./

*634 616 619 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly balanced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^c" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 616 • 184 *634 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Ait Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
•184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
*634 "khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saʿʿd Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aït Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aït Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

/164 cont./
619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
•184 almost forgotten history.
*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which
the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being
careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the op-
posed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such
loose associations of small elementary states would have suc-
ceeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had
not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more
intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer
memory of a common history, must have contributed to form
these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons,
the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating,
without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of
the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no
easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thou-
sand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states
that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity
of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to
natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain
and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa estab-
lished in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the
Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's
bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of ele-
mentary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

• [184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

• [184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)
616
619

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain
[131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the
[491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even
• 184 confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In go-
616 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
•184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
•184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
[619] moqaddem. This is the case in several small
tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[178] [174]

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 /222 cont./
.184 replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)
174
789

[113]

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2),

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and
[184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the
*[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in
[619] the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

[113]

> 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
• [184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
* [631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Ait ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 789 174 178 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

*634 789 184 174 178

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoʿa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

/223 cont./

*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is [666] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by [613] lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who 692 is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a 554 stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

*634 554 /225 cont./
firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small [613] states. In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 .184 Among the A'lt Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "A'lt ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "A'lt Arbaᶜin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/226 cont./

*634
.184

the moqaddem, jealously watched by the influential notables, are reduced.

The political constitutions of all these small states are far from identical; in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ certain cantons name their moqaddem under conditions that differ greatly from those that we have indicated. Thus, the Aït Chaᶜib, in the tribe of the Demsira, who put up a furious resistance against the domination of the kaids of the Mtougga, proceed in the following manner. At the beginning of the year, the "taqbilt" gathers 100 armed men in a religious sanctuary. Fifteen daggers are handed to the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" whose turn for command has arrived. The latter then designate the moqaddem, who says a prayer and in turn names the Aït Arbaᶜin for the year, at the rate of two per "moudaᶜ." In this fraction one also sees the moqaddem gather together in serious cases, not only the Aït Arbaᶜin in office, but all the notables. Moreover, his powers are more extensive than elsewhere; the Aït Arbaᶜin are at his orders, and he is their chief rather than their agent. Doubtless the moqaddem's power and authority, which make him a sort of military leader, facilitated the energetic attitude of defense that the Aït Chaᶜib kept with regard to their Mtougga enemies (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (Étude inédite sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished study on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

At Thinghir in the Todgha, the head of the assembly, named for one year and who takes the name of "amghar," is chosen by his predecessor. In the presence of all the warriors the new amghar in turn designates those who will assist him in the government: "I want So-and-So, son of So-and-So, of Such-and-Such family, to be with me in order to help me concerning the settlement of village disputes" (3).

3. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 126.

/226 cont./

*634 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou
—•184 Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the
681 "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the
652 strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional ex-
652 penses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and
[651] proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the
652 institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our
178 day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/228 cont./

*634
184
178

VI. The councils of fractions or of tribes without moqaddem. -- The ancient constitution of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the region of the Tichka and of the mountain Gedmiwa, always assumed the presence of the moqaddem. In our day, even in the regions remaining independent, this elected head has often been replaced by an "amghar," who keeps supreme power as long as he is strong enough to impose his authority on the rival families. But in the other mountainous regions of the South of Morocco, the public mind has remained more hostile to the appearance of personal power. One tribe of the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Aït Ouaᶜzzoun, knows neither moqaddem nor amghar; likewise, most of the cantons of the Aït Waouzgit, before the conquest of the Glawa, had only a small senate and Aït Arbaᶜin without a president. Finally, among the independent tribes of the western Anti-Atlas, small councils of notables -- six per fraction in general -- administer the "khoms," without having a designated leader. Sometimes there, it is true, an influential notable exercises, thanks to his energy, true authority; but by his feigned modesty in the councils he tries to avoid the appearance of command. In the assembly he is only one "anflous" amidst his brothers, and if people consent to give him the title of "moqaddem," he bears it without ostentation, carefully guarding against appearing to direct the deliberations, whose outcome he has dictated in advance in secret talks with his creatures (2).

2. The tribes of the foot of the western Anti-Atlas or of the irrigated oases of the plains /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ possessed, however, before the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, moqaddems similar to those of the Haut-Atlas -- at Tiznit and among the Ida ou Gersmouk, for example. The "ᶜorf" of the Ida ou Gersmouk collected by M. Ben Daoud begins with the following proclamation: "Know

/228 cont./

*634 •184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the A'lt Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the A'lt Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 •184 178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ou^c^azzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ou^c^azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arba^c^in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named deliberate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1), [625]

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arba^c^in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arba^c^in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^c^a" of the Aït Ou^c^azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^c^a" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ou^c^azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are summoned, heard, condemned to be fined, and they pay on the spot [695] [681]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
•184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[578] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center
[361]

*634 /231 cont./
•184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
•184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

S
443
562
834
•184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203
R
[681]

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs •184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/255 cont./
343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
*[634] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171] 1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. [625] The watch is stood by a group of warriors from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda[c]" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127] 2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] 343 712 182 671 571

So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^c," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the A'lt Tadrart, the A'lt Qalla, the A'lt Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the A'lt Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Ait ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Ait ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/." Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/263 cont./

178 More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in
184 the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the
limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by
*[631] assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a
veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the
Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where
imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs,
and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly
existed.

178 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic.
179 If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to
rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of
Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to
destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons
dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of
Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly
stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the con-
quest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of
the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of
the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Ber-
ber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of
the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggon-
san, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of
inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Souah, the
Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by
a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market
towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/
existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a
tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring
regions.

/288 cont./

175 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had
*634 to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/
[179] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it
[171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the
[184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. [616] In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, [648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
•184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/378 cont./
648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).
619
177
[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*631 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new frac-
[616] tioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, dimin-
ishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, [685] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[184]

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
[358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40: Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirà (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*farīqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
*634

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
178 only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
•[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

/442 cont./

182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 186 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

/443 cont./

177 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences
186 of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[197] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
• [186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
* [634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
619 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[173] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/vii/

Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this
104 research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ᶜ), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an ḥ.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas
104 and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col
of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi
Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/20 cont./ As in all mountain
133 societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wân and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[323] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[[92] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wân itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable
[192] examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wân itself. They bear an Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/124 cont./

241 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a
423 distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word Ighimer, plur. Ighwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1):

[192]

1. Elsewhere in Seksawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchû^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary
133 in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a
241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

823 "cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
312 not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construction of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
492 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
184 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the glib, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

695 /327 cont./
The expression s-tarad'i (1).

• [192]

1. Maghrebi ethnology will have made real progress when it is able to follow, over the whole gamut of North African societies, the progress of such-and-such a notion, reduced to its precise meaning, in the most varied linguistic dress; and corollarially to study the semantic variations of such an institutional term. I am thinking, for example, of the word chert' or chchard', or of the word ta^{c}amamt, well known in the Kabyle matrimonial law, and which I find again in the Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), indeed even in an old text from the Sous ...

"by mutual agreement," certainly concerns the designation of the judge rather than the character of the verdict. It is true that even a judgment properly speaking, that of the present tribunals, for example, must little or much, in order to be executory, rally the yielding party. Ur rd'igh, "I do not agree": such an utterance occasionally indicates the nonrallying and hence also that the malcontent will appeal to other paths of recourse: obstruction, dilatory maneuvers, indeed violent resistance. Is it necessary to conclude that an arbitral aspect, profoundly ancient and authentic, has survived even in the modern organization of jurisdictions and that a fortiori the ancient s-tarad'i decision was merely arbitration pure and simple?... All that one can conjecture is that the development of the Chleuh /Shluh/ proceedings still implies today, and, with stronger reason, formerly implied, old mores rendering obligatory, under penalty of nullity or of loss, a "commitment" by both parties. This commitment has significantly taken a contractual form. In return, the distance at which the jemâa takes care to remain with respect to the settlement of the case screens the latter from the opinion of the group. And the reaction of the city procedures has cloaked the person of the magistrate and his

695 121

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment
[192] (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

428
[192]

/356 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ᶜorf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175
423
425

/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (ᶜimâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/425 cont./
616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3).

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of
[695] collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
[554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vo-
[192] cabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

/88 cont./

*175 Marrakech, the Heskoura and the Tadla, rather than on the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113]

1. Marmol, Afrique /Africa/, Perrot d'Ablancourt trans., Paris, 1667, Vol. II, pp. 41-63.

The upper valley of the Dra was divided between two lords of the family of the "Mezwar" (2),

[192] [622]

2. The term "mezwar" designates, in the towns of Morocco, the representative of the shorfa /shurfa/ settled in the city. This Berbère /Berber/ word derived from the root zwr, to precede (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229), also has the sense of president of an assemblage of notables, of "moqaddem"; at the time of the Almohades, a "mezwar" was at the head of each of the fractions of the confederation of the Gedmiwa (cf. above, p. 80).

ruling the districts of "Tenveves" and "Tensita" and separated from each other by a deep enmity. In the fury of their struggles, the Mezwar went so far as to call on the Christians settled at Santa Cruz (Agadir), and the whole Sous valley, already traversed by the Arabs, was agitated by their quarrel. Moreover, their power and liberality were famous, and Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ received a most generous welcome in their dwellings. One of them, who had thought he would do well to present magnificent gifts to the king of Fez, had them carried by an ambassador whose pronunciation and style, doubtless not very classic because of /89/ Berbère /Berber/ influences, were, in the opinion of the

R
S
443
171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343
S
[114]

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

/253 cont./

*634
343
.192

/footnote 2 continued/ Ou Tanan; of casbah of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the kaid in the plain of the Sous and on the Dir of the Atlas. On the Saharan versant of the Anti-Atlas, it designates a small chamber for provisions placed in a corner tower of the house (Amanouz tribe). It is also used generally throughout the Sous with the meaning of solidly constructed wall.

The same word reappears as toponym in the western Rif in the form "Ajdir," near Alhucémas and in the north of the Gzennaya; one also finds Agadir, quarter of the town of Ouezzan, Agadir, quarter of Tlemcen (Marçais, Les Monuments de Tlemcen /The Monuments of Tlemcen/, p. 132); in Kabylie /Kabylia/ it signifies rock, sheer wall, inaccessible spot (Huyghe, Dict. Kabyle-fr. /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, 2nd ed., p. 17). The word appears to be of Punic origin (Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, I, 319).

Among the Ait Waouzgit, the Souktana of the Sous, the Glawa, the collective storehouse takes the name of igherm (pl. igherman); "tighremt" (pl. tighermatin) is a fortified house. "Igherm" designates in the western Atlas (Aghbar) a cultivated terrace supported by a dry-stone wall, and among the Haha a low dry-stone wall to protect the riflemen in combat. /The following paragraph is on the next page in the original source./

Finally, among most of the transhumant Berbère /Berber/ populations of central Morocco, the name of Ighrem is given to the permanent habitation, to the house serving as storehouse for provisions and as enclosure for the large livestock.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jij*	*ighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* } ("fifth") *thakhammasth* }	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
192
171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900).

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562]
out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361]
in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described...

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el-ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4; Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, 634 customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages [619] because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") [192] used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and [114] Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154). 634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila, zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16). 619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, 623
Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of 634
superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are 635
designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic [171]
ejjemaa. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer [192]
to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest 621
groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* 623
inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "not- [554]
able" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character [561]
of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 000
96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. I, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*taimat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

571 609 574 754 171 192

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried 571
daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying 754
that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner 695
of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in [627]
civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated ...
by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term 571
ameqqon ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* 563
("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") 754
is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to [192]
establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expe-
776 ditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral
778 sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the
[796] Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is
[197] identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an
778 imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in,
195 "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to
193 this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy
[773] of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd-Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
634 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates
[178] vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
621 subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init, whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gsir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

778 /281 cont./
begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

{825} [171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expe-
776 ditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral
778 sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the
[796] Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is
[197] identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existenee of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an
778 imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in,
195 "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to
193 this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy
[773] of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

/334 cont./

695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long
175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the complementary oath imposed by the cadi on the cowitnesses of the lafîf was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous [195] /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ᶜAbd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Âlus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: ᶜalâmuᶜâyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ᶜalâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-duᶜâ'i bi'lbarakat. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (sic): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the baraka, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of bayyînat in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/ [212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in lafîf. "Astawqafa (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (sic) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses astachhada in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/362 cont./

432
171

/footnote 1 continued/ estate that identified the land: a formula diametrically opposed to ours and which rests, as has been seen, on a completely different conception of the "field." Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, L'alleu et le domaine rural /The allodium and the rural domain/, 1889, p. 18.

With any aim at comparativism set aside, but by title of a geographical lesson, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ let us note that in the milieu, similarly montagnard and conservative, of Andorra the so-called sale with power of redemption is by far the most frequent. Like the rrahn of the Chleuhs /Shluh/, the Andorran redemption can be very long term, transferable to a third party, and the operations of repurchase are connected, in their validity and their effect upon the pending harvest, with considerations of agricultural season! J.-A. Brutails, La coutume d'Andorre /The customs of Andorra/, 1904, pp. 198 sq.

432/363/ The sale is then called "aggregate," muchâ^{c} (1),

1. Al-^{c}Abbâsî, Ajwiba, lith., t. i, p. 169, l. 8 sq., defines this muchâ^{c} sale, the name of which he writes, ibid., p. 174, l. 15 sq. Locally muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c} is also said.

an expression of bookish origin that we will find to designate the collective, with an unexpected oriental analogy. Other terms are sometimes used: busiyyar or basiyyar in Nfîfa, for example. [195] Sometimes the pen of the writer even rises to hyperbole: a whole

432 /363 cont./
[195] [175] country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093 Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/5 cont./

101
171

/footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâc.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkî. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Lévi-Provençal ed., p. 462, 1. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. I, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 y, 1. 11. That would point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Iseksawan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chîchâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same watercourse, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

101
171
197

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Mérinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. chassés-croisés/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chîchâwa: Sessau, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebâla.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," op. laud., p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Ikessan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa even. One thinks also of the Wâd

/5 cont./

101
171
197

/footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative, I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hestitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksâwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

133
[101]

A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

[217]
[127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

[721]

133
101
634

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Âzzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Âmer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Âmer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Âzzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Âzzt. If it should be identified with the names of Âzzô or Âzzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 778 [796] [197]

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mûlûd.

776 778 195 193 [193]

695
212
[171] /329 cont./
theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istir^{c}â'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t't'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/443 cont./

177 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences
186 of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[197] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

177
[197]

/444 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 1948. p. 12.

171 In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédouine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the fiqh, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

171
177 It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

/448 cont./

12/ the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berberophones of
184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The
[197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in-
[191] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/4 cont./

121
101

stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish in our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

• [197]

1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ʿAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ʿAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

•197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
[554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The
[192] incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vocabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth 342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified 343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

• 197 361 two are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, and the last completely nomadic. The Arabic-speaking Oulad Jellal are completely nomadic. Some of the nomadic tribes, the Ida Oublal in particular, migrate great distances into the Sahara (Capot-Rey, 1942; Cauneille, 1950; Delaye, 1944; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 143-161; Flores Morales, 1946, pp. 87-111; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 171-175; Jannes, 1953, pp. 109-116; Joly, 1948a, pp. 90-96; 1948b; Madras, 1948, illust. between pp. 25-61; Montagne, 1930; Monteil, 1948; 1948b; Robichez, 1946, pp. 53-71; Thibert, 1948).

2. *Imazighen or Beraber*

000 The Berabers, numbering approximately 500,000, reside principally in the mountains of Central Morocco – the eastern High Atlas, their southern slopes, and the Middle Atlas. All speak the Taberberit dialect of Tamazight, while Arabic is a common second tongue among the southern pre-Saharan groups (Grandidier, 1934, Pl. 6; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 163-167).

The dominant feature of Beraber life is transhumance – a type of pastorialism characterized by the movement of livestock through successive seasonal pasturage. Unlike the sedentary Shluh, who must modify their agricultural base to make it conform to the requirements of a specific local environment, the Beraber turn the environmental differences of their country to their benefit, wintering their flocks or herds in the warm plains or steppes, moving them to the higher pastures in the mountains during the spring and summer, and retiring through new pasturage ahead of the descending snowline (Celerier, 1927, pp. 53-58; Joly, et al, 1949, pp. 83, 84-86).

Beraber transhumance has been classified into three distinct types – winter transhumance, summer transhumance, and double transhumance. The type practised by any particular tribe depends largely upon the location of its permanent residence. Winter transhumants own permanent houses (*taddart*) and collective granaries (*ighrem* or *tighremt*) which are located in the mountains, and most of the members therefore migrate with the herds to the winter pastures in the valley. Parts of the Ait Yafelmane confederation (428-

[pp. 27-43 not processed]

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; 571
Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 628
1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; 616
Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439. for 634
a critique of the *leff* theory). 635
[171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This [171]
is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51).

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, [926]
in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers [202]
to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203).

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco 616
during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied 171
greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and

/249 cont./

423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place,
[554] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing
[625] policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
175 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
•[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
[784] two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

212

Shluh MW11

[For information on the non-secular activities of the talebs (t't'olba) or scribes as functionaries in the mosques, see Category 794.]

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 [829] Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis. But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000 778 794 212

by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776]

In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract. [241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [634] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1). [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of adminis-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
[796] and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he requested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^c lâm registers him (1).

1. ^cAbbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^c lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor, a great one in jurisprudence (2). [181] [693]

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined comers of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^cAbbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 794 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/316 cont./

212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 [688] In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqih, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

/318 cont./

778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:

776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Amer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/327 cont./

695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
175 salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
465 Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
794 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

695 /328 cont./
212 pedantic and rustic, and the rudeness of the characters. To this proliferation of the writing corresponds the major judiciary role
171 that it is made to play. A comparison with the neighboring fiqh
695 /Islamic law/ will help one understand better how exorbitant this
212 role is.

In the fiqh, the act is only the materialization of the testimony (2).

2. E. Tyan, Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman /The notariate and the regime of proof by writing in the practice of Mussulman law/, 1945, p. 5.

Its link with the human word is always present in that this word both offers solemnity (cf. the chahâda, in the sense of "profession," of "attestation") and must express sincerity. The Mussulman criticism of testimony will also oscillate between the two poles of psychological verification and control of form. Law of the human word, the fiqh will have no particular respect for autographic proof any more than it will for objective inquiry. It rejects, almost like two equal idolatries, the cult of the writing and that of the facts. Between the two, it will follow an elegant road, that of formulas well regulated and not at all inclined to formalism so much as to a certain precision of tone, fixed once and for all, and subjected to the double control of the grammarian and the moralist. The motives for infirmation will consequently be the impurity of the agent and the defects of the language rather than the inadequation to the real. The content of the "allegation," al-qawl, and the authority of the "alleger," al-qâ'il, remain the principal objectives of the criticism. Therefore the system of proofs is hand and glove with the enchainment of tradition and the application of the essential norm, which is the "dominant opinion," machhûr. A remarkable unity of methods is manifest in all this. The same criticism of /329/ oral testimony presides over the imitation of the Prophet, the construction of the law, and

695
212 /329 cont./
[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istirᶜâ'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t'ṭ'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/329 cont./

212 Such-and-such a jrîda, "list of parcels," victoriously brandished
695 in support of a case, rests only upon the absolutely unilateral al-
legations of an ancestor: what belief would it merit in strict
212 proceedings? From that, too, the frequency of falsehood. In the
695 judicial jousting, every expedient counts. What is falsehood
577 after all, if not a meritorious trait of craftiness, of concern to
give better proof, and, finally, of intelligence in the dispute?
More profoundly, if the force of a title consists on the one hand
of its very material, on the other hand, of the emotional inten-
sity that it reveals on the part of the usager or avowant — force
of the thing on one side, force of the person on the other, /330/
the distinction between false and authentic act will be only
subtlety. This is indeed what, even today, the litigants as well
as the judges confusedly feel.

695 The notion of oral testimony, on which the written act rests
212 in fiqh, could not therefore find total application here. On the
one side it is replaced, in case of conflict, by chirographic
proof (1).

1. Thus decided, in 1953, apropos a case of this kind, the Tribunal coutumier /Customary Court/ of the Seksawa.

695 On the other side, it is surpassed by sworn law: plural oath among others. The "witness" is effaced before the coswearer. Here the ordeal, there the human word.

... The Oath

One knows how much the cojuratio, by its still indicated magical character, mixed with rough computations, has retained the attention of our sociologists (2).

2. Summary bibliography and discussion in J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, under §15.

/334 cont./

695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long
175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the complementary oath imposed by the cadi on the cowitnesses of the lafîf was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
[195] inal source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ᶜAbd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: ᶜalâmuᶜâyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ᶜalâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-duᶜâ'i bi'lbarakat. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (sic): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the baraka, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of bayyînat in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/
[212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in lafîf. "Astawqafa (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (sic) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses astachhada in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/335 cont./

695 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq
175 from Daud at-Tamulît or at-Timît, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evo-
794 lution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to com-
693 pare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/336 cont./

212 794 693 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malékite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594 171 114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. Ali

/349 cont./

178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

212 But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
671 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
178 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the permanence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s
178 and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.
671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
212

/367 cont./

121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^ca and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[794] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

/380 cont./

The Wording of the Rule

000 Made from harsh internal competitions, from inexpiable vendettas, the group nonetheless presents to the exterior a cohesion which is that of a fagot of thorns, inextricable and untouchable. And is it not significant that this image of a fagot was inspired in the Middle Ages by our first communes?

671 This thorny cohesion is sealed by a juridical act. It is these
171 penal codifications called qānûn in Kabylia and inçaf among our Chleuhs /Shluh/, veritable commonplace of the Berbère /Berber/ institution. Revealed by Hanoteau and Letourneux, found, with what profusion! in the Moroccan South, producing in Algeria around 1930 a scandal of surprise of an indeed sympathetic naïveté, their history is already long (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Les institutions kabyles /Kabyle institutions/," R. E. I., 1932, pp. 138 sq., and "Les qānouns kabyles /The Kabyle qānouns/," in the work by Hanoteau and Letourneux, pp. 1 sq., 26 sq., ibid., 1933, remarkable historical critique of the documents provided by these two authors.

One can follow the chain from the edict, already mentioned, of Yah'yā u Tāfûft (1510) up to the deliberation submitted to the prefect, in the cadre of our municipal law, by a Kabyle village in 1945.

671 It is probable that they represent one of the first uses of
• 212 Arabic writing in the Sous. The synonymy of chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, ar. /Arabic/ alwāh', "tablets," "tables of the Law" (2).

2. The jurists of the Sous often speak of these "tables," alwāh', which corresponds to chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, "bits of wood,"

/380 cont./

671
212

/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[784]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakam, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

/381 cont./
671 many dissertations to it (1).
212

1. For example, as-Suktānī, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlā, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a
212 religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension
779 makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
685 of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for rob-
671 bery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of ampu-
779 tation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735,
683 emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of
671 Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalīl to some
779

/386 cont./

776 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Amer u H'ad-
177 dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-
779 sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and
182 undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated
[212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

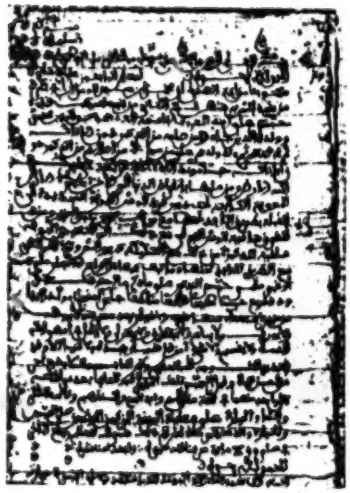
[708] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787

Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

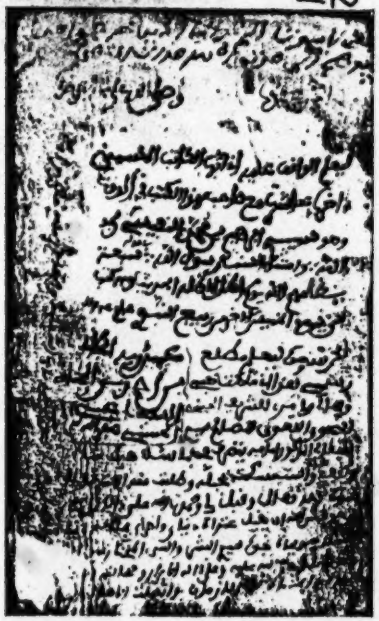
1: Berque--661 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

212
695



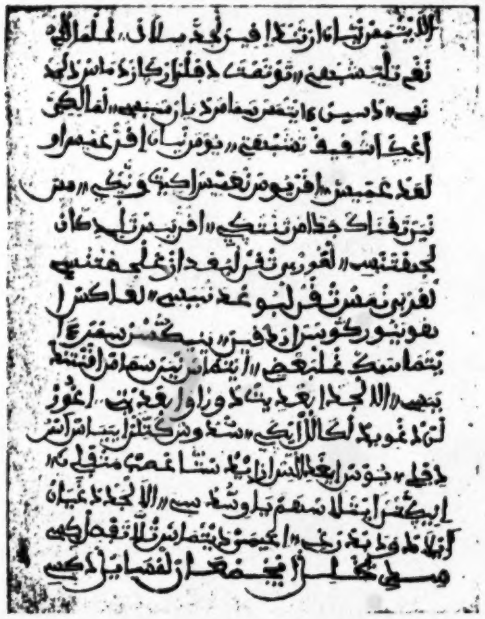
From the plural oath to the notarial act, "laftf"
Act of 899 Heg. = 1494, collected in Idaw Geryun

Pl. XV



Juridical text of the Awzal genre

The first line reads: wala aytma-sn-yan ur ten-d iqqin ljad silad gh-lmalikiyya, "no longer that the brothers of someone are excluded (from his succession) by (the existence of) the ancestor except in Malékism."



Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik, dating from 1194 Heg. 1780, made at the zâwîya of Takerkuzt, and collected on the margin of a book of the zâwîya of the Mez'ud'a.

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113] 1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
[554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vo-
[192] cabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

[217] [127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

[72]

133 101 634 [769] [349] [776] [197] 173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

1: Berque--660 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shiuh MW11

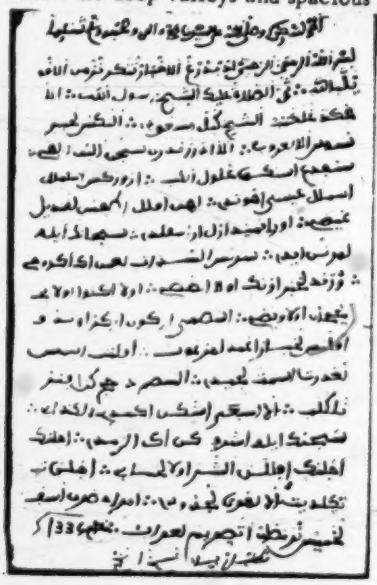
Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787



Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Gêryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebaᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

101
162
483
● 221
312
131
133

/100/

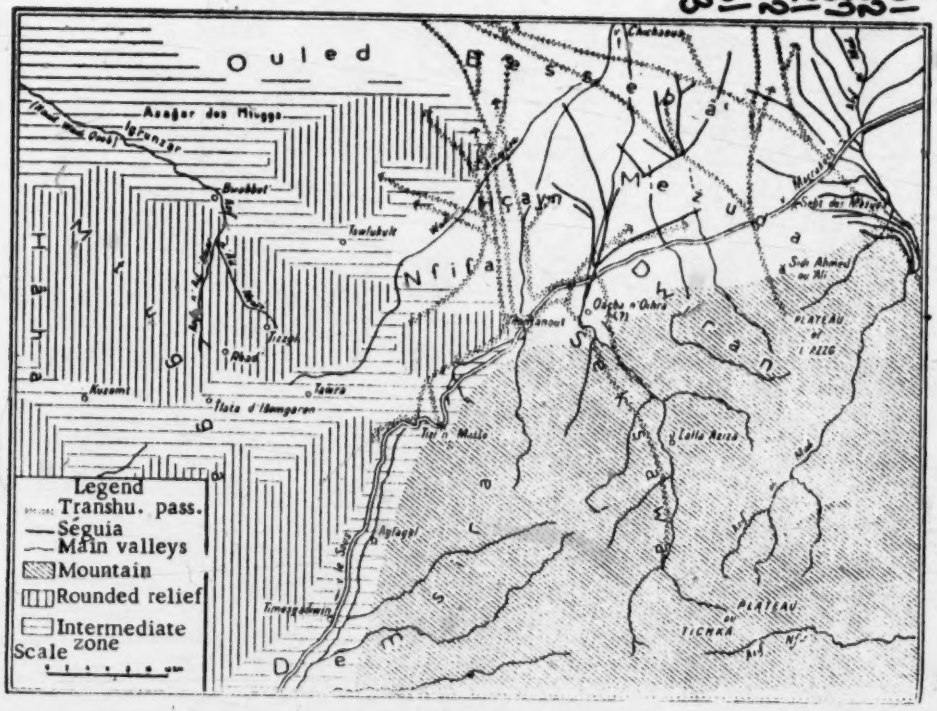


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
• 221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/103 cont./

178 241 221 [171]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1). 171

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that [361]

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien, /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter
•221 sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the origi-
648 nal source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of
221 a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible
[423] vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that
[427] they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/104 cont./

174 648 221 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Bessebâ^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the sys-
[312] tem of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Bessebâ^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Âbdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 221 121 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./

174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

221

121

1. It is the sāh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldūn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qāhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sāh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Bessebâ^c, Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseba[c] plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ^{c}achâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ^{c}achâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
24 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/111 cont./
246 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/112 cont./

675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233
241
171

2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni." Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq., On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lâzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa. Fensu.	Amerdul. Aziwal.	March-July. --	Custom of the talddrar.
Iguntar. a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur. Anchkrir. Tasselli. The ensemble.	Tasila. Inraren Z'dinin. Tameksut. Afuzar.	-- -- -- --	

221 This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the
233 limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the
241 valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and
[634] lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-
[574] tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt. The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^c confines, yet
221 without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes,
648 the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178]
[427]
[494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
171

1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
[312] whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone
[634] remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouīa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
[571] political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171] 2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/130 cont./

805
171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221
527
[796]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128

Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241

Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ăchura or amăchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Ih'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

[539] [233] [796]

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

[539] [178]

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al- [539] ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

22 24 [539] [233] F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign. The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr, "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggravation. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch [233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the [539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what [539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
241 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./
241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233
221 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
[361] one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[184] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naftjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[386]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flower-pots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt,
[574] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sîdi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sîdi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sîdi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques,
778 one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 982 796	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
		Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
		Sidi Tifawt.		
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract. [241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [634] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1). [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [592] 794 [592] 794 613

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/132 cont./

•221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

/133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
*631 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
175 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of
178 the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
•221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
[361] enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
[431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[104] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirá (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

/110 cont./

231 241 (342) [171] coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure. 241 [237] This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man, [171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 222 [462] /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for 231 222 262 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.

222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.

241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[776] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113]

1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
* [634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

/20 cont./

133 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
181 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have
182 acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

•226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 438 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 361 [226]

Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

133 361 648 [439]

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much attention to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

175 177 000

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ^{c}achāba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ^{c}achāba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
24 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example,
[462] but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

> 1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not
212 the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recom-
pense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of
the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of admini-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the
periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close rela-
tions, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the
amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sîdi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sîdi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
[796] and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the begin-
ning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî
(sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each
tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants
of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole
was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That
took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our
sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client
among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/41 cont./

342 184 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains, in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political [642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth [789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open [231] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side [414] of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse. When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a [592] household.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

[114] 1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.

[232] The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[171] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent.
[233] A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

272 178 /36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592 476 [233] [464] [241] ooo

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba[c], Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the
233 mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Bessebac plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] cachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of cachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
241 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/112 cont./
675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233
241
171

2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lâzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221 This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the
233 limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the
241 valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and
[634] lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^c confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdel-mumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178] [427] [494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 221 648 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides, this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indication. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 221 171 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco. It is found again in other domains (1).

1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
640 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
[312] whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[487] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A
[634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Bessebâ^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyân from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
[571] political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241

Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ſchura or amachur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

[539] [233] [796]

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

[539] [178]

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al- [539] ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign.
24 The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr,
[539] "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggrava-
[233] tion. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch
[233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the
[539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what
[539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
241 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detrimental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains
[233] transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect sponta-
824 neity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est olea cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

(114) 1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.
(232) The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[171] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/172 cont./

182
121

/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233 433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds [182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

233 /173 cont./
182 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and country. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

/174 cont./

233 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering,
241 irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a
182 hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known
171 that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open
[233] field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Âddi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Âli u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 The second striking trait, and which has already been indi-
241 cated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the
[184] area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the
233 milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Rujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Uk^{w}ays	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[131] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
• 233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
• [233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiérs of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
[487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the ma-
[482] nure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor, young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
-233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

/133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
*631 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
175 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of
178 the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
594 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
*233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
•233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
[443] war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manufactured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/ rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the "Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the "taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus it can happen that political events that took place on the north versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts, however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
•233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
[361] enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
• 233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirá (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14). 000 342 351 361 137 343

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first 137 133 132 241 361 101 131 312 361 241 233 197 361

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[171] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
(342)
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
(237) minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example,
[462] but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches "

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can [171] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul^{c}wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal 241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational 441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms

237

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 233 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
[233] by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

137 [241] [824] /22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anaghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ffessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to it: that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

241
137

2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subspontaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe century)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subspontaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorily (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

241
137
171

First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the summits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

• 241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 31 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulʿwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plã or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

/27 cont./

241 distribution of the water for irrigation are possible, and only through that will the water and earth arise simultaneously for
[171] tillage. The geographer is quite familiar with this kind of cultivation, classic examples of which can be found in the Orient as well as in Europe. It always evokes an idea of rustic virtues, courage, and work. Incessant labor to combat the descent of the soil, the fall of the water, slow remountings, basket on the shoulder, attentive management with the hoe and the "small tools," art of walls in dry stone: all that on hardly more space than a flower pot or than a flower box at the window of a building! The surprise here is that so much trouble leads only to a fistful of barley or maize. To the dismay of the economist, these "large-scale crops" paradoxically clash with such a minute, such a costly cadre. Is it not economic subversion?

Let us descend farther. The street, it is the torrent. In the best cases, its walls are tiered in successive level stretches, in natural terraces. There are also plains and suspended basins, sometimes quite wide: at Sidi Âmer u H'addô, at Tuz'z'umt. Elsewhere also, more poorly. But sometimes the bottom of the corridor amounts to the actual bed of the river. And then one finds that this bed itself is not neglected. Stone walls are erected perpendicular to the current. Comes the flood: there where they do not hold, all is carried away. Thus at Sekrat. Elsewhere, trenching operations try to take advantage of a general declivity, without worrying about the storm that will take away everything. Thus at Imt'ddan.

Infinite trouble, almost gratuitous work, total want of foresight, we would say. A whole torrent-bed agriculture builds and rebuilds defenses, destroyed several times each year. The stone is so familiar: it is displaced, it is replaced with such airiness! Cyclopean propensity, waste of human work. And the kindness of the water is believed in with a blind faith. One will thus make barley and maize with stone and water. The river becomes larger, pulls out everything. But sometimes one will have a windfall of a harvest: barley breaking through on the "shingle," a veritable vegetable explosion. And the montagnard braving the

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

181 /28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/ III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361
342
113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

272 178 /36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592 476 [233] [464] [241] ooo

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises
[361] in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ît, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[241] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[233] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
[184] tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
[184] steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to 634 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the 175 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a 726 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied 619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Every-
thing here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
• [241] risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A
very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens:
the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background"
Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias
/water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit,
Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left
of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops.
These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out
just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country
can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^cwân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the mountains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages.

/103 cont./

178
24
22
[17]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of
171 Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Abda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the
[361] tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

/105 cont./

174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

221

121

1. It is the sāh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldūn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qāhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sāh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often

241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which

312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Bessebaa[c], Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Bessebac plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ᶜachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
24 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/112 cont./

675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233 2. The difficulty of these relations and the
241 historical incidence of these very difficulties
171 is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lâzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa. Fensu.	Amerdul. Aziwal.	March-July. --	Custom of the talddrar.
Iguntar. a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur. Anchkrir. Tasselli. The ensemble.	Tasila. Inraren Z'dinin. Tameksut. Afuzar.	-- -- -- --	

221
233
241
[634]

This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-
[574] tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt. The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/121/ II. Matter and Outlines of Peasant Work

The Field and Its Personality

• 241 Old and profound idea, the one of the field. A millenary tradition colors it with feeling. Studies as rigorous as that of a Roupnel can be wrapped in lyricism without, for all that, losing contact with science. Many generations have sought in the Géorgiques /Georgics/ both the most exact rules of Mediterranean agronomy and a charm which, far from depriving the exactitude of the discourse of anything, amplifies and extends it. This rare conjugation between "poetry and truth" is explained by the synthesis that is brought about by intellectual, practical, affective values, where rest the earth, man, his tools, his history, his solemn or familiar life. And the basic element of this synthesis is the field.

But what is a field, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1)?

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 359 sq., on the different names for the "field."

241 171 Would it be the individualized domain, continued in the time and space of the Romans? Or the long parcel of the Nordic plains, tied into clusters by the obscure agreements of the open field /italicized words are in English in the original source/ (2)?

2. M. Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931, pp. 21 sq.

Or the same soles of strips /Fr. soles de lanières/ discovered in a completely different milieu, and undoubtedly amidst completely different environments, by Weulersse, in this Near East muchâ^c,

/121 cont./

241 171 whose appellation (but not the reality) reappears among the Chleuh /Shluh/ (3)?

3. C. r. of the book by Weulersse, "Le pays des Alaouites /The country of the Alaouites/," Ann. hist. soc., 1943, III, pp. 116 sq.; Latron, ibid., 1941, p. 122, and 1943, III, p. 117, n. 1.

Or the close of woodland, which paradoxically evokes by certain traits, despite its dryness, with its woods and its enclosures, the H'fh'a country? Or the Mediterranean saltus? Let us stop at this last form. It is so appropropriate for Maghrebi antiquity that one of the first lines of research that one might imagine would be to check to see if anything in the present reality of the Moroccan South corresponds to it. But one can affirm without fear that, comparison for comparison, it is /122/ not to the saltus, but to a diametrically opposite rural form, and which the magnificent aerial photographs of the Constantine limes have restored, that our observations would instead make one think of in this part of the Atlas.

Nothing will appear closer to the ensembles of parcels "in a honeycomb" (1)

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 173 sq.

discovered by the flight over the Roman fossatum than the analogous ensembles, irrigated by a whole arborescence of ditches, of our high valleys. Doubtlessly, there and here the problem is not identical. The techniques described by J. Baradez would apply even better to the subdesert plain or to the Dir than to the montagnard horticulture. But the form of the grounds is there. Same agglomeration of minuscule quadrilaterals downstream from a basin. Same art of the bank of earth cutting and directing the development of the waters. Let us stop at this superficial

/122 cont./

241
171
(114)

analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Gharb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^{w}erkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqām, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wân and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[383] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[192] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wân itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable
[192] examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wân itself. They bear an Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the
613 Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchû^{c}.

/124 cont./

241 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a
423 distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1):

[192]

1. Elsewhere in Sekaawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchû^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary
133 in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a
241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121] 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the *fundus*. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

241
423

/126 cont./

Several experimental measurements give as an average:

Inheritance of the ikhs of the a. Watchaw (a. Musa) . . .	30 m^2
-- si Abdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 -
Sheik Wakrim u Lh'ajj H'fid' (ibid.)	70 -
Chkku Family (Imt'ddan)	26 -
Ground of Agersili (Idma)	102 -
-- of Z'init' (id.)	200 -
-- of Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 -

241 /127/ Such an exiguity, aggravated by the dispersion over areas occasionally exceeding a kilometer in length, creates a thousand technical difficulties. No less than irrigation, it imposes the meticulous work of the "hoe," agelzim. At any time of the year, they are but bent-over peasants, "interrogating the earth," to return to a magnificent classical expression, and re-bordering the smallest ledge of the relief, the smallest angle of the periphery, in order to spread there the windfall of the water. Though the quadrangular form is common, the agriculture does not neglect the minor forms. Thus, the "peduncle" of humus, ad'ar. All the same, a "redan," tighmert, sometimes remains abandoned. But generally, except for the cases of rotation of soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/, as at Agersili or the a. Mh'nd, the space cultivated in the channel is full, without fissure. That is the very characteristic that opposes it to the spaced spots of dry cultivation, visible on the hill from afar. These fields are of irregular form, while the irrigated parcels, aligned in balconies or compressed into a damp and almost juicy bottom, are fractioned only abstractly and according to a system of four orients, of an onomastic nature.

But this exiguous parcel is often a composite itself. Depending on its area, and whether or not it is level, it may be fractioned into "lobes," tisirit or tirit, themselves divided into "squares" of irrigation, uz'unen. Or else the emptying ditch will open directly onto one of the latter. This divisibility may also result from the exigencies of cultivation by water, or from

(312)

/127 cont./

241 the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../," R. afr., 1950.

-- the square, first technical unit;
-- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
-- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
/128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;
[423] (613) -- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimonies of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

/128 cont./

241 423 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down, according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

[184]

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 789 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" character of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E. Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

114 241 789

/129 cont./

114 241 789

been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces -- these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" / constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Doutté on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, [539] get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. [233] The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ŝchura or amâchur. [796] Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[196] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. [539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," âg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign.
24 The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint imrayr,
[539] "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggrava-
[233] tion. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey,"
aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la
soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the pro-
visions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes
dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, mil-
let, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch
[233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both
very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the
effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may
venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause be-
tween the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the
[539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolute-
ly decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or
loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d
a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons),
or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to
the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In
the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what
[539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren
gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal.
"From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the cham-
bers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains
on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley it-
self, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultiva-
tion of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds,
turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a.
H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest
what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the
first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr.
sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a
certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
●24 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides Ighechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of Iânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[82] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who ....," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

241 796 [121] It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

/135 cont./

241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab lIkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

241 796 619 634 184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

[525] [782] [787]

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

[782]

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Ih'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the Iqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

[784]

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

[784]

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

746 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these

241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that

796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ᶜAchûrâ): the choᶜala of the Ud Bessebâᶜ redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Mîlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Âbdella make the fires of
• 241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
184 when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-Ibûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/139 cont./

796 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in
241 themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts
184 breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen
121 -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

/140 cont./

241 121 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 121 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these relations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

/142/

III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

121
241
114

1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

/142 cont./

241 otherwise in a country of channels and slopes, a country of scarce soil, and of domesticated rock.

A radical difference from the dry agriculture. An estimate of the annual number of hours of activity required by the one regime or the other would undoubtedly furnish decisive elements. One would have there a quantitative expression of the difference of the human rhythms. But it is impracticable in the present state of our knowledge of Morocco (2).

2. And nevertheless how useful it would be at the time when the "watering" of the immense areas dominated by the new dams approaches in the Tadla or the Doukkala. If these re-
241 searches still seem unbroached in Morocco, one
171 might refer to a geographical milieu, the Spain of the regadio /irrigated land/, for which the following precise details are given. In the dry, an average of one person occupied on the hectare: in the irrigated, nine more. Naturally, the alimentary productivity /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ is related to this density of the human population: the value in calories of the production in the irrigated is about proportional. Cf. José Terrero, "El regadio en la España peninsular /Irrigated land in peninsular Spain/," Estudios geograficos, No. 39, May, 1950, p. 254. In Algeria, the number of annual days of employment is estimated in the dry from 14 to 18 (cereals); in the irrigated, from 21 to 25 (cereals), at 175 (fruit trees), at 175 (market gardening). Cf. Compte rendu de la journée technique du 10 mars 1951 de l'Association des anciens élèves de l' I.A.A. /Account of the technical day of March 10, 1951, of the Association of the former students of the I.A.A./, p. 10.

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or sub-fraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'aqt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-ziraᶜa, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/151 cont./

312 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter
241 difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water. The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and sometimes to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in excess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient, imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also contributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature, which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnificent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treatments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

312
241

2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

241 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain,
178 an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the compost of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 178 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have disappeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly [illegible] an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 613 423 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/159 cont./

121 /footnote 1 continued/ completely any refer-
182 ence to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian
114 S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias,
[171] L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to
182 exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains
184 and by tools and by modes.

241 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasing-
412 ly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is
184 horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul'wān, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts,
407 zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more
492 than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows,
184 and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical
[462] sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

241 407 492 184

and Iferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the Iferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*Iferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilon	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tugenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 407 412 184 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 192 184 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold. In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the gflb, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

/161 cont./

241 mt'ra-s are brought about, whose explanation is absolutely not perceived by the peasant.

The requirements of the circulation of water, this whole art of planes, declivities, furrows, develop the agricultural modes for the irrigated. For the dry, on the contrary, they are limited, as everywhere in the rest of Morocco, to a scratching for burying in the ground, well adapted moreover to the nature of many of these fields. Nevertheless, one practices the loosening of the [171] compost by dressing, ttkerbil or ttneqqich, around the olive trees, but without using a special tool, as is done in Tunisia and even in the Aurés.

242 The imperfection of the system is manifested in particular by the rusticity /162/ of the rotation of crops (1).

242 171

1. Let us compare it, for example, with Roussillon, M. Sorre, Pyrénées méditerranéennes, 1913, p. 304; with Andorra, Brutails, Étude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 5 sq.; the Valencian huerta /irrigated region/ and the instructive rose of cultivations figured by Brunhes, op. laud., pp. 56, 65, 66; J. Caro Baroja, Pueblos de España /Pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (interesting bibliography on irrigation).

242 Even the name of what might correspond to it among the advanced agriculturalists of the Gharb or of the Doukkala, the bernicha, is known by only a small minority. It is to be noted, however, that a piedmont amghar cites in this regard, but in Arabic, a disabused axiom: lberninch ih'iyyed t'innich, t'innich ma idir lberninch, "rotation would eliminate poverty: but poverty is incapable of putting it to work." The lack of available

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can [171] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul^{c}wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal 241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational 441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms 237

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
(675) nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

/164 cont./

241 237 343 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual appurtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two 245 233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/170/ Crop Variety

241

Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1);

[178]

1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

[412]

that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

/174 cont./

233 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering,
241 irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a
182 hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known
171 that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open
[233] field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
311 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only
423 goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is
[241] still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

1. [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u, Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to
613 the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part
423 of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely
[103] neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/ Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 The second striking trait, and which has already been indi-
241 cated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the
[184] area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the
233 milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum,
794 lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor igʷrramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment
311 of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices,
[133] downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Ṭizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uẓiz, Talburt n-tegʷrramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and
[794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

245 [241]

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

[262] [443] [412] [586]

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

18! a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Puq Bul^{c}wân

241 311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): [103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâîd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agell. / n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. For-
[624] merly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of all the ait Abdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
[624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'lid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'lid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

[Taqennurt]

/215 cont./

613 This table calls for various comments.

423 1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family

241 of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 1/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchari (18), the a. sidi Ghānem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^{c}wān the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
(659) Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1); [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa. [173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/251 cont./

241 796 [178] One of the most curious ones, and which, something to remember, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character [182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function. [183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called Imârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 796 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[986] [263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

[221]

794 796 533 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[514]

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'- and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezagadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776
778 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 982 796 T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
	Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Amer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed, and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable [241] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural [221] periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the 212 repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli- 875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together [634] only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the [423] liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/402 cont./

171 what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

• [241] Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion [342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branés architectures" (1).

1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--653 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. VII

133
241
312

Terraces at Tasa

The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
798

(J. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
798
796

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

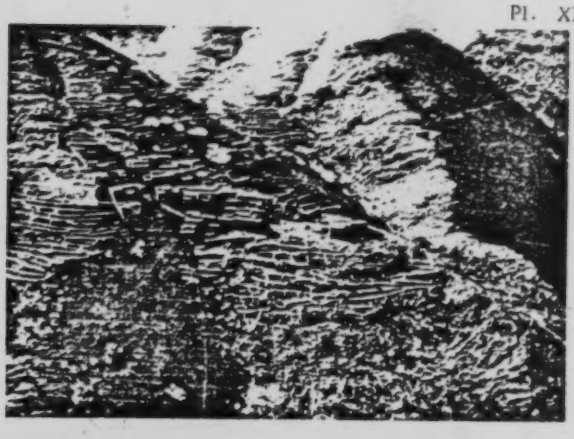
133
291
533

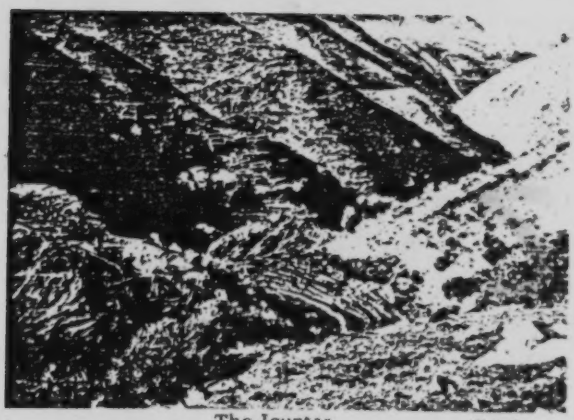
Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

Pl. XII

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[172]
[712]
[343]
[487]

/9 cont./

132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too [133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
• 241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/11 cont./

132 chains of the Atlas -- the "Deren" of the Arab geographers and
133 the Anti-Atlas -- between which the volcanic mass of the Sirwa shoots out like a gigantic bridge, form natural barriers and screens on the north versant, from which the streams and snows run down or abate several times in the course of the winter.

The average width of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ reaches 80 kilometers and its crests rise in the east to more than 4,000 meters in the region of the summits of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil M'Goun/ and Wanoukrim; the massif of the Tichka, among the Seksawa, still reaches 3,500 meters; the tabular mountains of the Ida Ou Tanan are more than 2,000 meters above the Ocean. The rising of masses of air, which takes place slowly on the gentle slope of the north versant of the great chain, causes abundant precipitation. Its total amount is double that observed in the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain. Moreover, the rainfall is more regular in the Deren than in the rest of the Sous, and even during the summer the storms from the region of the summits help to maintain in the high pastures a humidity unknown elsewhere. The abundant snows of the high summits last until July, and their melting feeds torrents whose clear waters flow in the plain until autumn. By contrast, the south versant of the Haut-Atlas, steeply inclined toward the Sous valley, is less favored; it receives only a small part of the winter rains and the storms; the snow disappears in a few days under the action of an implacable sun, and the brooks that flow in the spring dry up for the most part before summer.

132 But even if the high parts of the Deren benefit from a favor-
133 able pluviometric regime similar to the one of the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/, man manages to turn it to account only with dif-
•241 ficulty. The relief is in fact so abrupt, the cut of the valleys so deep, that arable land is nearly unknown in the mountains. It is by patient effort, rolling big stones to make minuscule terraces, that the Berbères /Berbers/ succeed in retaining on the flank of the torrents /12/ the precious humus from which their labor will make a few ears come up. Accordingly, the high plateaus of the Atlas, such as the Kik, the "Azzeg" of the left bank of the Asif

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneïn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
133 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
241 desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
[137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards.
133 Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
134 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
241 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fertility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
437 tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
484 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the [137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab- [312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and • [241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
•241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
•241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778]
[787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
*634
[619]

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: 101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 361 342 343 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
312
137
132

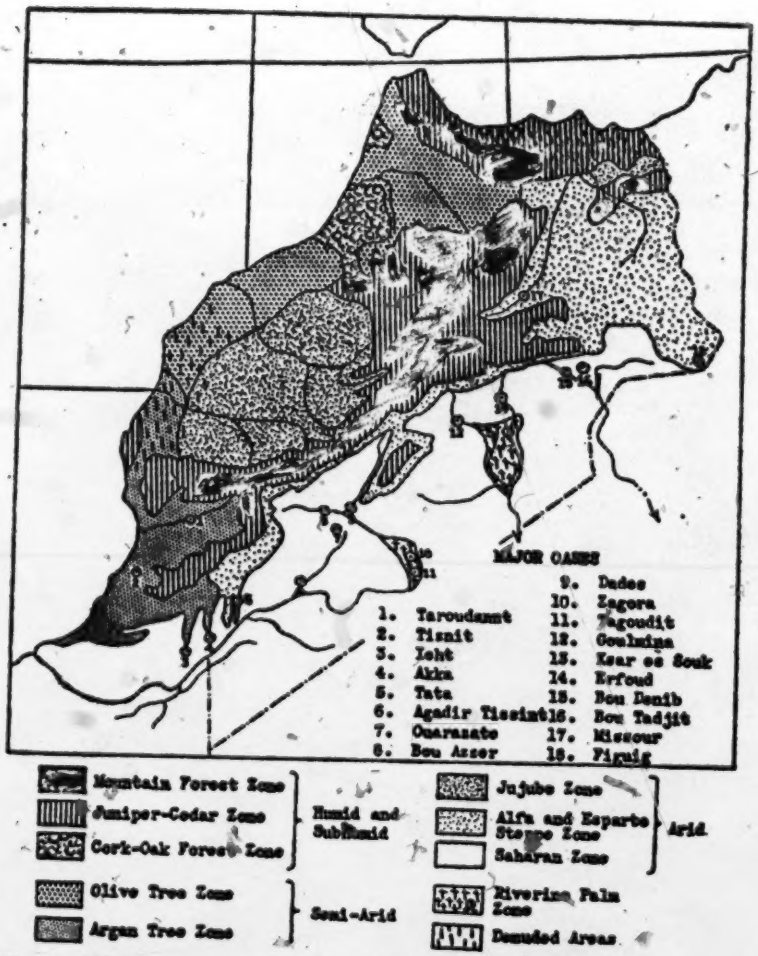


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

[1, [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

/142 cont./
241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are
[184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard
182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would
241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

● 242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even
312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine
128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

1: Berque--326 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/161 cont./

241 mt'ra-s are brought about, whose explanation is absolutely not perceived by the peasant.

The requirements of the circulation of water, this whole art of planes, declivities, furrows, develop the agricultural modes for the irrigated. For the dry, on the contrary, they are limited, as everywhere in the rest of Morocco, to a scratching for burying in the ground, well adapted moreover to the nature of many of these fields. Nevertheless, one practices the loosening of the (171) compost by dressing, ttkerbil or ttneqqich, around the olive trees, but without using a special tool, as is done in Tunisia and even in the Aurés.

242 The imperfection of the system is manifested in particular by the rusticity /162/ of the rotation of crops (1).

242 171

1. Let us compare it, for example, with Roussillon, M. Sorre, Pyrénées méditerranéennes, 1913, p. 304; with Andorra, Brutails, Étude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 5 sq.; the Valencian huerta /irrigated region/ and the instructive rose of cultivations figured by Brunhes, op. laud., pp. 56, 65, 66; J. Caro Baroja, Pueblos de España /Pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (interesting bibliography on irrigation).

242 Even the name of what might correspond to it among the advanced agriculturalists of the Gharb or of the Doukkala, the bernieha, is known by only a small minority. It is to be noted, however, that a piedmont amghar cites in this regard, but in Arabic, a disabused axiom: lberninch ih'iyyed t'innich, t'innich ma idir lberninch, "rotation would eliminate poverty: but poverty is incapable of putting it to work." The lack of available

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can [171] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul^{c}wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal 241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational 441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms 237

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin," tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a [312] concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the ségula water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are [433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc- [426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^c u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots [242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^wagh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some [251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

/170 cont./

244 The ensemble appears nonetheless as a decline of a former state, which must have known a completely different variety. That is true not only of the fruit trees, but further and especially of what we call "vegetables." The valley of the a. Lh'sen, whose conservation and vitality are striking, keeps a whole gamut of these crops: eggplants, gourds, pepper, tomatoes. The present success [177] that the potato, recently introduced, finds there, as in Idma, is perhaps a sign that this variety is an authentic trait, merely better preserved there than elsewhere. A new phase of progress could bring it back. In any case there is a relationship between the crop variety and the vigor of the group. We perceive there, very much alive, a new trait of these correlations between space, techniques, and the social structure, the delicate firmness of which the populations of the Atlas make us understand.

244 Let us carry on the observation. Market gardening is not at all amenable here to the perspective of gardens. It is a large-
242 scale cultivation whose value in rotation, in the formula turnip on barley, would be efficient if it were not borne on too-restricted areas. The distinction, for each of these crops, between an early kind and a late kind also contributes an element of interest. The eggplant and the tomato give rise to cautious sowings in general near habitations. Flat flagstones or interlacings of pink laurel protect the delicateness of the young sprouts from the beak of the hens and the danger of frosts. Some crops, like that of the gourd, present, according to cantons, instructive diversities. /171/ In the high cantons, it creeps among the stalks of maize. In Idma, it adorns the banks separating the benches. Lower, it grows in special squares. Mint, alone of all the plants of the valley, including fruit trees, knows grafting. It is crossed with the "origanum," flayo. One would not know how to carry away an
244 optimistic conclusion from only such details: they are in fact only details, or curiosities. The important fact is that this agriculture has become poorer in gamut without perfecting itself. The use of wild or subspontaneous species is no more than residual. The reduction in the number of cultivated species does not express, as in Europe, a selection of types, but a decline. Monotony reaches

/175 cont./

121
171

/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
[242] posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182
171

Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only
423 goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is
[241] still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

1, [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

1: Berque--269 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
312
423
613

Names of the ikhs-s	1. Tahst-en.	2. Tasluft.	3. Tamsayt-en.	4. Iz'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Irz'.	6. Fisberin.	7. Tahst p-Ifrewt.	8. Talburt.	9. Amaluyakis.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Tergu wallmas.
Isoqqalen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	14
a. Ilerg	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'sayn		3		29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Abdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	18
a Ulila			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi			15	8	12					14	18	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	155	93	134
Crop Rotation												
The initials o (barley), n (turnip), m (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1951-52	o	o	o + n	o + m	m	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n
1952-53	m	m	m	m + o	o	m + o	o	m	m	m	m	m

1: Berque--270 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
613

13. Ims'ugsan.	14. Firszsten.	15. Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	16. F-Ighusil.	17. Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	18. Telaggut-an.	19. Dougeed'an.	20. Awrz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	22. Telat Umghar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-Irz.	25. Awrir-an.	26. Talat n-Tfrawt.	27. Ait Yus.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,095
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546
?	o	o	?	m	m	o	o	o	m	o	o	o	m	o	
o+n	o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m	m	n	o	m	m	o	o	m	
m	o	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	o+m	o	m	m		
o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m+n	m+n	m	o+n	o+n	m	o+n	o	o		
m	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	m	o	m	o	m		

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 The second striking trait, and which has already been indi-
241 cated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the
[184] area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the
233 milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to
[242] give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

/101 cont./

317 Among the economic determinants that make the mountain
438 depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).
439
[487]

> 2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance
[263] of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt.
[443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

> 1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
167 sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains
613 why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchu^{c}.

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or sub-fraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'açt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/151 cont./

312 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter
241 difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water. The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and sometimes to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in excess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient, imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also contributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature, which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnificent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treatments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/175 cont./

121
171

/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
[242] posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182
171

Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

182
171

/footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the Ier Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlilin, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up [103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

245 [241]

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

[262] [443] [412] [586]

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter ŝbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

619
[423]
[657]

/217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals...	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of
[613] the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[492] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/170 cont./

244 The ensemble appears nonetheless as a decline of a former state, which must have known a completely different variety. That is true not only of the fruit trees, but further and especially of what we call "vegetables." The valley of the a. Lh'sen, whose conservation and vitality are striking, keeps a whole gamut of these crops: eggplants, gourds, pepper, tomatoes. The present success [177] that the potato, recently introduced, finds there, as in Idma, is perhaps a sign that this variety is an authentic trait, merely better preserved there than elsewhere. A new phase of progress could bring it back. In any case there is a relationship between the crop variety and the vigor of the group. We perceive there, very much alive, a new trait of these correlations between space, techniques, and the social structure, the delicate firmness of which the populations of the Atlas make us understand.

244 242 Let us carry on the observation. Market gardening is not at all amenable here to the perspective of gardens. It is a large-scale cultivation whose value in rotation, in the formula turnip on barley, would be efficient if it were not borne on too-restricted areas. The distinction, for each of these crops, between an early kind and a late kind also contributes an element of interest. The eggplant and the tomato give rise to cautious sowings in general near habitations. Flat flagstones or interlacings of pink laurel protect the delicateness of the young sprouts from the beak of the hens and the danger of frosts. Some crops, like that of the gourd, present, according to cantons, instructive diversities. /171/ In the high cantons, it creeps among the stalks of maize. In Idma, it adorns the banks separating the benches. Lower, it grows in special squares. Mint, alone of all the plants of the valley, including fruit trees, knows grafting. It is crossed with the 244 "origanum," flayo. One would not know how to carry away an optimistic conclusion from only such details; they are in fact only details, or curiosities. The important fact is that this agriculture has become poorer in gamut without perfecting itself. The use of wild or subspontaneous species is no more than residual. The reduction in the number of cultivated species does not express, as in Europe, a selection of types, but a decline. Monotony reaches

/171 cont./

244 a summit, economically ruinous. As proof, the unfortunate cultivations of turnips and carrots. These roots tend toward gigantism and are as demanding of water as they are miserly in calories.

Everything happens as if the historic coil of a system formerly open to the outside had brought these populations to an agronomy without variety or invention (1).

1. On this notation of decline, J. Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa, 1935, pp. 270 sq.

That, if one wishes, is only a hypothesis. We venture it only for what it is worth. But many traits suggest it, and the attempt at critical judgment that one will bring to bear on the system will feel the effects of it.

Adaptation or Not?

121 The adaptation of a society to its natural milieu is "an old geographical dogma" (2).

2. A. Cholley, Géographia, October, 1951, p. 4.

Healthy, since it is progress over the too-ready disdain as well as over the suspect enthusiasms that, depending on the case, economies different from ours arouse. But also, a simplistic and distorting dogma (3).

3. All the effort of the French geographic school has been to show that the influence of the milieu should not be interpreted in terms of dry determinism and that the initiative of the social and its reaction on the physical milieu itself, as imperious as the conditions of the latter formerly appeared (cf. Vidal de La Blache, Principes de

/20 cont./ As in all mountain
133 societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/
and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/,
annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is
"a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts"
(2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors
to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them
closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits
of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-
[182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Sek-
sawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending
• 245 upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as
far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree,
whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent.
[233] A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245
824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

(114) 1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.
(232) The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[171] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin," tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a
[312] concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are
[433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc-
[426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots
[242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some
[251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

245 /167 cont./
[178] industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, Ih'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.'

423 245 [171] While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual -- to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/168 cont./

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
[624] guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 476 829 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

[624] "The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

[613] "The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or anti-chreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 476 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the analytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort

[613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

/173 cont./

233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has
245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserv-
[241] ing a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstak-
ing clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folk-
[262] lore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach
[443] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible
[412] number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is
[586] true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): [103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laftf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneïn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small
619 tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

> 1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/111 cont./

246 675 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 675 634 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn. The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was [175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be 675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance, 221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today 178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
437 tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
484 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
134 the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin,"
[312] tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are
[433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc-
[426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots
[242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some
[251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/125 cont./

*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 712 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work [632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little [343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas- [251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects [651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; fi- [697] nally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nêfis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ᶜAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
252 sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
[178] turn by the spouses in a single place: africh in Mtugga, kech-
china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

> 1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[171] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has 245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserv- [241] ing a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstak- ing clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and [262] when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach [443] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible [412] number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is [586] true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

> 2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzlyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

> 1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[986]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt,
[574] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebac Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: aârich in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.
[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a *strong contrast* against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

/23 cont./

137 (2,600 meters), is characterized by a vegetation sweeping the ground. Each plant becomes a miniature bush, in order to protect itself better from the cold and the wind. The plants, so to speak, put their backs up against the inclement conditions. They face outward in little clumps of arched and thorny felting.

Such are the principal phytogeographical tiers of the Seksawa country. But such a description, summary as it may be, would be inexact if, recalling our initial considerations, we did not note immediately to what extent the flora of the depths of the valley in fact escapes, both because of a different ecology and because of the contagion of man, a simplistic tiering. Not only is it shaded, complex, and sometimes paradoxical -- notably in the matter of fruit trees --, but further it reflects the conditionings of the altitude only in order also to accentuate its differences from the flora of slopes or summits. Concerning the valley of the Urika, R. Maire has enumerated the ripicolous associations crowded on the banks of the torrents, and which, joining their fixative effect for the gravels of the bed with the incidence of bank cultivations, succeed in certain cases in forming an undergrowth of tamarisks or of poplars. The underbrush shade of the prairies at mowing time: another type of az'mu differing profoundly both in origin and in utilization from the montagnard az'mu.

These influences, properly botanical, and those of the shelter, at each confluence, imi, of a ravine with the principal valley, develop coppices, each having its physiognomy: virgin forest of giant laurels at Imi w-Ussttif; virgilian vale of Imi y-Ikis, with its fig trees, its pomegranate trees, its blackberry brambles, and /24/ its gurgling waters. There one finds a small violet flower
[272] with a sweet smell, greatly in demand for tea, afert'WkkWel (1).

1. Salvia taraxacifolia. Other plants: Marrubium vulgare, Globularia Alypum, Rumex papilio, Satureja Hochreutineri, Catananche coerulea, Arrhenatherum elatius.

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also presides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in turn by the spouses in a single place: aärich in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains, does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the dispersion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode, is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-
[574] tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt. The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

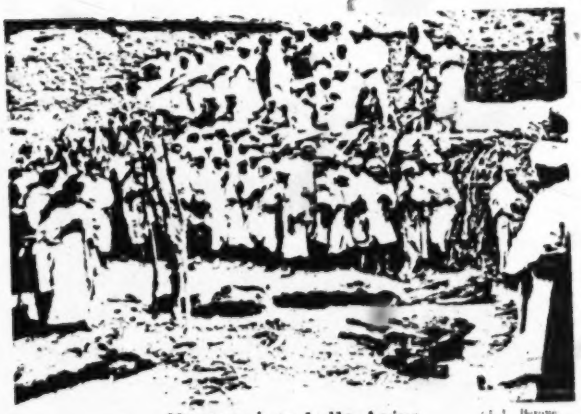
133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
• 291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796



(J. L. Berque)

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

133
291
533

Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[306] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any
[178] doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/From page 317 in the original source./

343
712
•[291]
[411]

Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

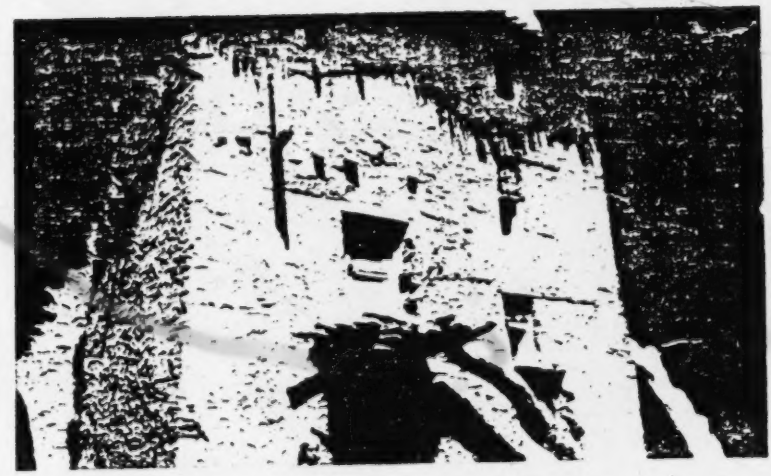


Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

/From page 319 in the original source./

343
712

Fig. 12. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Ait Dris).

-[291]

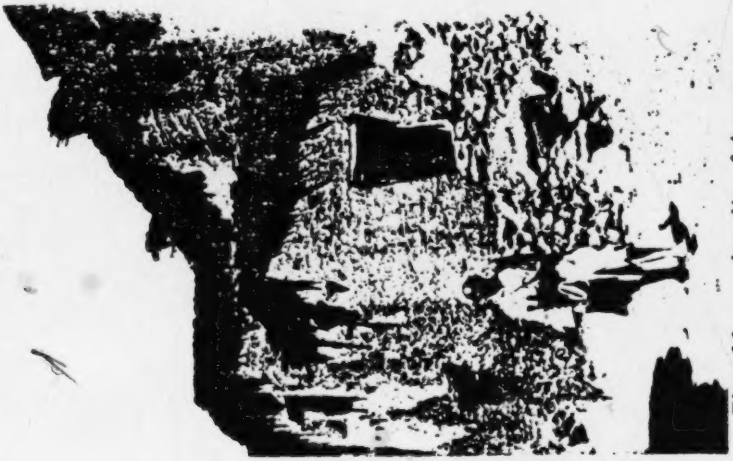


Fig. 11. -- Agadir of Amassa (Ait Dris).

/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shlub MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p.° 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 31 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulᶜwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, aggʷmi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba[C], Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseba[c] plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./
241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlîln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and, doubt-
lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 613 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 423 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very [103] clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/

Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum,
794 lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment
311 of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices,
[133] downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and
[194] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares,
311 each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare.
But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up
[103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them.
Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the
details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two
[243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower
band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper
[592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10
parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords'
country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintel-
ligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All
the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic
by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a
constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite
particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed
an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of
"tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin,
which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used
in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names
recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been
a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To
these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in
the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to
/204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table
appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/
topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite
/pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is
spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to
the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences
of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs,
the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher
cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond
311 trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order):
[103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâïd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called imçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
[624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

/411 cont./

311 182 423 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object: it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neighbors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 182 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

/13 cont./
133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputation of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout /tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while barley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the oases.

-311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs settled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its numerous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
•311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
•311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
173 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
101 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
634 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
184 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
133 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises
[361] in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart.
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
[241] risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bulᶜwân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Ababan, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101]
[312]
[142]
[181]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

101
102
483
221
312
131
133

/100/

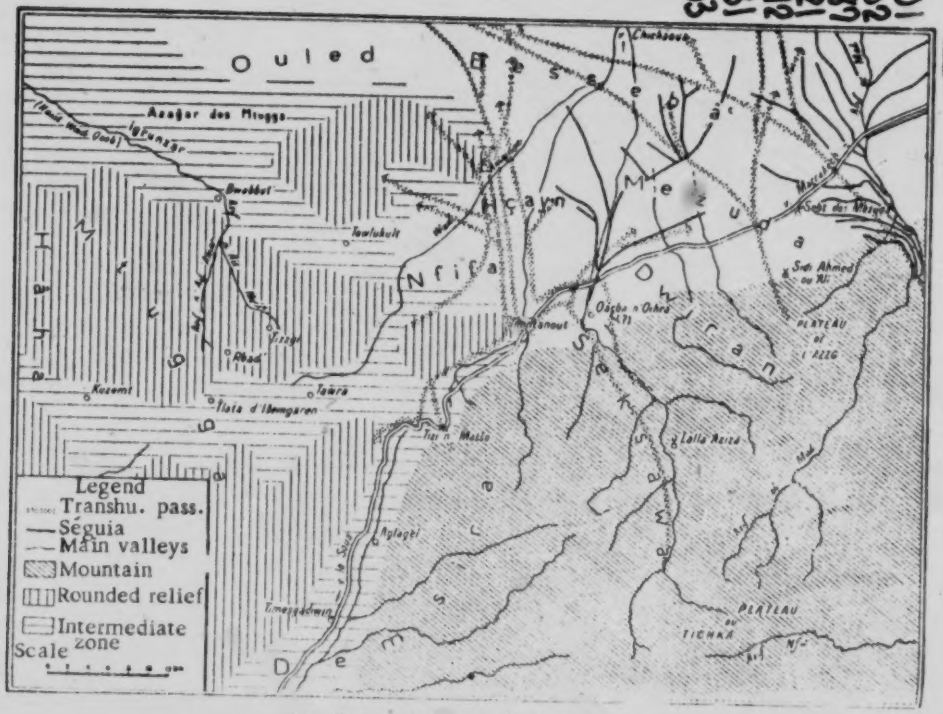


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/104 cont./

174 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter
648 of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological
221 hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Besseba^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the sys-
[312] tem of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Besseba^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Abdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions
221 is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-
121 mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./
174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).
221
121

1. It is the sâh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldûn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qâhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sâh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Besseba^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Besseba^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/107 cont./

312 séguias contrived at mid-flank of the left bank will then have their full use. And not only the Talh'archt, whose intake, however, dominates Tuzzi'umt. It is indeed still higher, at Imi n-tghli, by way of the Targa n-berdun, that the people downstream are obliged to make the water pass. At Imi n-tghli, in fact, the utilizers observe -- a phenomenon doubtlessly related to the cessation of the primary soils -- a sudden loss, which no longer permits entrusting the waters to their natural bed. Thus it is only thanks to a series of works of art that, in the case of drought, far away in the Ud Bessebâ^c plain, the fellah of the Sa^cîdat or of the Ud Sawla can benefit from the rains falling on the distant Idma or in the more distant Taddert. And it happens only by making them cross, by the precious gift, the territory of several tribes. Veritable geographic concert! An organization of the space, of a space studded with rival centers, masters the difficulties caused by the long-term management of the waters. But that insofar as a certain atmosphere exists. Now, this is not always the case, even among contributors. The Idma of Taselli
312 depend for their séguia on the a. H'adduyws, who control its in-
578 take. Hence continuous conflicts. Even between Idma, the enormous séguia of the Amerdul, which the stream takes twelve hours to travel, has no longer been the object of any attack on the part of the people of Tasa since an agreement at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But its distribution still causes numerous conflicts between the villages of Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, and Wanchkrir. On the whole, however, the system has held.

624 The administration necessitates complicated and sometimes
312 extremely delicate surveillance. It is a functionary who performs it, the amazzal, plur. imazzalen, or "runner" (cf. ar. /Arabic/ jerrây). The fulfillment of such a role requires initiative and integrity, but it especially requires that a collective order, made of unwritten laws, work. The personage who assumes it is in general subject to the unanimous designation of his fellow citizens and can stay, even though upheld by the temporal authority, only with their confidence. A very old order, with

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171]

1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Besseba^c for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
(312) mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent confliot.

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wân and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[333] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[92] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wân itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wân itself. They bear an
[192] Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains
613 why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchû^{c}.

241
423

/126 cont./

Several experimental measurements give as an average:

Inheritance of the ikhs of the a. Watchaw (a. Musa) . . .	30 m^2
-- si Abdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 -
Sheik Wakrim u Lh'ajj H'fid' (ibid.)	70 -
Chkku Family (Imt'ddan)	26 -
Ground of Agersili (Idma)	102 -
-- of Z'init' (id.)	200 -
-- of Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 -

241

/127/ Such an exiguity, aggravated by the dispersion over areas occasionally exceeding a kilometer in length, creates a thousand technical difficulties. No less than irrigation, it imposes the meticulous work of the "hoe," agelzim. At any time of the year, they are but bent-over peasants, "interrogating the earth," to return to a magnificent classical expression, and re-bordering the smallest ledge of the relief, the smallest angle of the periphery, in order to spread there the windfall of the water. Though the quadrangular form is common, the agriculture does not neglect the minor forms. Thus, the "peduncle" of humus, ad'ar. All the same, a "redan," tighmert, sometimes remains abandoned. But generally, except for the cases of rotation of soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/, as at Agersili or the a. Mh'nd, the space cultivated in the channel is full, without fissure. That is the very characteristic that opposes it to the spaced spots of dry cultivation, visible on the hill from afar. These fields are of irregular form, while the irrigated parcels, aligned in balconies or compressed into a damp and almost juicy bottom, are fractioned only abstractly and according to a system of four orients, of an onomastic nature.

But this exiguous parcel is often a composite itself. Depending on its area, and whether or not it is level, it may be fractioned into "lobes," tisirit or tirit, themselves divided into "squares" of irrigation, uz'unen. Or else the emptying ditch will open directly onto one of the latter. This divisibility may also result from the exigencies of cultivation by water, or from

312

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
241 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[82] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless [312] lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

133
312
191
[114]

2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is
312 difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

/145 cont./

312 counts the most is the irrigation based on accidental water. Its role becomes vital near the end of summer, even in the time of winter, if it is the least dry, as was the case in 1952. But this flow carried by the ravines would be lost in muddy and devastating tidal waves without the action of man. Thus the job is going to consist of spreading the flood both in space, whence a gain in area, and in time, whence a decrease of the debit and better possibilities for absorption.

This work is permanent or seasonal, or even only episodic. The torrents are never perennial, except in their highest sections: thus from the Seksawa up to Z'init'. If a storm, rrâda, arrives unexpectedly. It fills the innumerable mountain ravines with water. This is the freshet. It has been long awaited. A diversion has been made at a favorable point of the bed. All the grooves, all the planes of the earth, natural or artificial, cooperate in the same task. A consummate science of the slopes and levels is shown. It cuts the ground into sheltered beds /Fr. ados/, into cells, in order to guide the water, to utilize its least drops. To this peculiarly montagnard specialty, the piedmont opposes its own, that of the "epandages" /"spreadings"/ of the freshet, lfid', and more rarely engi, plur. angyun, and that of the organization of the impluvium, lmejbed, iriq. The major form is nevertheless that of the "channel," targa, plur. tir^{w}ggin, rising from a "retenue" /reservoir, river water between sluices/, uggug, laid out in the bed of a river, or, more rarely, from a "basin," chcharij or afraw, where a source trickles. Moreover, the role of the basin is complex: accumulator, it is also divider, just as the channel is divided into submultiples, down to the tiny depression made between two beds, and thus combines adduction and distribution.

The mountains are familiar with a certain number of other types. There is not, truthfully speaking, any flow ditch that crosses a slope in order to drain the waters of a downpour. The abruptness of the precipitation in the mountains, the declivity of the slopes would then cause havoc that would make the conduit unutilizable.

/145 cont./

312 Where there is no trace of a permanent bed, where the toponymy no longer mentions, were it as hyperbole, either asif or lwad, the least sloped "ravine," ighzer, "pond," tamd'a, or "hollow," talat, of any kind serves for the arrangement from a water hole to the confluence of the lines of slope. Thus in Ibuban. Finally, the catchment of what we would call resurgences is sometimes effected in the bed itself. One digs a well, which subterranean galleries fill up, or one builds a wall, which by its foundations reaches the subterranean pool of water: this is what the a. Abdella call ah'riq, plur. ih'riqen.

/146/ The native view does not see any difference between these methods, except one of degree. For it, it is not a matter of distinguishing, as we do, between these resources according to their origin: permanent course, or subterranean, accidental flow, source, accumulation, resurgence. What counts is the question of the soils and of the planes that concentrate in a more or less abundant or precarious fashion the waters coming from one knows not where, but always, more or less directly, from the sky. This homogeneity of origin is duplicated in practice by a homogeneity of utilization. For the fellah there is only a difference in intensity, or rather in rhythm, between permanent and accidental irrigation. The question of the soils and of the planes, of prime importance upstream from the basin, becomes so again downstream. The basin of reception and the basin of spreading are symmetrical. They are distinguished from each other only in that the second one, where the work of man predominates, is infinitely more concentrated. This feature is not negligible in an economy where the initiative of the group adheres narrowly to the natural cadre. The rural technique, correlative of the social structure, is adapted down to the details to the space where the group lives. And at the same time it fashions it.

One measures from there at what point the collection of water and the creation of the soils are but one. The treatment of the mechanical problem of the slope automatically entails trying to spread the flow over the largest planes possible: natural ones, if it can be done; but also artificial ones. If the slope is

/146 cont./

312 too steep, almost vertical, it is notched with stairs and benches. Networks of arable surface will then stretch in curves of levels, superimposed on one another by little walls of dry stone or talus: imaran, plur. of imiri, in the first case, igenzwan or igenzaten, plur. of agenza, in the second. That is a common form. The fullest application of it that can be cited here is that of Agersili. It is not rare that more than a hundred steps, as, for example, at Asikis, build a staircase for giants up to mid-slope. At the same time this system resolves what our engineers call the problem of colature. But it is resolved poorly. Although the excess moisture descends from tier to tier or accumulates in the drains that the stone walls constitute, and, in addition, undergoes an intense evaporation, the washing of the land is inevitable. Thus the yield is relatively small, despite the water and the fertilizer.

So, therefore, a struggle against the swiftness of the flood, itself resulting from the slope; therefore, the arrangement of the slope into graduated level-stretches as broadly as possible. Struggle both against the meteoric fatalities and against the penury of arable soil: the two things are conjugated. /147/ And since, in the most frequent case, it is a matter of, not permanent, but sudden and violent resources, all of this work requires, in addition to a permanent water-strategy, tactics whose sagacity is astonishing.

312 114 Such is the peculiar nature of the montagnard hydraulics. It depends almost entirely on this technique of "unforeseen" waters to which J. Despois has rightly drawn attention. To what extent then is it necessary to distinguish an irrigation of diversion and an irrigation of accumulation, like J. Dresch (1)?

1. J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941, pp. 12 sq., a work whose remarkable cartography and all the more the commentaries have constituted for our own research a geographical cadre

312
[114]

/147 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ and a useful means of cross-checking. In the same order of ideas, let us cite, by the same author, in collaboration with J. de Lepinay, the guide on Le massif du Toubkal, 1938, pp. 55 sq.

Certainly, accumulation of the waters represents an idea that is never absent. Even on an intermittent course the slight obstacle constituted by the uggug starts to create a small reservoir. Moreover this reservoir takes on form and function: humble "water hole," afraw, or veritable "basin," chcharij. But the difference lies less in the reception of the arriving water than in its distribution. Whether the water comes in a state of continuous flow, or intermittent, or in the form of resurgence, or of concentration of the streaming down a slope, the problem is finally and always only a problem of collection. At the exit, however, a radical difference sets the continuous debit -- obviously conceivable when the reception is so itself -- in opposition to the discontinuous debit, which periodically empties the reservoir. In the first case, the role of the latter is only to raise the plane of water, while in the second this role is duplicated by another: that of concentrating the temporary resources with a view to a massive, though rapid utilization. A question of level in the first case. In the second, a question of debit. Accumulator in one case, distributor in the other, the basin is both one and the other. The distinction between the two operations would thus be subtle, if all the emphasis did not bear on the second in the local view. Extremely expert at gathering on the surface of the ground the complement of water that the rain withholds, the native method reveals infinitely more competence and obstinacy in assuring the distribution of it. It displays on this occasion marvels of industry and tricks. One feels that it contrives to split hairs, to subtilize if necessary, in order to transform the irregular windfall of water into debits for infinitesmal allotments. It tries to make social equity with the natural hazards.

312 /148/ A hundred séguias represent, for the Seksawa, a realization of considerable volume, although they might be only very rarely walled up. The Talh'archt of the a. Abdella crosses several aqueducts, one of which is eight meters high. It is so wide that each year, at the time of cleansing, the old amghar Ah'med u Lah'sen made a bundle of thorns float in it, from the intake to the ending, without its catching anywhere. The thing has remained proverbial. Sometimes, along a schistose wall, the conduit is conveyed overhanging, passes through tunnels under rock. Even the saints are used there. But neither the intake, a simple weir of dry stone, nor the line, which winds capriciously, for the current is left to do as it pleases, neither the crossing of the hollows, often reduced to a simple "gutter" of wood, lqend'ert, nor the basin of distribution, chcharij, which is frequently reduced to an uncemented hole, afraw -- none of all that is durable. An infiltration aided by the axial impact of the water on concave walls, the absorption by plants insufficiently cut down, finally numerous losses in a system in which the sluices are made and unmade by pickax, with a little mud: so many incessant deficiencies, the adding up of which soon makes the water dry up. Also
312 the abandoned séguias are numerous, notably in Moyen /Middle/
172 Seksawa, in the cursed sector which the a. Gasa formerly inhabited. One can follow at long intervals, as though fossilized on the slope, their network forever fruitless. The decadence of the fields, the petrification, if one may venture to say it, of all the countryside sanction neglect. There is nothing more melancholy. The native avoids reviving places that, according to him, are demoniac. He does not persist in repair. He gives up the place.

312 Thus the fragility of this whole agricultural infrastructure is great. It holds together only at the price of constant care. It is necessary to repair every instant what has not been built to endure and what it is nevertheless necessary to make endure. Veritable sieve of the Danaïdes, where the work of generations has been lost! Nothing is more proper to confer on this humanity at the same time as the idea of effort, that of its precariousness. An act of constant will is necessary to any survival. But this will is often wasted wrongfully, in the futility of perpetual repair.

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

"cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
823 not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construc-
312 tion of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

/149 cont./

312 [648] in the Todgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as perhaps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the distribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know [171] that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical utilization and above all of collective organization what they gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis, being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize successes and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily reach.

/150/ Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert, each being connected to it by its particular "intake," açder or ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary intakes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distribution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open, directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur. ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irrigable by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according [804] to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a certain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211]

/From p. 150 of the original source./

• 312
102
423
613

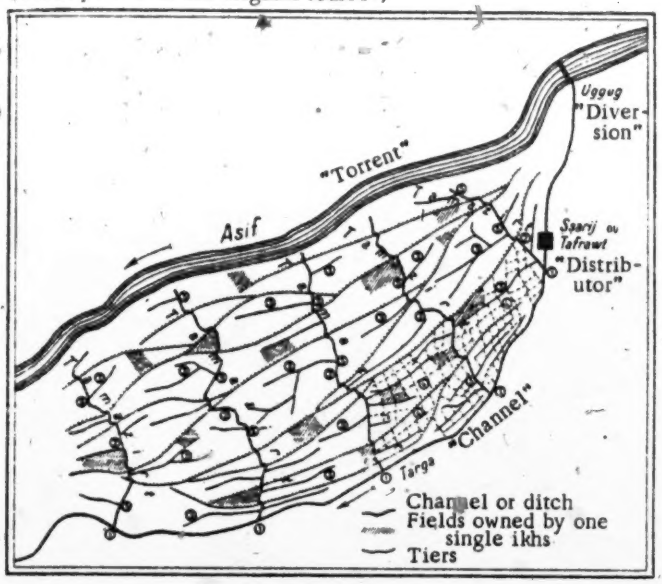


Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

The "channel," targa, leaves from the ççarij, or chcharij, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," asaru, 2, plur. isura, which leave from "principal intakes," açder, plur. içdar or içdran, or further ighin, plur. ighaniwin, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, taghamut, 5, plur. tighuma, opening on the "discharging ditches," isura, 3. Irrigation planches, tisirit, tisaratin, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," uzun, plur. uzunen, 4.

1: Berque--211 Z 5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/151 cont./

312 804 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala, plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or sub-fraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'act, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 241 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Ih'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/151 cont./

312 241 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water. The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and sometimes to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in excess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient, imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also contributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature, which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnificent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treatments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

312
241

2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

241 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain,
178 an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the compost of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have dis-
178 appeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. The horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard
613 closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the
423 losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/154 cont./

312 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in
613 space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time
423 and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ᶜaçr to ᶜaçr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Abdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekch-
[634] chut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merry-making that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/154 cont./

312
613
423

In fact: except for the a. Naçr, who have their lands grouped in the immediate surroundings of the village of Tagenza, the 4 other ikhs-s are all represented in each of the quarters, but it seems without any definite part where the "parcels" under their jurisdictions are grouped. The entanglement seems to be greater and greater from upstream to downstream. In all the "quarters," except for what concerns the a. Naçr, only two do not group the integrality of the ikhs-s: Tamayust and Talfint u-wdi. All the others contain a whole sampling of ikhs-s.

3rd. At Fensu there are 10 séguias. Some come from the high valley of the asif Uziwal, others from the direction of Tasa. This abundance of water makes the portion a day and a night. Eleven turns, including that of the mosque. These turns fall to the ikhs-s, which divide /155/ the water among the foyers in proportion to the surfaces. At the top echelon, which is that of the distribution of turns among ikhs-s, the topography does not count for anything, each ikhs irrigating in turn its lands scattered over several quarters.

4th. At Tasa, three séguias and two orders of distribution. The one bears on the Imengad' and Anngar séguias, the other on the Ti-n-wammam. Here are each of these two orders:

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'ïb, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus a turn called ass i-ymengad', privilege, moreover transferred, of the one that regulates the source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sïid, a. Lh'sen, a. Chïib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (individual privilege).

The irrigation rotates by ikhs-s, but within them it is adjusted according to surfaces and gives way when necessary to a drawing by lot, according to the general procedure.

A second method is called taghamut s-tghamut, "sluice by sluice." Without concern for appurtenance to the ikhs, it irrigates by large pieces that are continuous and contiguous to such and such a sluice. The order observed among them is from upstream to downstream. It is a form of decadence, of rupture. It may be due to either a particular abundance of water, rendering useless

/155 cont./

312 the rotation by ikhs-s (explanation given at Lalla Aziza, where
423 this method has functioned for several years), or to an excess of
[613] litigations and privative claims, or even to the gigantism of the system.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ The second motive operated in 1949 in the village
[627] of Ad'erd'ur, which, in order to cut short a threatening dispute, distributed the water of the Tzemzgart. For the whole ensemble of the network of the Amerdul, a claim of this sort: it has not yet won. The order of the ancestors still holds good here.

The third motive results from the case of the a. Lh'sen.

These conquerors of one of the affluents of the middle valley have preserved a vitality which, by a nice correspondence, is also connected to the relative conservation of their soil, to the consistency of the timbering on the sides, and to the abundance of water. They have 14 séguias, beyond the one that Wanz'id', the highest of their villages, draws from a source peculiar to it. Despite the lengthwise stretch of this whole system, the basis for the
[613] distribution is not topographical. Being a matter of an important grouping, the ikhs-s here are grouped into two subgroups, ait Mençur and ait Ddaud, each of the two having each year, alternating with the other one, the privilege of starting. Within the two subgroups, it is the "sluice by sluice" system that functions. The lands of each of the two are entangled the whole length of the valley, from Buteghradin up to Tabratjut, to the confines of the a. Abdella. But this gentilitial system works only on the first four days of the week (starting from Sunday, a day reputed to be favorable in /156/ this taqbilt). The rest of the week, definite portions of the valley receive water: three of them are distinguished. Finally, the distant Tabratjut possesses, with other villages upstream, a special séguia, departing from the place called Ukhriben.

In sum, here there is a combination of the gentilitial system and of the system based on the continuity of several great soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture: expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/. The irrigation calendar, which one has tried to represent below, will give an idea of the complexity and at the same time the harmony of the system.

312
423

/156 cont./

Beneficiary of the turn for irrigation	Day of the week						
	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1) ait Ddaud.	For the morning	Up to the âçr					
2) ait Mençur.		From the âçr	All day				
N.B. There is an annual rotation between these two subgroups.							
3) Section of the valley between Bukhemsin and Zzit u Bachtut.				From the âçr	All day	Up to the morning	
4) Section of the valley between Amelwan and Urti n-Sâïd below.						All day	
5) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.							All day
6) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.					x	x	x
Tabratjut.	x	x					
Awinas, Agadir.			x	x			

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah Sseksiwi" doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/157 cont./

312 423 178 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to [425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear 312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For 423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that 171

/158 cont./

312 423 171

is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmcerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 182

On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

312 114

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

/158 cont./

312
114

/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121
182

In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657]

121
182
114

1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin," tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a [312] concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are [433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc- [426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots [242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some [251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

/173 cont./

233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

/176 cont./

000 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Once there was a child who went out each day. And the first object that he looked at, he became this object; the sprouts of the fields, in April and May, became a part of him, the sprouts of winter grain and those of the bright yellow maize ..." (1).

1. Walt Whitman.

But, beyond the field, there is the mountain. The grandeur of the cadre discourages all mediocrity. The narrowness of the canton forces man to adventure. But let us not go on imagining these contrasted feelings. Later, perhaps, people from here will write a literature of escape, the very one that the barbarian scholar and the emigrant worker now live in their fashion...

/177/ IV. Some Analyses of Grounds

A) Montagnard classicism: the ait Mh'nd

312 [634] /All of Chapter IV is in small type in the original source./ The a. Mh'nd, with Iguntar, Wanz'id', and Iwulla, are one of the cantons backed up to the abrupt barrier which, to the S., separates the Seksawa world from the Sous. From the escarpment gush perennial waters, though subject to estival diminution. Those of the a. Mh'nd, the most abundant, form a torrent that never dries up, which descends, under the walnut trees, toward Ad'erd'ur, the zaouia of Ammern, and ends up by rejoining the main valley at Tabratjut. Its opening is sometimes difficult, thus below the former village of the a. Irz'z'i, whose name, close to the root rz', "to be broken," has given rise to an etymological pun inspired by the ruiniform aspect of the rock at this place; the a. Irz'z'i, in a struggle with the Idma, are said to have had their village shattered by a miraculous collapse. Farther upstream, almost immediately below the sources, a basin spreads out: this is

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

133 (361) [613]

General Characteristics of the Population

634 613 312 [173] It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'ogg^{w}a expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

(613) Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The 634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes 613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure 173 669

/185/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters		
Iger zegg^{w}aghen, "the red field."	Tigh^{w}ziwin i-ymzilen, "the fields of the blacksmiths."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Lamin, "the fields of the a. L."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ayt Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L."
Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ibh'irn n-ayt Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L." (cf. above).	Ibh'irn n-ayt Buirddamen, "the fields of the a. B."
Amettul m-Merzug, "the land of M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Bakhkha, "the fields of the a. B."	Ibh'irn n-ait Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	
Talat n-tsettuft, "the hollow of T."	Ibh'irn n-T't'aleb ʿAli, "the fields of the T'."	Ibh'irn n-ayt H'fid u yidar, "the fields of the a. H."	Ibh'irn n Abdella, "the fields of A."

Irrigated Crops

103 What is striking first of all is the extreme toponymic density.
423 If our appellation of ground can be turned to account for the ensemble, keeping in mind the fact that it is a continuous whole, a
[312] first differentiation by quarters appears at once. I mean here by "quarter" an agrarian unit having its irrigation autonomy. The ground of the a. Mh'nd includes some 25 quarters thus comprised. Here are the names of them: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul, Tawddwa, Annammeran, Ddu-wanz't't'a, Tighe dwinan, Ag^{w}dalan, Tafernut, Afud'an, Talat n-Tnghort, Tagenza, Ddu-wsderm, Wakuntuf, Ddutgomma, Ughad, Ddu w-wz'ru, Ighermanan, Dar-talmechmacht, Tifratin, Iger zegg^{w}aghen, n-dar-uzerg, 'Amtul m-Merzug, Talat n-tsttuft.

But many other names, corresponding to smaller spaces, could be cited, within the still rather exiguous cadre (about 1/2 ha. each) that the quarter constitutes. A veritable toponymic pullulation comes out between the meshes. In relation to the

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu
423 waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner
[823] of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawa'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

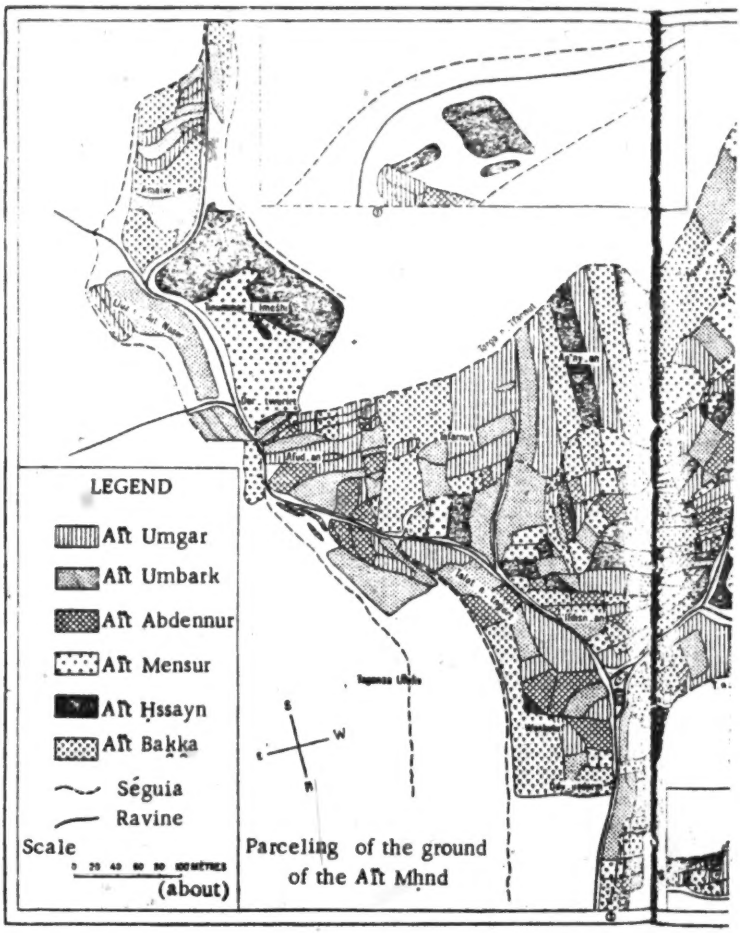
• 312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'-umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613

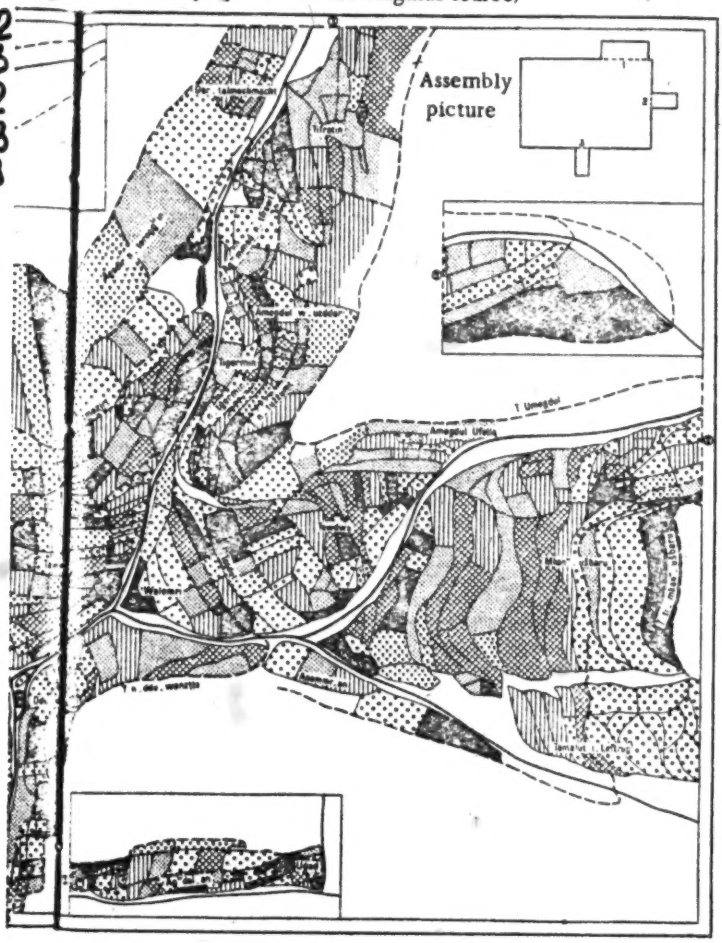


1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613



/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only
423 goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is
[241] still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

1, [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The
423 informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations
[312] on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than [175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did [172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

1: Berque--269 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
312
423
613

Names of the ikhs-s	1. Talat-an.	2. Tanluft.	3. Tamsayt-an.	4. Is'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Irz'.	6. Ftaberin.	7. Talat n-tfrart.	8. Talburt.	9. Amaluytich.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Targa wammas.
Isoqqulen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	81	46	16
a. Ilerg	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'sayn		3	-	29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Âbdallah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	18
a Ullis.....			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi			15	8	12					14	16	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	155	93	134
Crop Rotation												
The initials o (barley), n (turnip), m (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49.....	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50.....	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51.....	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1951-52.....	o	o	o + n	o + m	m	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n
1952-53.....	m	m	m	m + o	o	m + o	o	m	m	m	m	m

1: Berque--270 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
613

13. Ins'ughas.	14. Firanales.	15. Uggug i-yml y-ir'ma.	16. F-Igtuml.	17. Amalu y-iml n-kanut.	18. Talaggut-an.	19. Ddugord'an.	20. Awrz i-yml y-ir'ma.	21. Amalu y-iml y-ir'ma.	22. Talat Ungbar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-Irz.	25. Awrif-an.	26. Talat n-Tirawt.	27. Alt Yas.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,095
56	57	18	46	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546
?	o	o	?	m	m	o	o	o	m	o	o	o	m	o	
o+n	o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m	m	n	o	m	m	o	c	m	
m	o	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	o+m	o	m	m		
o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m+n	m+n	m	o+n	o+n	m	o+n	o	o		
m	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	m	o	m	o	m		

/198 cont./

423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
[452] and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
592 more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Âli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Âli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Âli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Âli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 423 178 613 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Reason invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimonies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 178 [613] At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has [794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

• 312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
628 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châfb.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaâli.
11. Imiri y-igwrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-wgwadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 igommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâïd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
[624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to
178 groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of
[624] the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

133
175
177
184
619
[634]

613
312
[184]

This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]

/220 cont./

613 312 [443] [391] 1) At Timezgadiwin, an important market between the Tizi Umachcho and Argana, the law is so present that it could serve corollarially in a judiciary investigation in the proceedings setting against the present jemâa the claim of a formerly evicted ikhs, the a. Umahal. This ikhs's turn for water and its share in all the quarters of the ground: Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeranan, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, had been camouflaged by the four other ikhs-s making up the a. Timezgadiwin, but three quarters of a century of occupation did not succeed in abolishing them. Thus there were always 5 turns for water for 4 ikhs-s, no plausible explanation being alleged for such an anomaly. That in a matter which in such a milieu is always reasoned out very exactly. An error in the administration of the water: the investigation thrust itself in there and unmasked the usurpation.

613 312 423 2) At Tinnmrutin, high-mountain village of the a. Châib, endowed with a relatively large ground, there exist 7 ikhs-s. The irrigated land is divided into 12 quarters perpendicular to the axis of the torrent: Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. As a general rule, each quarter is divided among all the ikhs-s. Nevertheless inequalities of appurtenance, going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 423 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
● 312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-Ibûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor [312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.
621 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchaSC of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423 312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

121 423 [103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

423 /230 cont./
613 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
184 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ[c]. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable [241] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural [221] periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the 212 repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli- 875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison [634] of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the [423] liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/411 cont./

311 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object:
182 it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neigh-
423 bors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that
182 the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

/412 cont./

312 eye, who can follow the cutting up of the principal séguia by the
423 successive trenches. In the dry, the notion of quarter is enlarged
182 to that of ground. In fact, the use of water no longer intervenes to impose so extended a differentiation of the landscape and of work. Correlatively the toponymy, which, in the irrigated, would be confined, would refine divisions and subdivisions, describes in the dry no more than very broad meshes. This changing of rhythm, linked to the agricultural technique, constitutes an important sign. The comparison of structures collected from the upper cantons with the immense deployment of the Mez'ud'a or the Mtugga furnishes another one.

423 But let us leave the fertile avenue that is open here to re-
182 search, in order to evoke -- if only for a moment, and only for the fine antagonism of the types -- the Latin fundus, with its individuality, its name, its mass: veritable synthesis of notions of patrimony, parcel, quarter, and ground. The economy of the high valleys permits one to observe the play separately. It thus permits analysis of it. The individual patrimony is dissolved into a sampling of parcels encased in the different quarters constituting the ground. The parcel is not a unit. It is a fraction. Several causes are undoubtedly responsible for its evanescence: want of economic consistency, lack of mass, excessive and exclusive liaison with human data. The parcel, if one wishes, is the atom of this rural world, but so /413/ paltry and so little charged with material that it is reduced almost to a purely social definition.

It is not the same for the quarter. It is a veritable collective object, for it consists of the assemblage of representative shares of the gentilitial elements of the group. To neglect such a character would be to abstract and mutilate a communitarian genius that alone explains and supports the institution. But the quarter is not only an object. It is above all the meeting place of the object aspect and the factors aspect. In it are conjugated the social forces and the natural conditions. It is at the junction of the group and the soils. In it a bundle of family names is compounded in order to be enclosed in a toponym based on a fragment of landscape and a concourse of agrologic elements. Thus, the Twuttyan

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

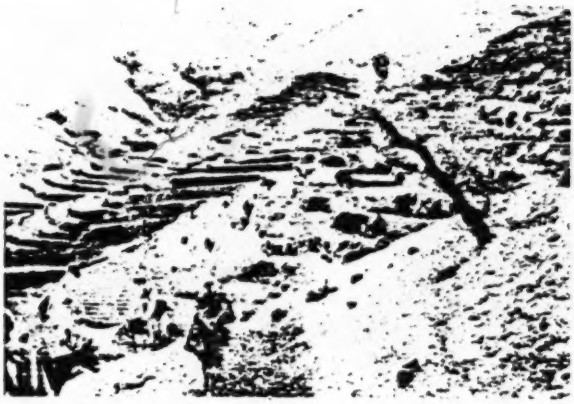
142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--653 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. VII

133
241
312



Terraces at Tasa

The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the [137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab- [312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and [241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Ait ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

• [312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hesperis, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 •[312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

*634 616 578 174 619

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

175 *634 619

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

343 /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in
712 use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been
[178] in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is
[312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where
[351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series
[417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule
712 of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless
124 practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among
[671]
[178]

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a [465] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, [685] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf. [184]

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

Fig. 16. -- Agadir of Talmakant.

343
712
•312

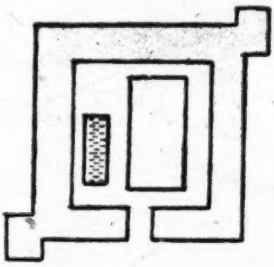


Fig. 17. -- Agadir of Assaka.

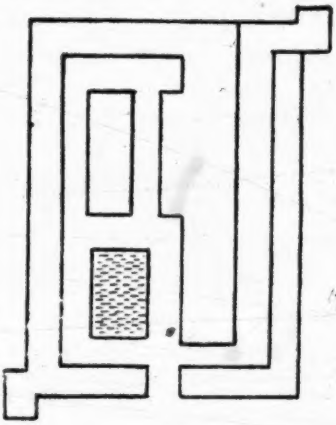
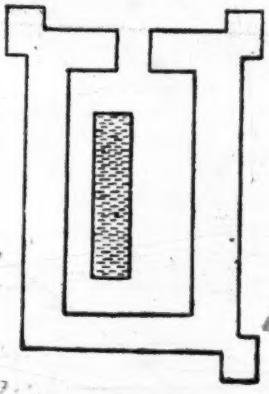


Fig. 18. -- Agadir of Azar.



4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
312
137
132

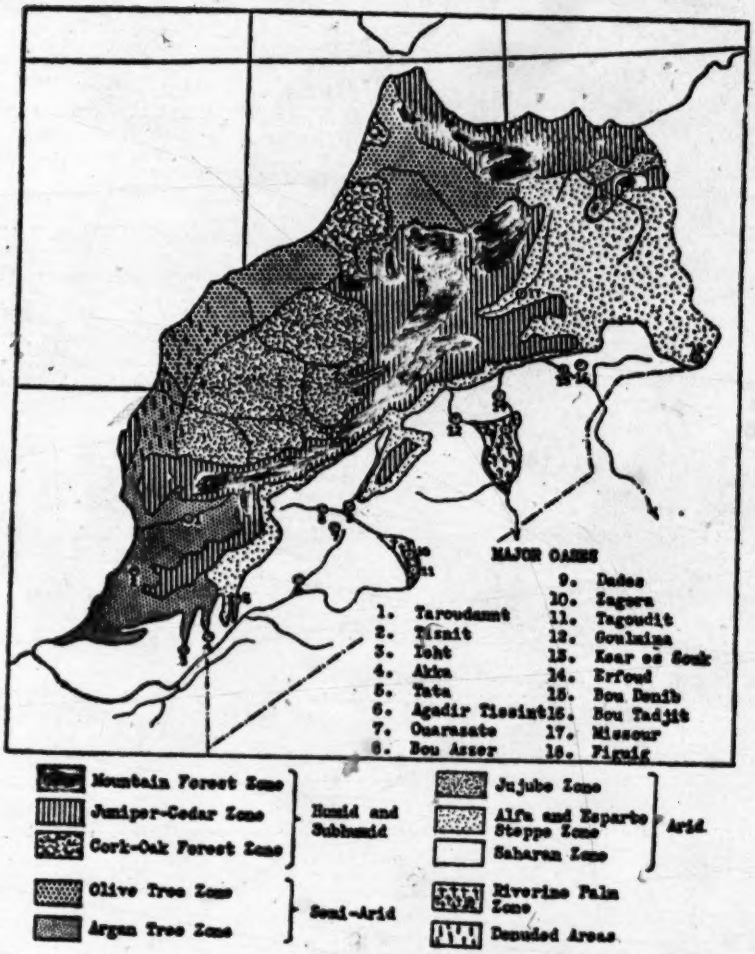


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern[1] varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

000
241
101
132

[1] [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), [177]
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

•32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
•325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538]
[581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
•326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
•333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two léagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wān and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[333] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[192] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wān itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable
[192] examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wān itself. They bear an Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, [114] and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/420 cont./

000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ᶜaçabiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1);

> 1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

619 634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./

175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
•[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
[466] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
[333] A'it Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

[671] [178]

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lâzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the /30/ "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/30 cont./

341
184

/footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

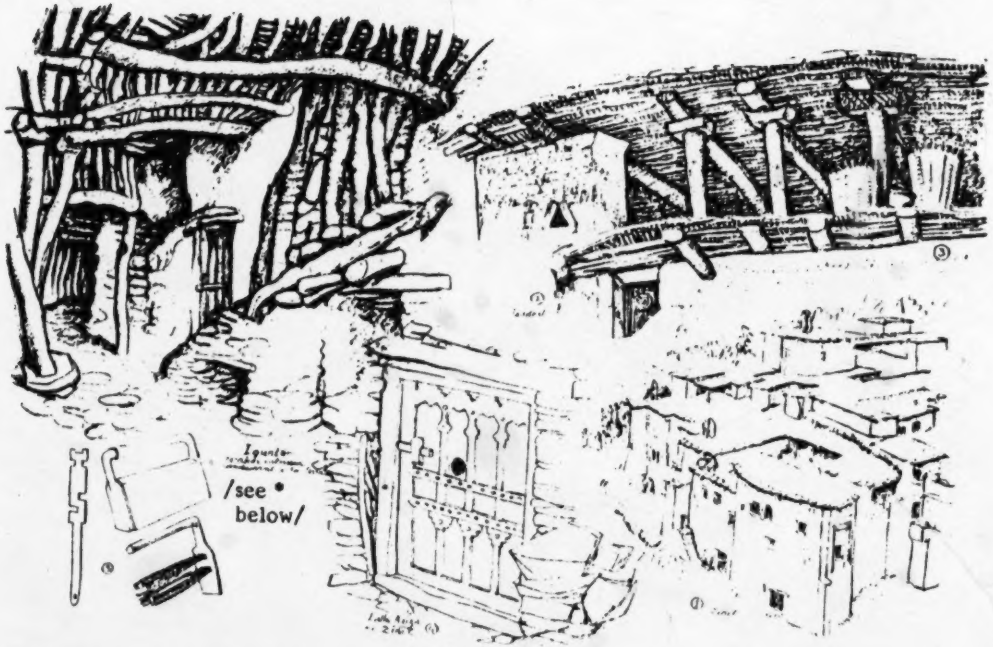
of the South is observed. This is the lōh'h', made by framing and "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bul^{c}wān, for example, (634) proudly dominated by the house of an amghar /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342
184

It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a (634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former amghar Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, agrur, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments lbyut, tinwalin; above, facultatively, the tameçrit, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the asqqif, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

Pl. III

● 341
342
343
353
371
414



/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

341
342
343
353
361
414

Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291
302
516
533
554
613
634
534
535

Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/ III. Concerning the Men

361 342 113

The House (1)

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the /30/ "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/30 cont./

341
184

/footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the lōh'h', made by framing and
(634) "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bul^{c}wān, for example, proudly dominated by the house of an amghar /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342
184

It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a
(634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former amghar Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, agrur, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments lbyut, tinwalin; above, facultatively, the tameçrit, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the asqqif, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
[171] mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," Imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: africh in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the S awa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, ajority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [178] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Said is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last [484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular 634 619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong 619

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ᶜachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
241 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/402 cont./

171 what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

[241] Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion [342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branés architectures" (1).

1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

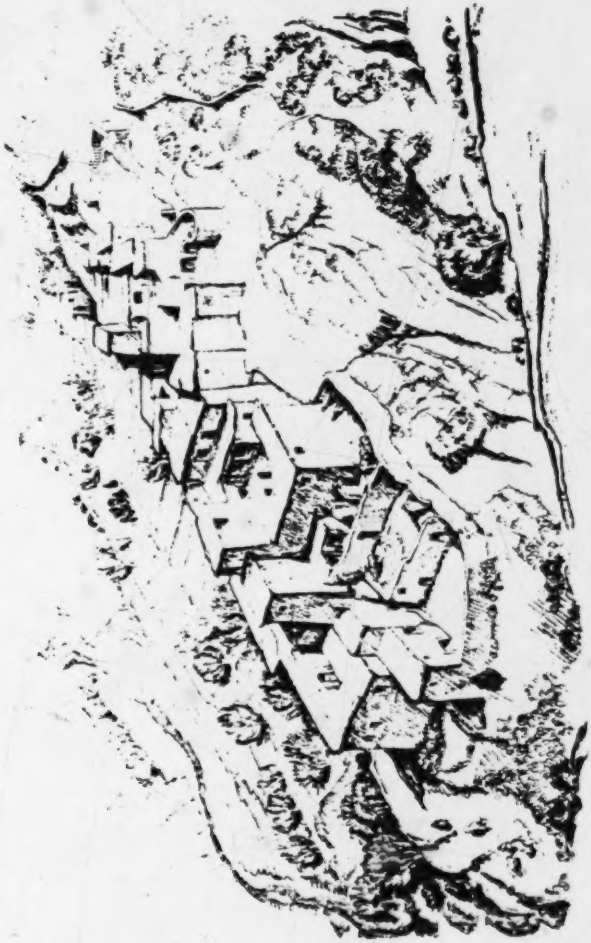
000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

1: Berque--644 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa]

Pl. I

342
361

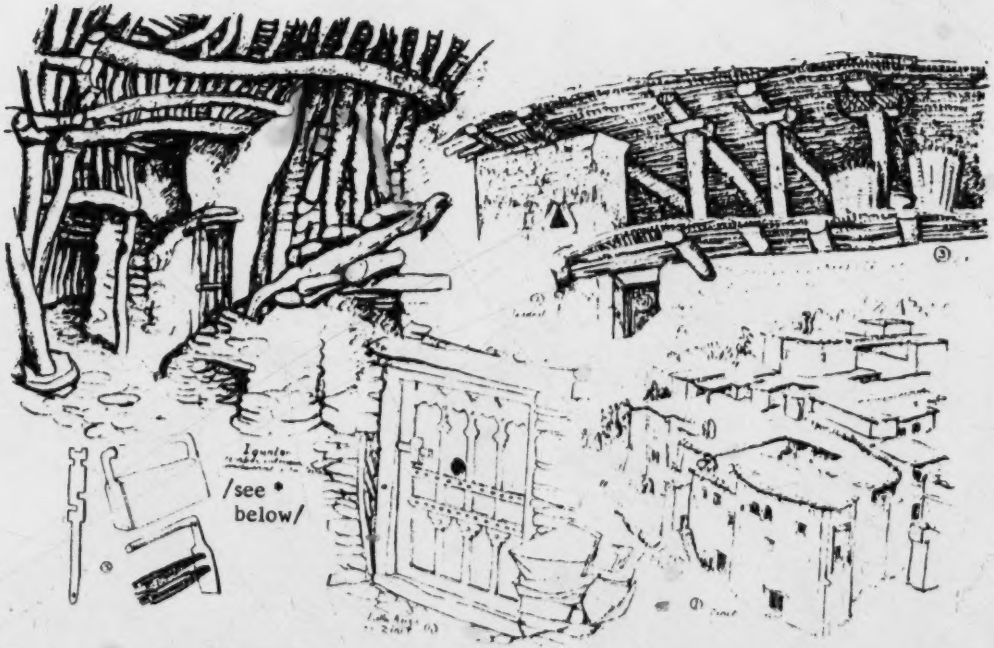


Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers

J. BERQUE

Pl. III

3H1
2H2
3H3
3S3
3T1
4H4



/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

341
342
343
353
361
414

Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291
302
516
533
554
613
634
534
535

Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

•342

Shluh MW11

[For additional information on the casbahs as the residence of the "great chiefs," see also category 712.]

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
[642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth
[789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established • 342 sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the *634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the ma-
[482] nure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor, young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the •[342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, [726] the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 •342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened [648] from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[342] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: 101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 361 342 343 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14). 000 342 351 361 137 343

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Qulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first 137 133 132 241 361 101 131 312 361 241 233 197 361

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebâc, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]
A

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebaʿ Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
24 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
22 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[112] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages.

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

> 1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect sponta-
824 neity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/393 cont./

175 121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

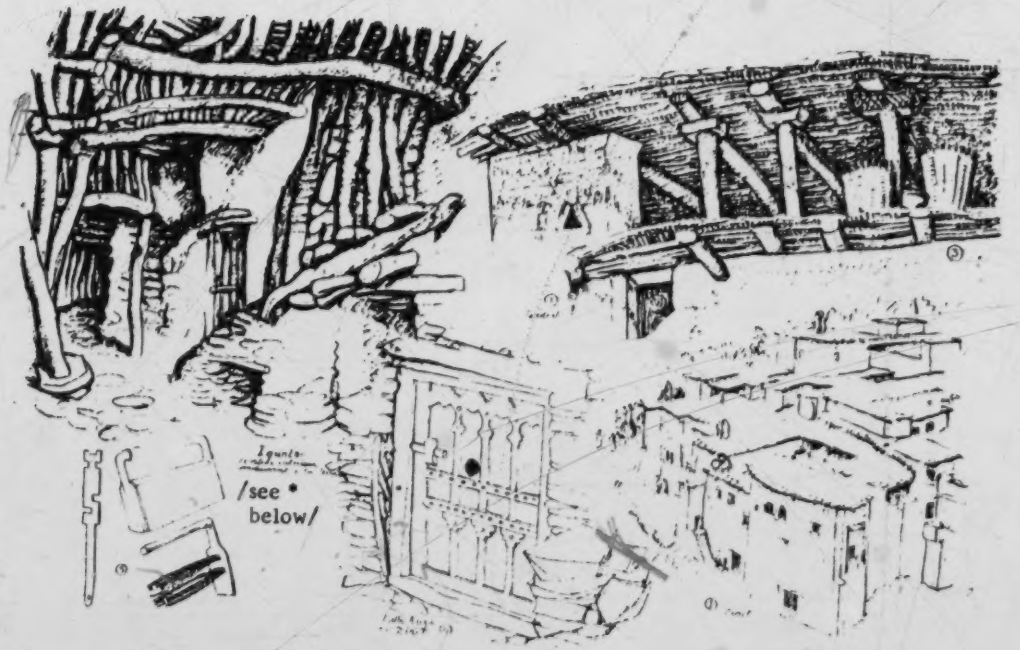
One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

175 121 343 712

1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

Pl. III

341
342
343
353
371
414



/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

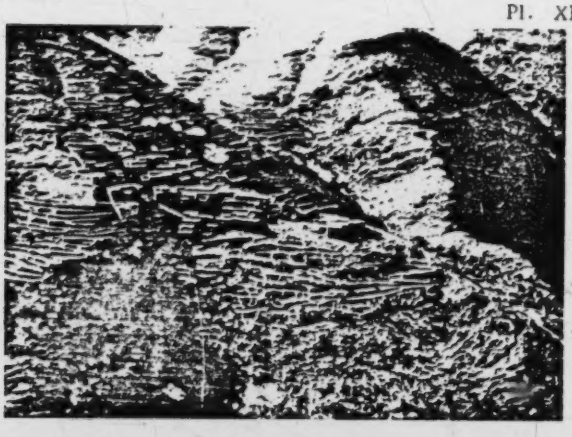
/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

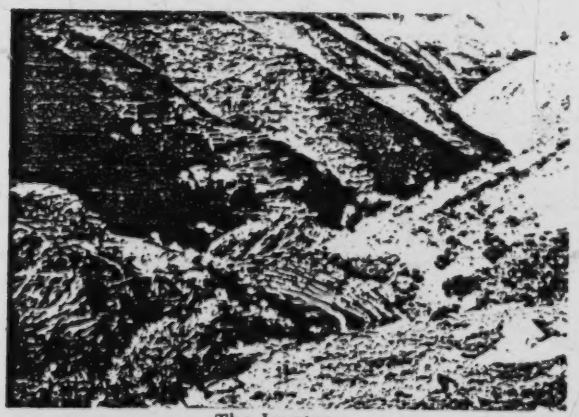
341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
361





The Iguntar (G. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[172]
[712]
[343]
[487]

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/125 cont./

*631 forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy
[152] that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their
*631 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain
712 hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work
[632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little
[343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas-
[251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the
[651] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects
[697] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/134 cont./

175 *631 *634

/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

[178] [671] [652] [712] [343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631

The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^c" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621
632
[346]
[343]
[623]

and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^ca," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^c."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^c" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^c" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^c" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

621
632
423
[609]

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

/245/

Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued): the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.

VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda^{c}," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

R
S
443
171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
.343
S
[114]

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

/253 cont./

*634
.343
192

/footnote 2 continued/ Ou Tanan; of casbah of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the kaid in the plain of the Sous and on the Dir of the Atlas. On the Saharan versant of the Anti-Atlas, it designates a small chamber for provisions placed in a corner tower of the house (Amanouz tribe). It is also used generally throughout the Sous with the meaning of solidly constructed wall.

The same word reappears as toponym in the western Rif in the form "Ajdir," near Alhucémas and in the north of the Gzennaya; one also finds Agadir, quarter of the town of Ouezzan, Agadir, quarter of Tlemcen (Marçais, Les Monuments de Tlemcen /The Monuments of Tlemcen/, p. 132); in Kabylie /Kabylia/ it signifies rock, sheer wall, inaccessible spot (Huyghe, Dict. Kabyle-fr. /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, 2nd ed., p. 17). The word appears to be of Punic origin (Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, I, 319).

Among the Ait Waouzgit, the Souktana of the Sous, the Glawa, the collective storehouse takes the name of igherm (pl. igherman); "tighremt" (pl. tighermatin) is a fortified house. "Igherm" designates in the western Atlas (Aghbar) a cultivated terrace supported by a dry-stone wall, and among the Haha a low dry-stone wall to protect the riflemen in combat. /The following paragraph is on the next page in the original source./

Finally, among most of the transhumant Berbère /Berber/ populations of central Morocco, the name of Ighrem is given to the permanent habitation, to the house serving as storehouse for provisions and as enclosure for the large livestock.

•343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs 184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/255 cont./

•343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^{c}" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.
The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
[578] exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
683 stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia; canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[556] [471] [186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^{c}," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

/259 cont./

343 114 /footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343 178 But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343 172 In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^c^cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343 175 926 In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/259 cont./

343 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to
178 villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that
184 were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no
361 longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Ait ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Ait ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La
[175] côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more
712 numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/
184 can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indica-
178 tions of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/
[722] tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless
[648] numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/260 cont./

•343 712 *634 726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[175] *[631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/261 cont./

343 712 178 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 712 174 178 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/." Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 *343 712 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, [726] the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
•343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecog-
[726] nizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

/Page 266 is blank./

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
• [343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
•[343] in the middle of the fields of the "A'lt Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the A'lt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "A'lt
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "A'lt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the A'lt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and [693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re- [343] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [466] tenance of the seguias and roads, even the protection of the crops [653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

343 712 [114] /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 121 343 712 [648] After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. Without trying to make here a complete study of this institution of collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

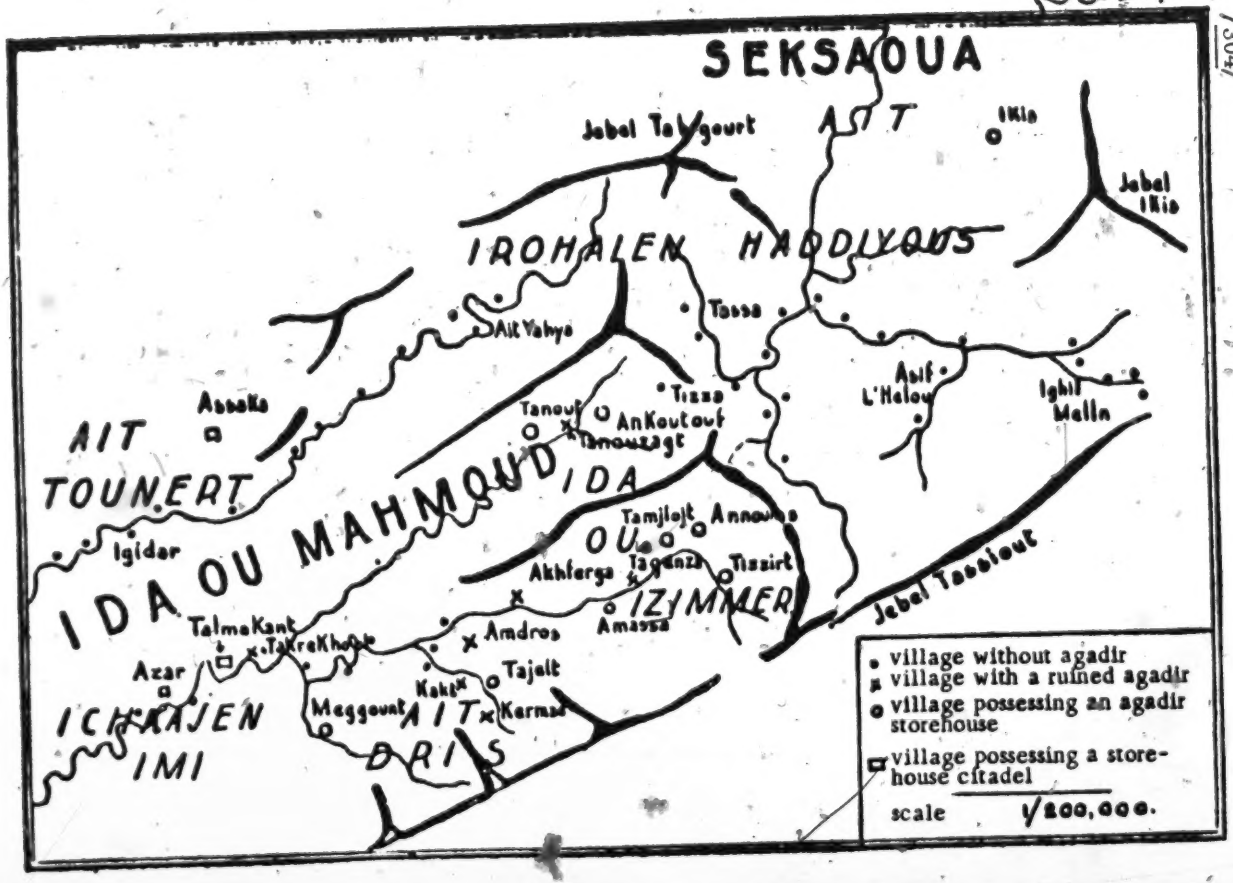
343 712 178 621 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to within the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/ of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

102
361
.343
712

/304/



3: Dupas--2 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621] 1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./

343 712 [625] village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a resonator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is especially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the [621] village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to [423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four [628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros, [426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives 343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate. 712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October; 625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he [465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of 343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the 712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the 685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking 625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the 712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two [621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/From p. 307 in the original source./

• 343
712

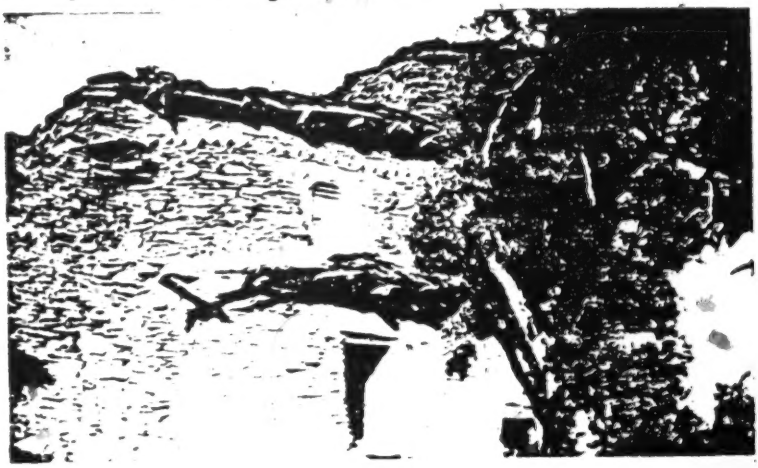


Fig. 1. -- Agadir of Ikis. Surrounding wall.

Fig. 2. -- Agadir of Ikis. Entrance gate.

/From p. 309 in the original source./

•343
712

Fig. 3. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

Fig. 4. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

/311 cont./

-343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a [685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, [184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the [625] entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. [465] He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in [685] return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main- [358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be- [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/From p. 313 in the original source./

• 343
712

Fig. 5. -- Agadir of Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), entrance gate.

[417]

Fig. 6. -- Agadir of Tanout. The terraces.

3: Dupas--11 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

•343
712
417

/From p. 315 in the original source./

Fig. 8. -- Agadir of Annoums (Ida ou Izimmer). Interior.

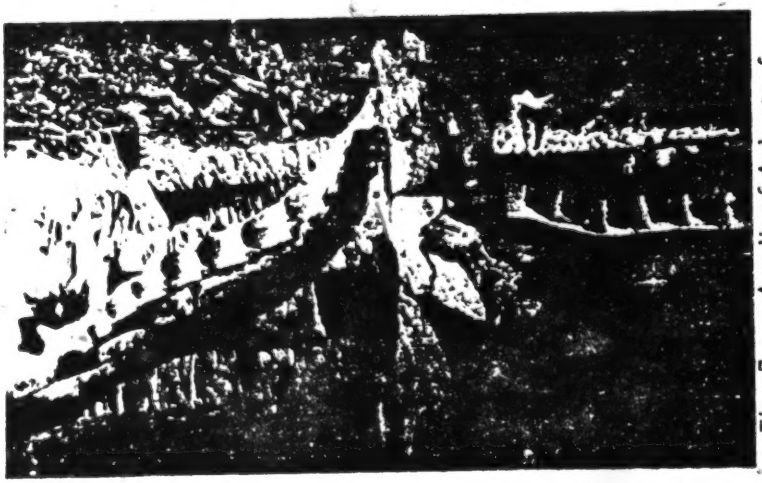


Fig. 7. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf. Interior.

/From page 317 in the original source./

•343
712

[291]
[411]

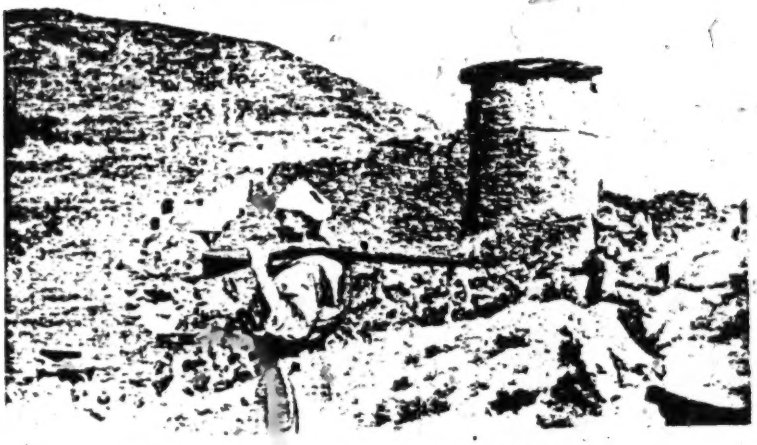


Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

/From page 319 in the original source./

343
712

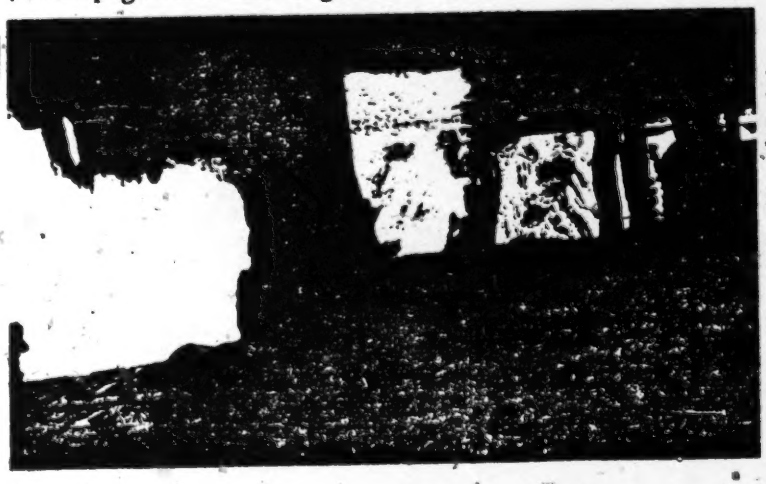


Fig. 12. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Ait Dris).

[291]

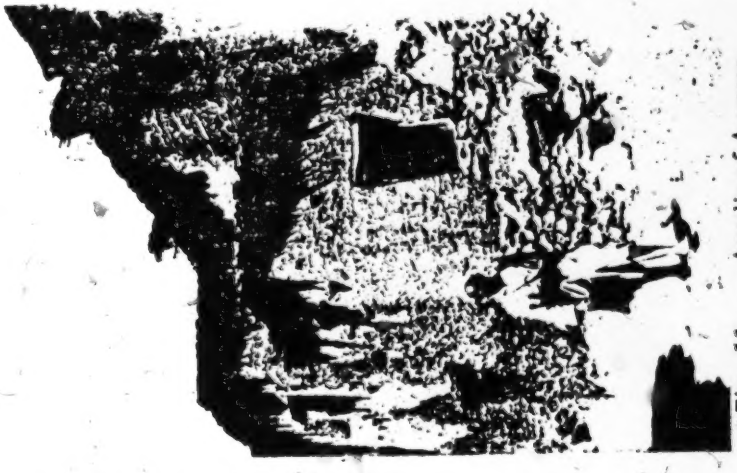


Fig. 11. -- Agadir of Amassa (Ait Dris).

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

[685] [184] In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.

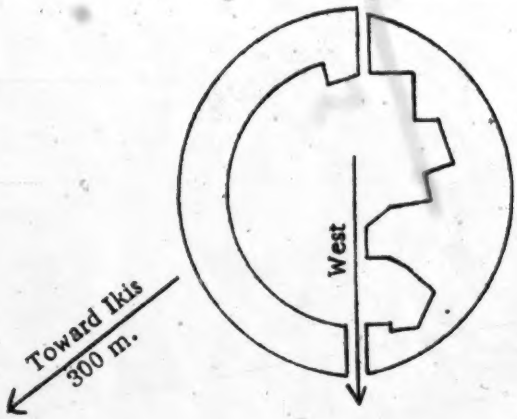
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

3: Dupas--15 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
712

Fig. 13. -- Agadir of Ikis.



343
712
625

Fig. 14. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.

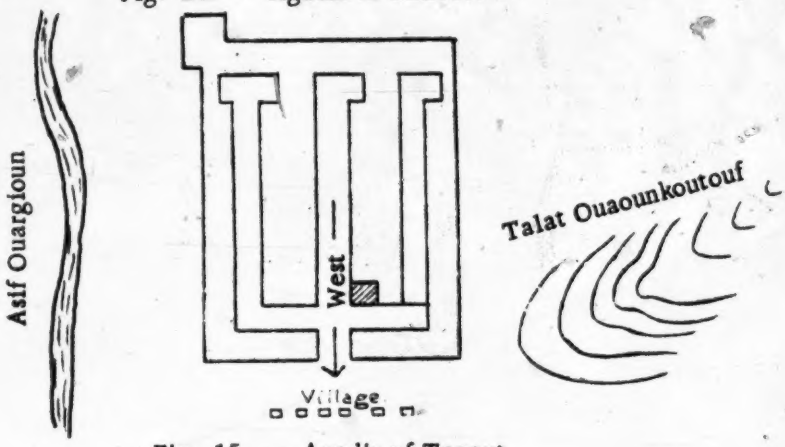
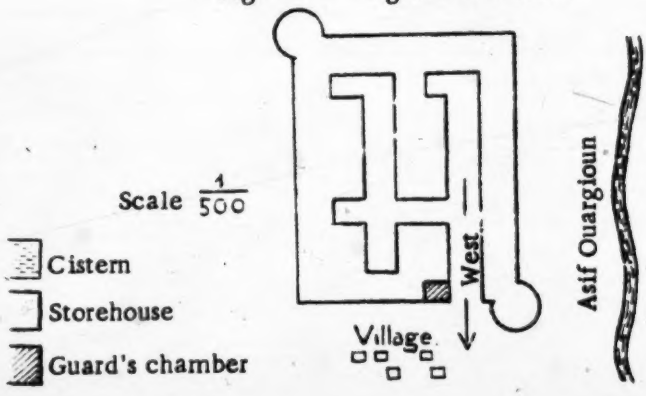


Fig. 15. -- Agadir of Tanout.



3: Dupas--16 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

Fig. 16. -- Agadir of Talmakant.

•343
712
312

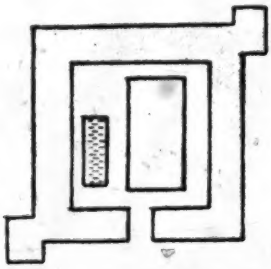


Fig. 17. -- Agadir of Assaka.

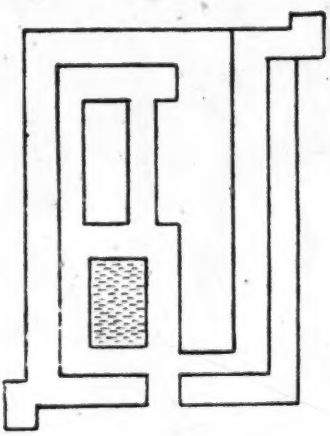
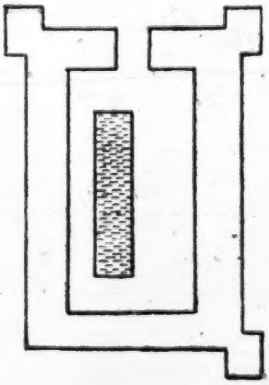


Fig. 18. -- Agadir of Azar.



•343
712
625

Fig. 19. -- Agadir of Tizzirt.

Fig. 22. -- Agadir of Amassa.

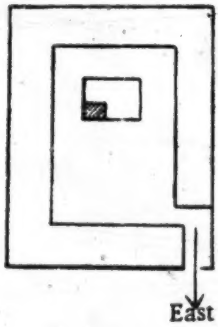


Fig. 20. -- Agadir of Annoums.

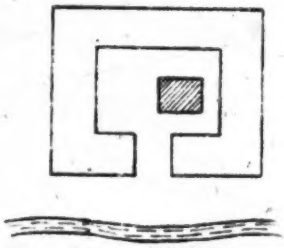


Fig. 23. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella.

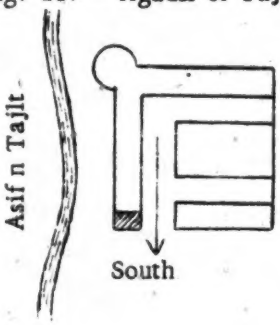


Fig. 21. -- Agadir of Tamjlojt.

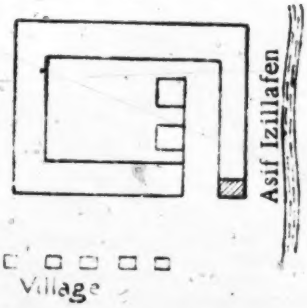


Fig. 24. -- Agadir of Meggount.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: 101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth 342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified 343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

[For information on the locations and construction of casbahs (fortresses), see category 712.]

609 /245 cont./
574

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
• [344] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the
[485] assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones
that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
* [634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there,
they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of
609 inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
57 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
556 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
563 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
[672] latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[464] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where
the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner
can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
* 634 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in
563 order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and
their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge,
they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and
build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the govern-
ment of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary
for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have
had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak
fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and
even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their estab-
lishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-
[574] tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt. The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/260 cont./

779 346 671 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, Ifçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of swom law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

627 171

1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominat-
[764] ed by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Âzzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
[784] two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
●346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

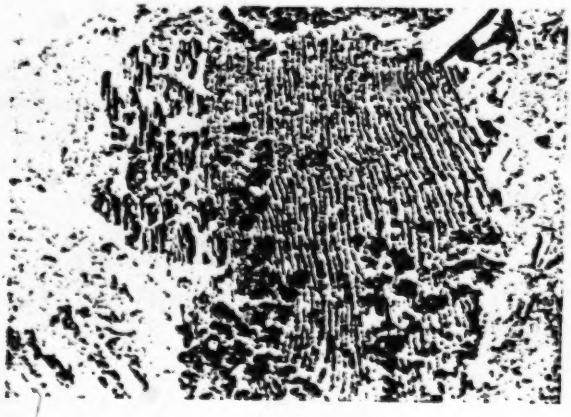
/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
346
695

The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

133
361



Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/151 cont./

114 613 621 632 [113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 632 [346] [343] [623]

and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

621 632 423 [609]

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
* 634 "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
619 moqaddem. This is the case in several small
tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
[217]
[127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which out visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^c" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^c."

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

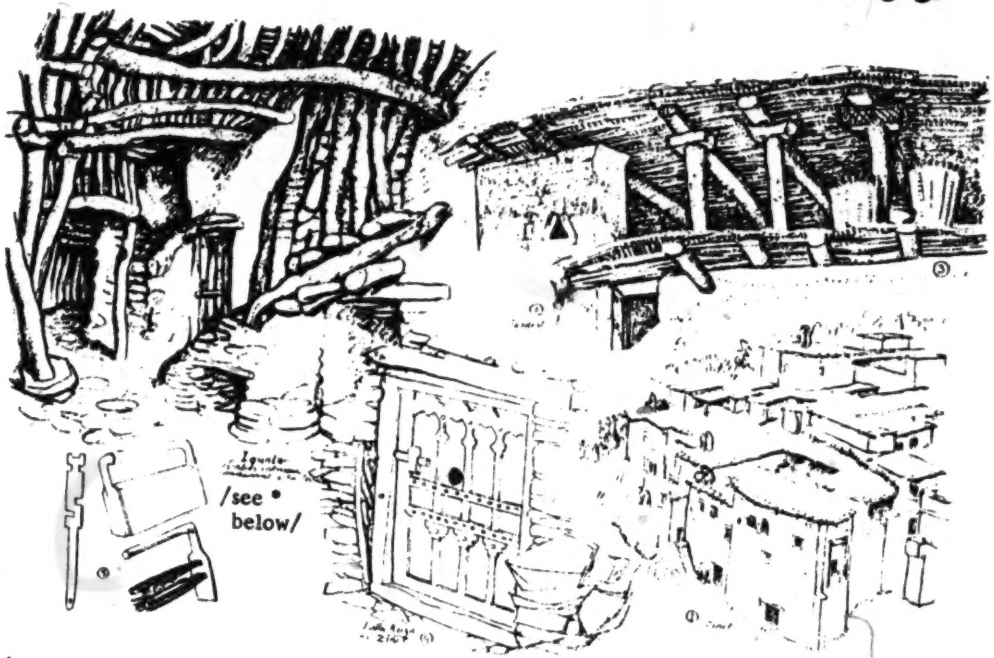
4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

Pl. III

341
342
343
353
371
414



/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(171) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," lmud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

624
644
463
357

Shluh MW11

[For information on the servants, retainers and other personnel of the casbahs of the "great chiefs," see categories 631, 712, and 634.]

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 [621] [423] [426] [432] [625] [465] [685] Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

[358] Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to maintain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] [423] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It belongs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. [685] The guard is responsible only for thefts committed after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

[685] [184] In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves
144 here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and
101 left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what
619 has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory
174 (1).
101

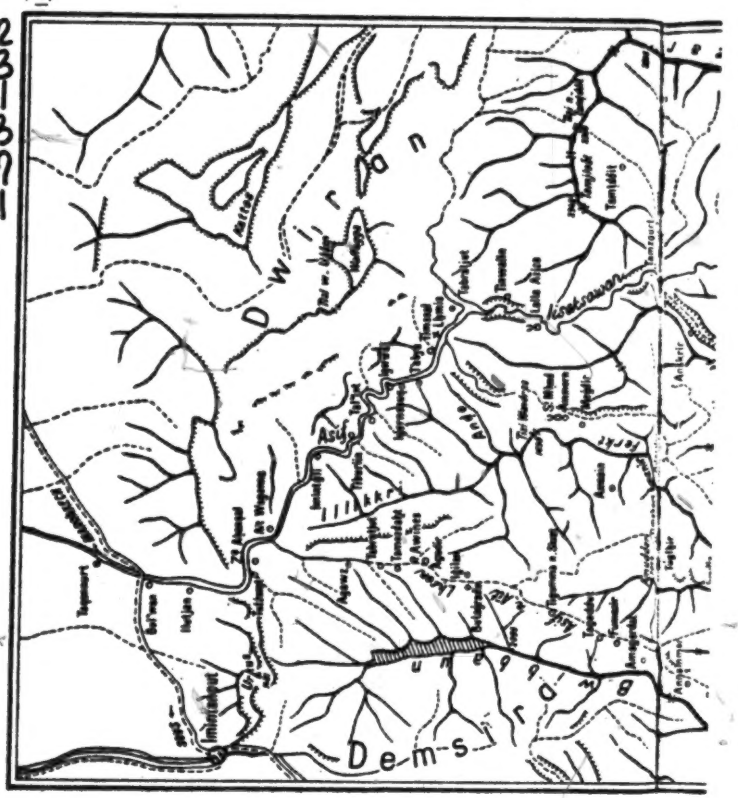
1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
133
487
361



102
103
131
133
184
361

/9/

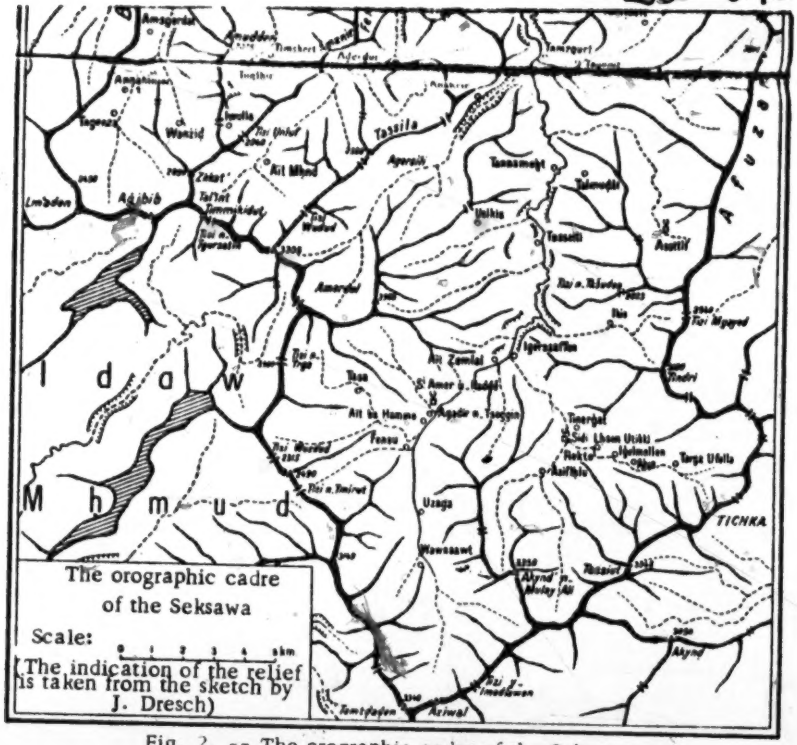
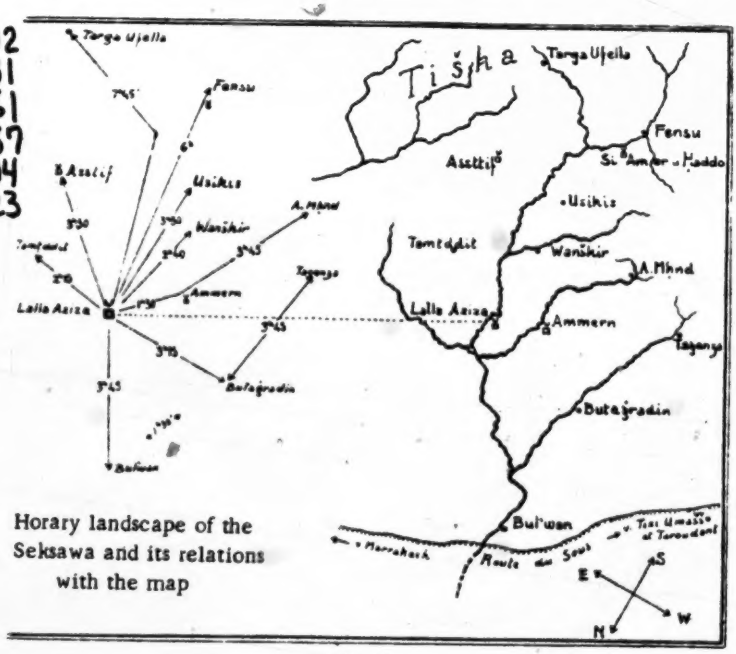


Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other. at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at A.l'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
● [361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
[233] by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

/28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant 181 briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361
342
113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

/29 cont./

361
342
[113]

/footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361
[161]

Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

[133]
[132]

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," lbyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(171) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

• 361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," Imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaṁ or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'ṁh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
• 361 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
101 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
634 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
619 descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[132] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
101 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
133 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moress from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
[795] erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 184 101 634

The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

361 101 634 619 [776] [778]

133 101 634

The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
● 361 Like Bul^c^wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talfint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talfint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in- [613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [796] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 a. Ikru, "those of the kid." 619 613	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gfir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch. a. Wakrim.	Idma, came from Tasselli. Iseqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.

1: Berque--117 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/83 cont./

102
131
133
361

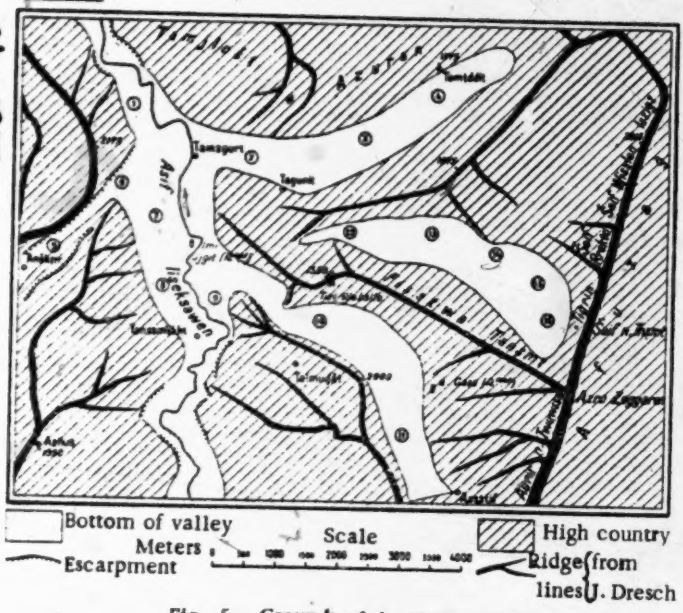


Fig. 5 - Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. —
4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. —
8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. —
11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. —
14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gfer. — 16. Tkerni.

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of [361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ajj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ajj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

[539] The documents of istir^{c}a', "ritual protestation" against monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gar between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

/103 cont./

178
24
22
[17]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

171

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

[361]

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, 133 (361) [613] faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen 613 (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only 312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. (173) Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
31 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umliln, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naftjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
• [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

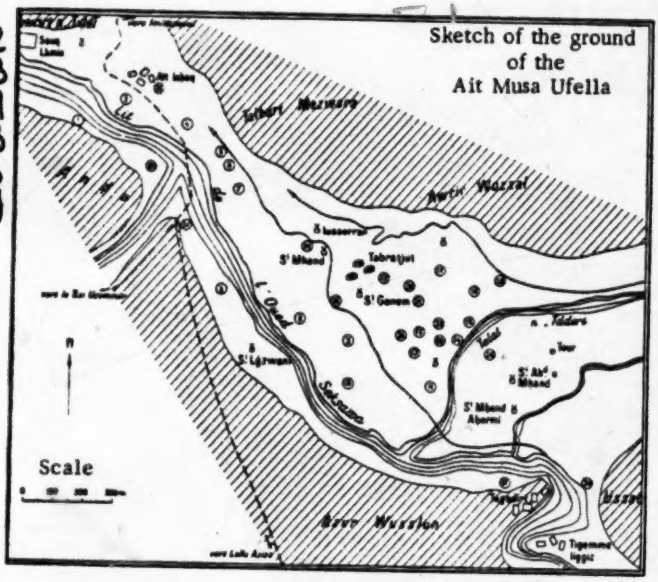


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

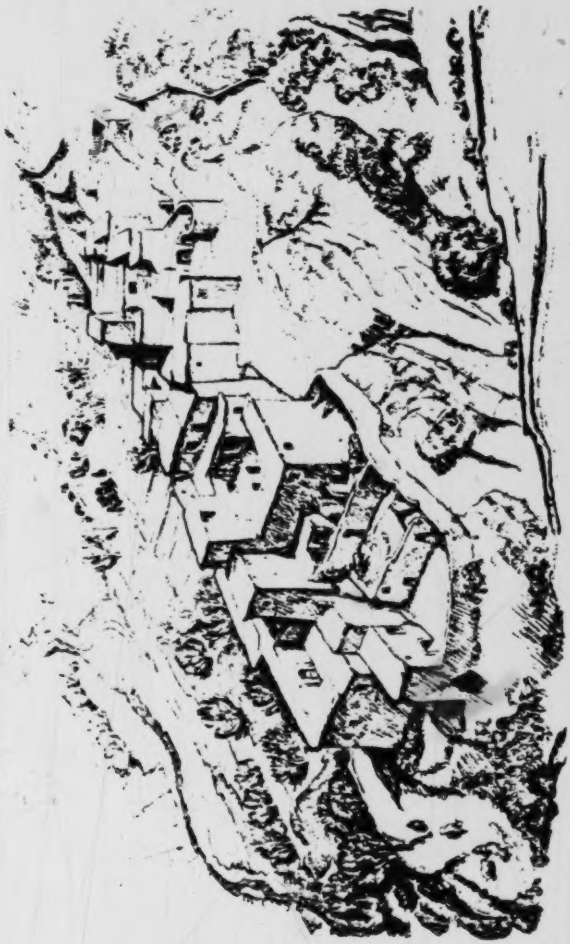
The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

1: Berque--644 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa]

Pl. I

342
361

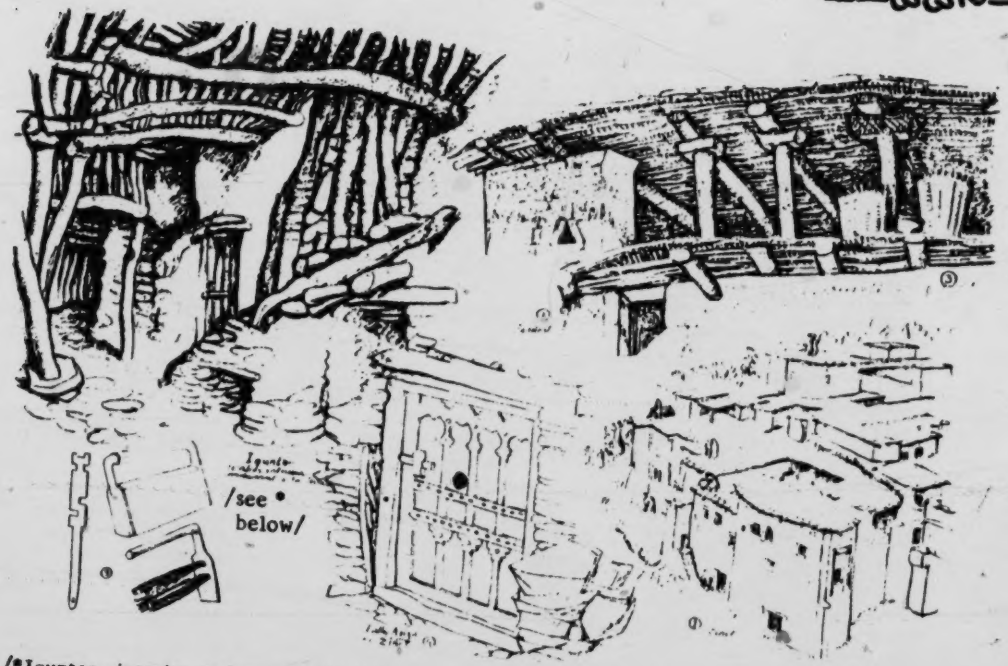


Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers

J. BERQUE

Pl. III

341
342
343
353
361
414



/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

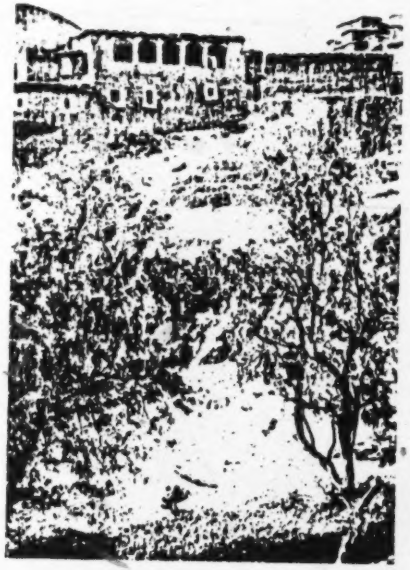
/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
353 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
361 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of
414 terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood,
tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils,
issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut,
with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-pad-
lock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing
is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door
of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior
stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of
habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of
Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the
ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating
from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

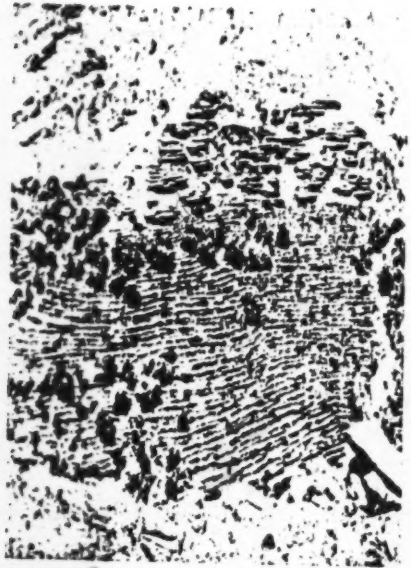
1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
346
695



The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

133
361



Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

(Cl. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).

361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are [592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

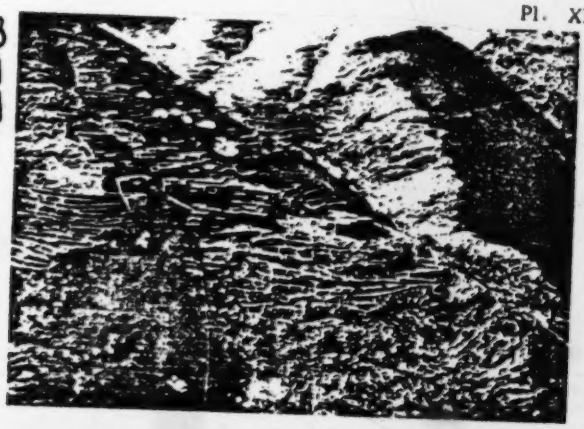
133
291
533

Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
●361



The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[192]
[712]
[343]
[487]

● 361
344

Shluh MW11

[For information on the locations and construction of casbahs (fortresses), see category 712.]

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
361 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Dem-
241 nate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou Lᶜajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
133 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
241 desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
[137] Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards.
133 Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./
133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
437 tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
484 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
•361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
• 361 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
628 goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
• 361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
• [361] the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desolation. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the • 361 133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the [137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab- [312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and [241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that 167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to- 619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the 103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/20 cont./

133 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
181 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have
182 acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the in-
133 terior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
-361 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
[226] Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain
[439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 177 182 •361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mussulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/37 cont./

632 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony
162 -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations estab-
[361] lished around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amismiz
[443] /Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/38 cont./

000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

.361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L'ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the

361 plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population
632 reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of several distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

/39 cont./

.361
712
184

/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

•361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 *631 619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, [361] [131] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./

*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
•[361] some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their in-
[131] dependence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have re-
tained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it
forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the
will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
[178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected
from external influences in the most mountainous region; they
have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables,
who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to
rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice through-
out the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to
settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for
at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of
"amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal
to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit
foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South
is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves
as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten,
sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority
is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, ad-
ministered through our good offices, whose trails today advance
as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They
seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless
this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest
old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the
South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independ-
ence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend
them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the
Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït
Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
•[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/150 cont./

121 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of
128 the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rbaᶜ," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker
units, "moudaᶜ" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the
plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or
the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
•361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Maᶜcho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/186 cont./

*634 616 491 361 "Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of equilibrium (1).

1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

*634 616 As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Aït Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hesperis, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

[619]

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
• [361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/259 cont./

343 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to
178 villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that
184 were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no
•361 longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La
[175] côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more
712 numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/
184 can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indica-
178 tions of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/
[722] tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 •361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Alt ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Alt Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, [726] the Alt Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecog-
[726] nizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

/Page 266 is blank./

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
• [361] enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
[431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

102
361
343
712

/304/

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000. 197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: 101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged • 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth 342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified 343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

197
361

two are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, and the last completely nomadic. The Arabic-speaking Oulad Jellal are completely nomadic. Some of the nomadic tribes, the Ida Oublal in particular, migrate great distances into the Sahara (Capot-Rey, 1942; Cauneille, 1950; Delaye, 1944; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 143-161; Flores Morales, 1946, pp. 87-111; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 171-175; Jannes, 1953, pp. 109-116; Joly, 1948a, pp. 90-96; 1948b; Madras, 1948, illust. between pp. 25-61; Montagne, 1930; Monteil, 1948; 1948b; Robichez, 1946, pp. 53-71; Thibert, 1948).

2. *Imazighen or Beraber*

000 The Berabers, numbering approximately 500,000, reside principally in the mountains of Central Morocco – the eastern High Atlas, their southern slopes, and the Middle Atlas. All speak the Taberberit dialect of Tamazight, while Arabic is a common second tongue among the southern pre-Saharan groups (Grandidier, 1934, Pl. 6; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 163-167).

The dominant feature of Beraber life is transhumance – a type of pastorialism characterized by the movement of livestock through successive seasonal pasturage. Unlike the sedentary Shluh, who must modify their agricultural base to make it conform to the requirements of a specific local environment, the Beraber turn the environmental differences of their country to their benefit, wintering their flocks or herds in the warm plains or steppes, moving them to the higher pastures in the mountains during the spring and summer, and retiring through new pasturage ahead of the descending snowline (Celerier, 1927, pp. 53-58; Joly, et al, 1949, pp. 83, 84-86).

Beraber transhumance has been classified into three distinct types – winter transhumance, summer transhumance, and double transhumance. The type practised by any particular tribe depends largely upon the location of its permanent residence. Winter transhumants own permanent houses (*taddart*) and collective granaries (*ighrem* or *tighremt*) which are located in the mountains, and most of the members therefore migrate with the herds to the winter pastures in the valley. Parts of the Ait Yafelmane confederation (428-

[pp. 27-43 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562] out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] • in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described •••

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

/250 cont./

443 Bouzia in the Haha tribe, the "Had" of the Ait Mzal in the Anti-Atlas, or still more often at the foot of the mountains, such as, for example, the markets of Amismiz and of Tisgin of the
443 Gedmiwa. Sometimes surrounded by a contiguous wall, these
-366 markets possess several hundred shops formed out of alveoli of earth and dry stone, covered with branches, divided into quarters or "rahba." One finds in their enclosure cafés, which are often unpleasant places, sometimes permanent storehouses for storing commodities, always a mosque in which people go to
443 swear an oath if some dispute arises. These markets, frequented by all the tribes of the vicinity, sometimes at two days' distance, often gather together several thousand Berbères /Berbers/. It then becomes nécessary to watch particularly to protect the transactions by special regulations.

443 It is a great disgrace for the inhabitants of a country not to
625 be able to repress energetically the thefts that might be com-
685 mitted in their souq /sook/ or on the roads leading to it; so all the little codes of customary law of the tribes of the South of Morocco are devoted to long paragraphs enumerating the considerable fines that punish the thieves and route cutters who would try to practice their trade at the market or its outskirts. Incessant surveillance is exercised by the tribal authorities, so that the guilty may be immediately apprehended and condemned. There is reason to fear, as a matter of fact, that there may break out at the market an altercation whose appearance could be the signal for a panic. Sometimes similar incidents are created on purpose by the thieves in order to "break up" the souq and to enable them, by means of the disorder, to pillage valuable merchandise.

For all these reasons, it is rare that an assembly of notables suffices to make the "horma," the good name of the market, respected. /251/ Certain tribes nevertheless succeed in protecting their souqs, and then reap large profits from them (1).

1. Cf. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 128-134: the development of the market of Tinghir (Todgha) permits leasing the rights

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils commonly meet at district or tribal market places. 623 634 366 368

b. *Function* 635

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive, 623 635 634

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils commonly meet at district or tribal market places.

b. *Function*

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive,

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[386]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flower-pots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears
[574] the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ Iferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

241
407
492
184

and Iferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the Iferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*Iferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is.....	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt.....	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
442 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
184 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage", /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the glib, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

/From page 317 in the original source./

343
712
[291]
[411]

Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

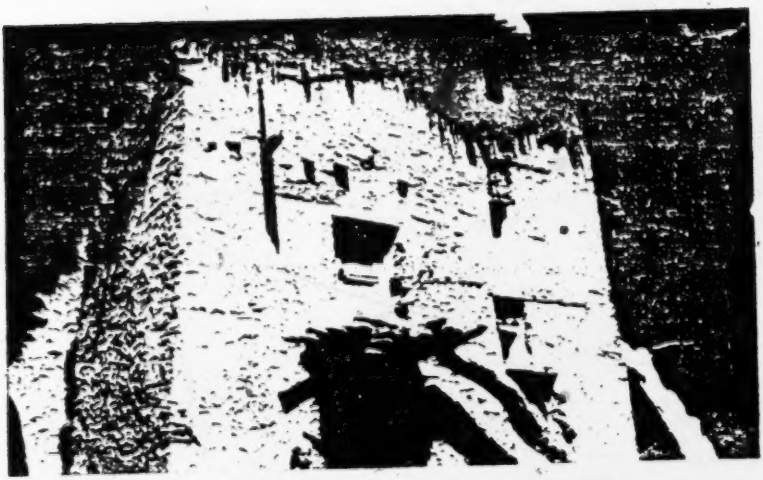


Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul'wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In â. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/170/ Crop Variety

241 Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1):

[178] 1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

[412]

that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has 245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, [241] painstaking clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought here: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and [262] when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach [443] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible [412] number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is [586] true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

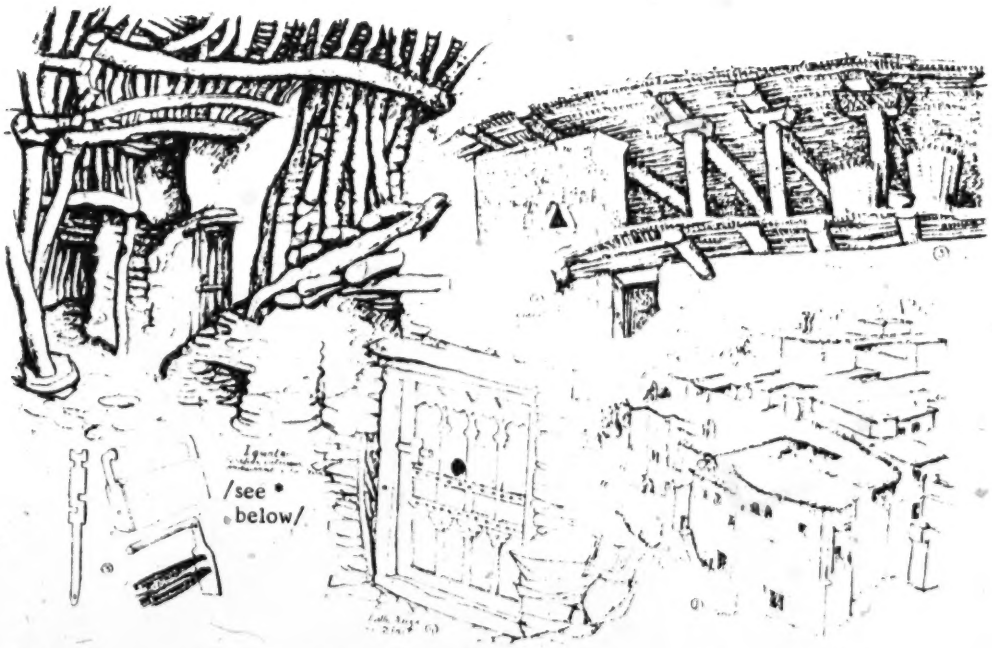
355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(171) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," lmud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

Pl. III

341
342
343
353
361
414



/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tifut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course
of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
[642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a
great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where
republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal
leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops.
Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with
essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of
the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth
[789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

> 1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs 184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

/From p. 313 in the original source./

343
712

Fig. 5. -- Agadir of Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), entrance gate.

[417]

Fig. 6. -- Agadir of Tanout. The terraces.

3: Dupas--11 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
712
.417

/From p. 315 in the original source./

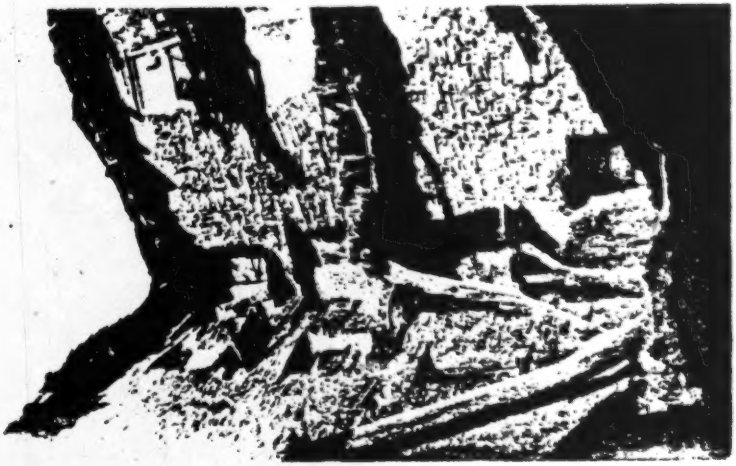


Fig. 8. -- Agadir of Announs (Ida ou Izimmer). Interior.

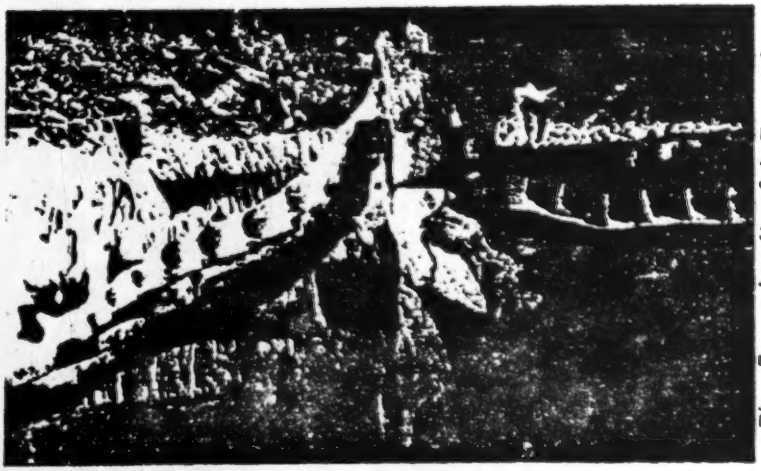


Fig. 7. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf. Interior.

/264 cont./

42 627 In the very widespread formula of the resolutory sales, improperly called rrahn, or, in the acts, thunyâ, and which correspond to a very ancient landed-property mode of this milieu, the debtor, who is also the owner of the land, has available a means [692] of interrupting automatically the right of the lessee. This is /265/ to deposit an "obole" /obolus/, tauqit, tamuzunt (1),

> 1. And moreover istiman and l^c arbûn. Evidently the idea of deposit itself has a very complex past and meaning. Still without any idea of systematic comparison, and, if one wishes, only for "curiosity," let us say that certain aspects of this tamuzunt of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are not free from suggesting the formality of the aes "whose restitution brings about liberation of the land" (H. Lévy-Bruhl, Quelques problèmes de très ancien droit romain /Some problems of very ancient Roman law/, p. 144).

in the hands of some sort of auctoritas: today a common magistrate, formerly such-and-such a fqih, notable or "marabout." In the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa the process is even more direct. When it is a question of orchards, the obole will be deposited on the pile of olives in the very course of the gathering: this puts an end to the usufruct of the lessee. Rationalist reinterpretations have naturally assimilated this procedure to a settlement by "deposit," l^c arbûn. But this latter notion is itself complex. What one notices most concretely in the operation described here is that the gesture causes a break in the parties' respective situation concerning the field. As for the partimonial bond, the owner's legitimacy has never ceased. But it cut itself off from "legitimate occupation" (verb âmmer). The latter now reintegrates the initial right, an expression that we find again word for word in a writing from the eighteenth century. Henceforth, the lessee is usurping. More

/265 cont./

42 627 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper: itrama, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the tamuzunt can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2):

[171]

2. Similarly in old Kabyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," R. al., 1930, p. 247.

if it is after uktuber (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individuals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the trahn or from assault are certainly numerous in the Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the istir^{c}ā' or "act of reserves" (3).

[578]

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 369.

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
578 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

578 /266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wari- 000
yaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family 596
elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on 42
a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held [562]
by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in 596
some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually 597
persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell 735
their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt 609
assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.
671 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fâtih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

597 671 [428] /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 671 [881] The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator. Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 421 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 421 175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/351 cont./

593 evaluations, drawing of lots, convention, measuring." Moreover,
421 the distribution is performed "in front of the jemâa, with the
175 reed, according to the boundaries and by the drawing of lots, and followed by the taking of possession in the presence and under the auspices, bi-wajh, of the father." The latter reserves for himself, the same as the mother, a margin, h'âchiya. All this under the presidency of the grandfather, the chaykh /sheik/ Sa^{c}îd b. ^{c}Abdallah. Patriarchal ambiance, but careful about preconstituted proofs, communitarian, but accountable. This double aspect of the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution stands out nearly everywhere.

593 Such a practice, in which both the patrimonial permanence
421 and the autonomy of the person are combined, passes only distorted into the acts to which it gives rise. A discordance breaks out at this place between the juridical base and the form that it has assumed: the latter depends on the free disposition, indeed even the liberality, of the father; but it is not very probable that this tie expresses the authentic climate. The latter is indeed one of a veritable right exercised by the son over the father, still alive, in the name of a certain solidarity among them all concerning the ancestral patrimony, and with a view toward freeing the initiative of each rightful claimant in the realization of the "augments," zawâid (1).

1. It happened this very year that in Demsira, taqbilt of the Irohalen, some children came to claim against their father, still alive, the right to divide /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ the land. One finds, in another Moroccan domain, this attempt having passed to the stage of jurisprudence, R. J. cout., No. 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu of Ahermoumou).

To amass, to round out the plot by /352/ progressively nibbling at the slope or the forest, to accumulate from generation to

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/383 cont./
671 thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by
[799] a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, unlimited in its applications. Two examples of it have already
[421] been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another
[586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two
671 other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution
794 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern. In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

/388 cont./

671 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the
779 point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in
182 order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The
675 mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here.
421 The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus
182 personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkâl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawlîya çah'îh'a wa'starkaba-hu fî sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fî mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarikt, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/61 cont./

613 173 619 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 619 [101] Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 613 619 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which itself interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-ṛghli, the a. Anono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'ajj H'fid', a famous

/69 cont./

423 166 619 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Iuma, ait H'ad-duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their archeological value is therefore probable.

619 173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, [613] to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 613 619 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could prolong indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 166 619 The country of the Dukkāla was subject to a frightful tyranny. One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two conquering branches.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./
174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus [428] they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Abdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible [423] [429] vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Abdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the
613 Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchû^{c}.

/124 cont./

241 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a
423 distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1):

[192]

1. Elsewhere in Seksawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchû^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary
133 in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a
241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

/125 cont./

133 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy
241 epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121]

1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and
[131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries
[423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

241 423 /126 cont./

Several experimental measurements give as an average:

Inheritance of the ikhs of the a. Watchaw (a. Musa) . . .	30 m^2
-- si Abdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 -
Sheik Wakrim u Lh'ajj H'fid' (ibid.)	70 -
Chkku Family (Imt'ddan)	26 -
Ground of Agersili (Idma)	102 -
-- of Z'init' (id.)	200 -
-- of Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 -

241 /127/ Such an exiguity, aggravated by the dispersion over areas occasionally exceeding a kilometer in length, creates a thousand technical difficulties. No less than irrigation, it imposes the meticulous work of the "hoe," agelzim. At any time of the year, they are but bent-over peasants, "interrogating the earth," to return to a magnificent classical expression, and re-bordering the smallest ledge of the relief, the smallest angle of the periphery, in order to spread there the windfall of the water. Though the quadrangular form is common, the agriculture does not neglect the minor forms. Thus, the "peduncle" of humus, ad'ar. All the same, a "redan," tighmert, sometimes remains abandoned. But generally, except for the cases of rotation of soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/, as at Agersili or the a. Mh'nd, the space cultivated in the channel is full, without fissure. That is the very characteristic that opposes it to the spaced spots of dry cultivation, visible on the hill from afar. These fields are of irregular form, while the irrigated parcels, aligned in balconies or compressed into a damp and almost juicy bottom, are fractioned only abstractly and according to a system of four orients, of an onomastic nature.

But this exiguous parcel is often a composite itself. Depending on its area, and whether or not it is level, it may be fractioned into "lobes," tisirit or tirit, themselves divided into "squares" of irrigation, uz'unen. Or else the emptying ditch (312) will open directly onto one of the latter. This divisibility may also result from the exigencies of cultivation by water, or from

/127 cont./

24 the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

> 1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../," R. afr., 1950.

-- the square, first technical unit;
-- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
-- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
/128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;
[423] (613) -- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimonies of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/From p. 150 of the original source./

312
102
• 423
613

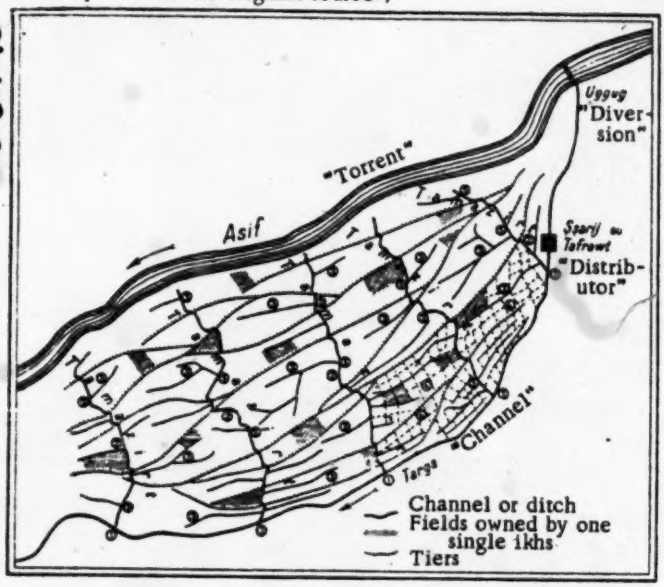


Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

The "channel," targa, leaves from the ççarij, or chcharij, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," asaru, 2, plur. isura, which leave from "principal intakes," açder, plur. içdar or içdran, or further ighin, plur. ighaniwin, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, taghamut, 5, plur. tighuma, opening on the "discharging ditches," isura, 3. Irrigation planches, tisirit, tisaratin, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," uzun, plur. uzunen, 4.

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have dis-
178 appeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard
613 closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the
423 losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/154 cont./

312 613 423 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ᶜaçr to ᶜaçr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Abdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] [634] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekch-chut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merry-making that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/154 cont./

312
613
423

In fact: except for the a. Naçr, who have their lands grouped in the immediate surroundings of the village of Tagenza, the 4 other ikhs-s are all represented in each of the quarters, but it seems without any definite part where the "parcels" under their jurisdictions are grouped. The entanglement seems to be greater and greater from upstream to downstream. In all the "quarters," except for what concerns the a. Naçr, only two do not group the integrality of the ikhs-s: Tamayust and Talšint u-wdi. All the others contain a whole sampling of ikhs-s.

3rd. At Fensu there are 10 séguias. Some come from the high valley of the asif Uziwal, others from the direction of Tasa. This abundance of water makes the portion a day and a night. Eleven turns, including that of the mosque. These turns fall to the ikhs-s, which divide /155/ the water among the foyers in proportion to the surfaces. At the top echelon, which is that of the distribution of turns among ikhs-s, the topography does not count for anything, each ikhs irrigating in turn its lands scattered over several quarters.

4th. At Tasa, three séguias and two orders of distribution. The one bears on the Imengad' and Anngar séguias, the other on the Ti-n-wammam. Here are each of these two orders:

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'šib, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus a turn called ass i-ymengad', privilege, moreover transferred, of the one that regulates the source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sšid, a. Lh'sen, a. Chšib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (individual privilege).

The irrigation rotates by ikhs-s, but within them it is adjusted according to surfaces and gives way when necessary to a drawing by lot, according to the general procedure.

A second method is called taghamut s-tghamut, "sluice by sluice." Without concern for appurtenance to the ikhs, it irrigates by large pieces that are continuous and contiguous to such and such a sluice. The order observed among them is from upstream to downstream. It is a form of decadence, of rupture. It may be due to either a particular abundance of water, rendering useless

/156 cont./

312
423

Beneficiary of the turn for irrigation	Day of the week						
	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1) ait Ddaud.	For the morning	Up to the âçr					
2) ait Mençur.		From the âçr	All day				
N.B. There is an annual rotation between these two subgroups.							
3) Section of the valley between Bukhemsin and Zzit u Bachtut.				From the âçr	All day	Up to the morning	
4) Section of the valley between Amelwan and Urti n-Sâïd below.						All day	
5) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.							All day
6) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.					x	x	x
Tabratjut.	x	x					
Awinas, Agadir.			x	x			

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/157 cont./

312 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is
423 of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage
178 of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to
[425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear
312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For
423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that
171

/158 cont./

312 423 171 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 182 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

312 114

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

245 /167 cont./
[178] industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, lh'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.

423 While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual --
245 to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch
[171] is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/168 cont./

423 245 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the collective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 476 184 [624] /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section, are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the harvest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth [624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by [613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/181 cont./

311 103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 311 [613] [578] On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropriated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irrigated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubtlessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

[103]

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 182 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

1: Berque--256 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/182/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd
/Left side of chart/

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters			
Twuttyan (cf. awuttu, "limit").	Talghachit (derived from an ikhs name).	Agerd'w Wazar, "col of the fig tree."	F-usderm-an, "on this escarpment."	Iwchchah'en.
	Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ifdisn-an, "the walls of dry stone."	Taglagalt-an, "the place where the waters stagnate."	Uzrar, "thirst" (very dry place where there is gravel, "lmezrar").
Tacddut, "the declivity."	Wa-lemri, "the reflecting."	Asdrem^w Wanz'-et't'a, "the escarpment of the a." (cf. below).	Ihlawen (derived from a name).	Ush'aq (derived from a name).
Tighermin, "the fields in tiers."	Amlal Wuggu-g^wen, "the fine sand of the catchments."	Tagh^wzit n-ait Said, "the field of the a. S."	Ughzif n-tghermin, "the fields lengthwise."	Agd'ay n-tghermin, "the pool of the fields."
Amegdul w-uzddar, "the park below."	Bu-ih'chach, "the huts."	Talh'chut, "the pebbles."	Dar wad'il, "at the vines."	Mm - wamimrad (plant name).
Amegdul ufella, "the park above."	Amegdul Ichahan, "the park of I."			
Tawddwa.	Targa n'ayt Zbayr, "the séguia of the a. Z."	Makan^w uchboro, "beyond the retrenchment."	Tamalut l-Leftrug, "ubac of L."	
Anammran, "the adret."	Adukk^wali.			
Ddu-wanz'et't'a (*anz'ett'a*, "pellicle of moss on a stone or on the water").	Tagh^wzit m-Mazuz, "the field of M."	Findus.	Tighedwin-an, "the poles" (long and parallel parcels).	Mm-ti-leh'la, "at the apple trees."
Tafarnut, "bread oven."	Tafarnut n-ayt Umghar.	Tafarnut n-a. Bakhkha.		

/adret, flank of valley oriented toward the south;
ubac, flank of valley oriented toward the north./

1: Berque--257 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955. MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/183/
/Right side of chart/

103
423

Mm-uqel-mun, "in hood form."	Im-tmid'i (ti-mid'i: "the 100 walnuts").	Agerd' wad'-il, "the col of the vine."	Agh^{w}zafan, "length-wise."	Bu-tfaliyn, "at the fallen rocks."	Tar agharas, "without road."
Imi l-lutrat, "the opening of the harness collar."	Ag^{w}mmad' i-yghzer, "the bank of the ravine."	Bu-lh'chu, "at the gravel."			
Tamggay-nant, "the damp hollow."	Ddu-taswikt, "under the walnut tree."	Mm-telggut, "at the aloggo (genista)."			
Ag^{w}mmad'n - tafrawt, "the bank of the basin."	Ikniwun, "the twins."				
Ag^{w}dal-an, "the park."	Aghdaw wagmar, "the pole of the horse."				

[Ait Mh'nd]

/184/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
103

Names of quarters	Name of subdivisions of quarters		
Afud-an, "the knee."	Amlal^{w} wafud'-an, "the fine sand of Afud'an."		
Talat n-tenghort, "the hollow of the excavation."	Lluz n-ait Naçer, "the almond trees of the a. N."	Tinummar l-lmechh'i, "the adrets of the dry fruits."	Tagh^{w}zit u-wamalw-an, "the field of the ubac."
Tagenza ufella, "the talus above."	Ddu-Tgenza, "under the talus."	F-ugenza, "on the talus."	Amlal n-fu-wasif, "the fine sand above the torrent."
Ddu^{w}-wsderm, "under the escarpment."			
Wankutuf.			
Ddu-tg^{w}mma, "under the houses."	Içd'ar-an, "the sluices."	Talat n-wkhrib, "the hollow of the ruins."	
Ddu-wz'ru, "under the rock."	Amlal l-ymzilen, "the fine sand of the blacksmiths."	Ait Lamin.	Ait Bakhkha.
Ughad', "of the goat."	Ibh'irn n-ait Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lah'sen u Sâid, "fields of the a. L."	
Ighermân-an, "the parcels."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	Tigh^{w}ziwinn ait Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Amlal n-ait Umghar, "the fine sand of the a. U."
Dar - Talmechmacht, "at the apricot tree."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	
Tifratin, "the small basins."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait H'sayn, "the field of the a. H."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. H'ammu u-Bella, "the field of the a. H'."

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu
423 waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner
[823] of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'-umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

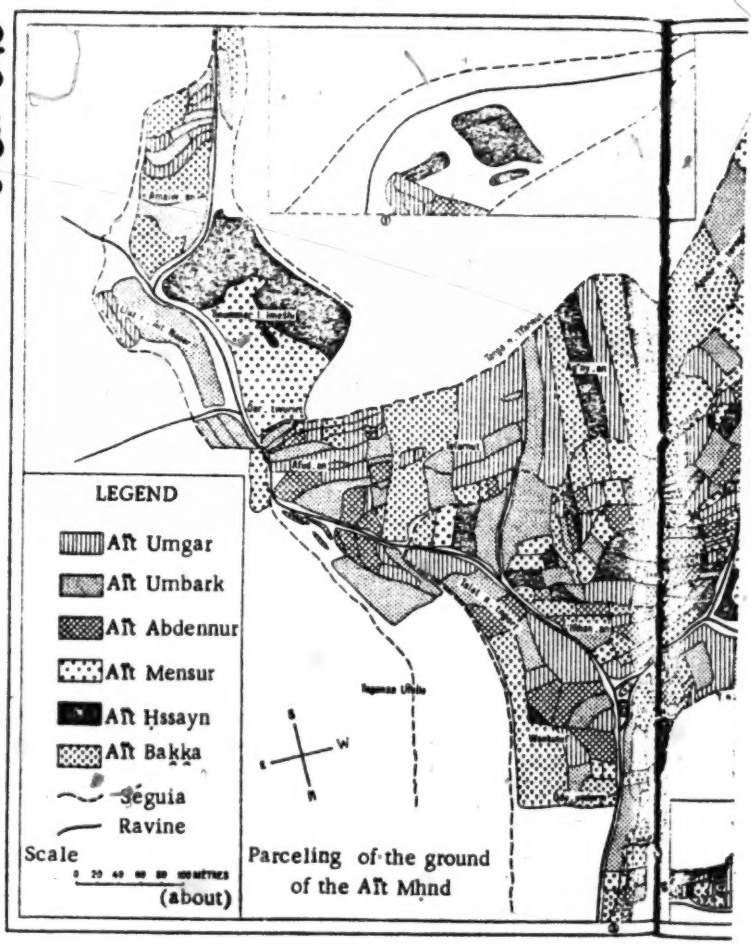
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

1: Berque--261 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/

102
133
312
• 423
613

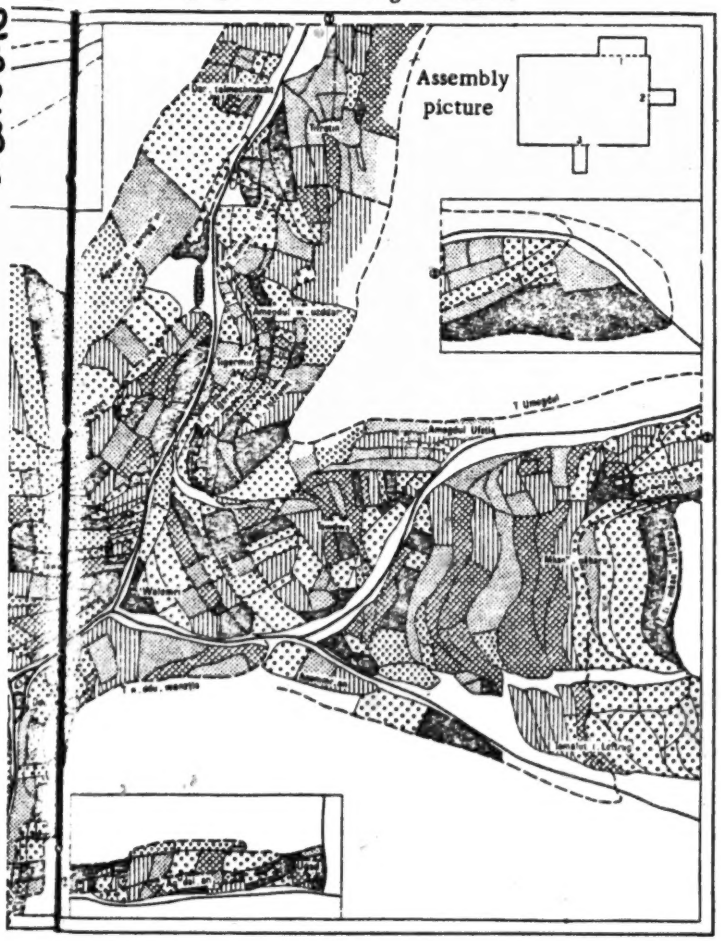


1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613



/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only
• 423 goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is
[241] still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

1. [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The
423 informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations
[312] on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided in.o 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs [162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

The Distribution of Landed Property

423 The indications recorded here about property come especially from the awareness that the group has of its land bases, that is, from a beginning of interpretation that has taken into account, in certain cases, the owner rather than the occupant. In other cases, on the contrary, it is the possessory situation, based on a rrahn or
423 from an old usurpation, which has influenced the notation. Nota-
613 bly being the matter in the case of the family of the present amghar, the Iseqqalen. Such as it is, however, and despite all the avatars resulting from alienations and female inheritances, /192/ /left side of table appears here/ /193/ /right side of table appears here/ /194/ /chart appears here/ /195/ /chart appears here/ /196/ this document establishes, with a coefficient of cross-checking of about 75%, that each ikhs is represented in each quarter. This cross-checking, bearing on more than 25 quarters, on six ikhs-s and 3,500 parcels, has weight. But inequalities appear, as much in terms of the respective patrimony of the ikhs-s as in the proliferation of these into minor ikhs-s, then into "families." That is, for the Iseqqalen: 7 families, a. Ilarzg 11, a. H'sayn 2, a. Mh'nd u Abdallah 5, a. Ulila 3, a. Uh'qqi only 1.

The law of sampling verified above would be such much less exactly (at 52%, however) if we took into account, not the ikhs-s, but their subdivisions. It no longer applies to the family echelon. Nothing surprising in that. It is a rule of public law, we might say, and not of distributive justice. It stops at a certain echelon, which is that of the ikhs. But the proliferation of certain ikhs-s into certain sectors, where the others are reduced to a representation by principle, doubtlessly reveals complex symmetries. Perhaps there has been division of villages among groups. All are represented in each one, but in variable proportions, and that might produce agreements recognizing local primacy for such a one among them. Perhaps, on the contrary, after an egalitarian distribution, there have been alterings which took account of the importance of action taken within the limits of such-and-such a village by such-and-such an ikhs.

1: Berque--269 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
312
423
613

Names of the ikhs-s	1. Tahat-an.	2. Tasluft.	3. Tamsayt-an.	4. Is'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Irs'.	6. Fiaberin.	7. Tahat n-tfawt.	8. Talburt.	9. Amaluytick.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Tergu wammas.
Iseqqalen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	16
a. Ilarug	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'sayn		3		29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Abdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	18
a Ulila.....			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi.....			15	8	12					14	16	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	155	93	134
Crop Rotation												
The initials o (barley), n (turnip), m (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49.....	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50.....	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51.....	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1951-52.....	o	o	o + n	o + m	m	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n
1952-53.....	m	m	m	m + o	o	m + o	o	m	m	m	m	m

1: Berque--270 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
613

13. Ilmu'ughan.	14. Firezalen.	15. Uggug i-yml y-iz'ma.	16. F-Ighuzil.	17. Amalu y-iml n-tasut.	18. Taiaggut-an.	19. Dougord'aa.	20. Awrz i-yml y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-iml y-iz'ma.	22. Telat Unyhar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-irz.	25. Awrir-an.	26. Telat n-Tirawt.	27. Ait Yus.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,095
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546
?	o	o	?	m	m	o	o	o	m	o	o	o	m	o	
o+n	o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m	m	n	o	m	m	o	o	m	
m	o	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	o+m	o	m	m		
o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m+n	m+n	m	o+n	o+n	m	o+n	o	o		
m	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	m	o	m	o	m		

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 613 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 423 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very [103] clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/

Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 31 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and [794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

/198 cont./

423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
[452] and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is
credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
592 more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22	having rights	357	parcels
a. Lh'sen.	10	--	105	--
a. Âli	7	--	65	--

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Âli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Âli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Âli	2	having rights	2	parcels
a. Lh'sen.	8	--	12	--
a. H'ammo. . . .	10	--	15	--
	20	having rights	29	parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Rea-
423 son invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimo-
178 nies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the
613 a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave
178 no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property
[613] mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has
[794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
628 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châïb.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Aminayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlalu-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaïli.
11. Imiri y-igwrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-wgwadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

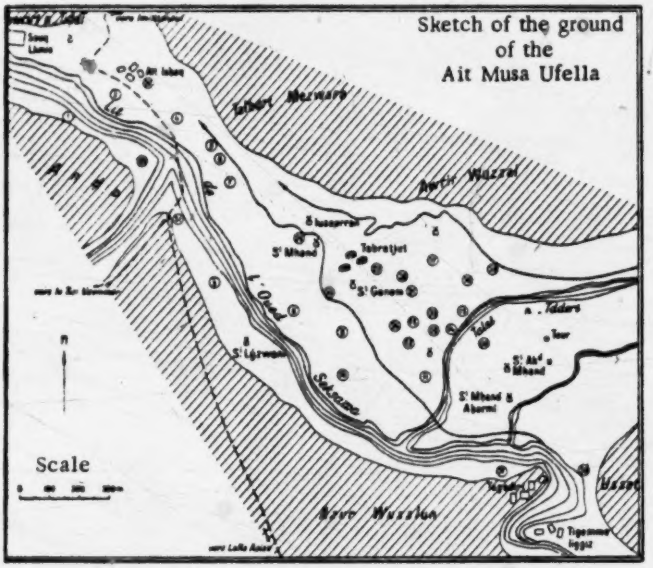


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).

The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./
634 property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s,
613 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but
423 among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51%
613 confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and
[128] 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

423
613

/Table from p. 202 of the original source/

Indication of the ikhs-s	Indication of the number of parcels that each ikhs possesses in each quarter (the letters and the numbering refer to the lists above)																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
a	16	15	13	47	64	4	53	45	40	17	25	38	15	7	5	31	4	8	11	15	9	4	39	85	19	47	14	49	37		2	5	783
b				1	3		1	7		1	3	1			1		1	1	1							1	1	8	1				32
c	1	2	3	8	8		12	10	4		4	4	2		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	10	4	16	8	2			121
d	1	2	3	7	8		2	9				4	1		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	8	1	20	6				95
e	7	16	8	9	10		3	17	1	17	3	6	10	5	2	4	7	15	3	1	2	3	3		3	16	9	13	15				208
f	2			3		3	4	5		3	2	4	2	1	2		2	2	2					7	1	5	3	1	7				61
g					1		2	1	1			1											2	3	1				2				14
h	2	1	2	1		1	2	2			1	1		2	3	2			1	3	1	3	2		1	4	1						36
i		4	2	6	4	3	3	6	2				4	1	1	1	1	3		2		6		4	2	18						5	78
j	4	11	5	23	25	1	10	11	11			9	17		1	12	3	5	2	9		16	13	7	11	50	1		1				258
k	1	3	9	7	6	4	8	10				3		2	2	3		3	4	9	3	4	5	6	4	22							118
l	1	2	2	1	4		1	3	2	3	1	3			3	3	2	1		2		1		3	2	4							44
m		1	2		2											3	1				3			2		12						1	27
n	3	1		1	7	1	1	2	2	2					1	3	3	3	1	3		2	1		1	9							47
o																														10			10
p	18	30																															48
q	6	5																															11
r	8	16																															24
Totals by quarters.	70	109	49	114	142	17	92	128	63	43	39	74	51	18	29	74	32	45	25	44	26	39	69	117	47	206	34	107	77	12	2	11	

General total 2,015

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up [103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 621 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation between Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 691 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of proceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 361 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

[Taqennurt]

/215 cont./

613 This table calls for various comments.

423 1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family
241 of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 1/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchari (18), the a. sidi Ghânem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^{c}wân the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./

613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wān, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebā^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbāit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[659] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

619
[423] /217 cont./
[657] these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzīyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzīyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals...	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

[Demsira]

/220 cont./

613 312 [443] [691] 1) At Timezgadiwin, an important market between the Tizi Umachcho and Argana, the law is so present that it could serve corollarially in a judiciary investigation in the proceedings setting against the present jemâa the claim of a formerly evicted ikhs, the a. Umahal. This ikhs's turn for water and its share in all the quarters of the ground: Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeranan, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, had been camouflaged by the four other ikhs-s making up the a. Timezgadiwin, but three quarters of a century of occupation did not succeed in abolishing them. Thus there were always 5 turns for water for 4 ikhs-s, no plausible explanation being alleged for such an anomaly. That in a matter which in such a milieu is always reasoned out very exactly. An error in the administration of the water: the investigation thrust itself in there and unmasked the usurpation.

613 312 423 2) At Tinnmrutin, high-mountain village of the a. Châib, endowed with a relatively large ground, there exist 7 ikhs-s. The irrigated land is divided into 12 quarters perpendicular to the axis of the torrent: Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. As a general rule, each quarter is divided among all the ikhs-s. Nevertheless inequalities of appurtenance, going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 423 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation. Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-Ibûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was
[634] the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-Ibûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-Ibûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately ● 423 coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ- [172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday [443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor [312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
213 vidual life in general, these correlations.
671
421 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels
that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous
domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its
fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over impor-
tant intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discon-
tinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each
ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms
thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property
mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In
the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the
techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of
the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfec-
tion. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is
neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of
neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average
cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is
sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not
viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter
to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the
native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive
ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels
are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights.
The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not mate-
rial, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That
emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by
the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any
other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and
the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identi-
fication. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary
conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

[829] What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[191] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchâ^c of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[423] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423 312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

121 423 [103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/230 cont./

423 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
613 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenom-
184 ena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ[c]. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," Ikraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
619 among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
121 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude
171 of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/262/ The Rite of the Stone On the Boundary

423 578 Boundary disputes between riverains are all the more frequent here because the modicity of the parcels makes one utilize as separation of the lands only the "lane" of grass saved sparingly between two tillages, or even stones put likewise on the fallow land and whose dotted line symbolically marks the passage from one right to another. The agricultural ground of the villages is thus constituted by tiny patches, sometimes reduced to one or two squares of irrigation: by them, as has been seen, each family is represented in each of the toponymic quarters whose ensemble forms the ground. Any one of these parcels is therefore defined less by the topography than by its fitting in between four others. From one to another, no interruption. Only just a difference of vegetation due to inequality of manure. It is necessary to hold the stalks apart in order to see a small, raised stone, awuttu, base of an ideal line sectioning the quarter perpendicularly to its axis. Here then is a peasant society without actual limitation of the lands. One conjectures that such a stage defies judiciary law. The problems that it poses in fact are those of a criticism of legitimacy, based on the contestation of civil status rather than concrete problems of emplacement. The former are never even with the plane of litigation. This is because they are amenable, not to a procedural course, but, if I may venture to say it, to an immediate law.

423 627 578

A sacramental operation resolves them. An "oath," as one says, or rather a gesture explained by a formula. To whom is it administered? Here, naturally, there is no qualification as plaintiff or defendant (1),

1. Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, op. laud., p. 95: "There is neither plaintiff, nor defendant."

in spite of the influences released by the judiciary mores, and indirectly by a procedural automatism inspired by the cadis. Someone is summoned to justify the limit reached by his plowshare or his hoe. Unless it should be the claimant himself who offers to

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[154] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/263 cont./

423 627 578 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that, by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

[114]

2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3),

[114]

3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
[171] absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" included, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract.

[241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[634] [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/277 cont./

175 794 675 [776] [126] the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in *675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
706 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ...., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[629] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ^{c}ala wasat'i'l-jamâ^{c}a. In this affair, obviously of private law,

/338 cont./

613 the occasion of plural oaths, it is the most closely drawn circle of agnates that is invited to confer on the litigant its balance /Fr.
613 appoint/. Conservative mechanisms, such as the chchfâa or the
423 habous /wakf/, are applied to maintain or re-establish a patrimonial immutability, less familial in the narrow sense than gentilitial, against any land alienation or leasing. The /339/ ancient act to which one party, the açl, will allege an exception, and which has the more worth as it becomes older, many times consists of a simple unilateral affirmation of the land rights of the ancestor. The genealogical tree, chchajara, and the successoral distribution, lmirath, archival documents manifesting the agnatic continuity, play a decisive role in the proceedings. An instinct for reconstitution stands in opposition to the dispersive force of inheritances and personal enterprise. Between rich cousin and poor cousins, it animates and obscurely justifies these takings and retakings that tradition and opinion liken less to usurpation than to escheat or a sort of permanent revenge between rightful co-claimants. This alone justifies and authorizes the existence of a gentilitial agrarian order.

613 All the effort of the jurisprudence, were it that of the great
671 cadis of the Sous, has been dedicated to serving rather than amending this situation. It is that the ikhs thrust itself, with all its attachments of public law, upon the private law. Conjugal foyers on the one side, city on the other are pendant, one might say, on the two sides of the ikhs. In it is their point of junction, on each side of which profoundly different social rhythms reign. On the one side kinship and alliance, justiciable to the memory of the living, and finding their practical application in each successoral dispute. This is the reign of the writing. On the other side, larger and larger classifications are drawn up in echelon from the ikhs to the smallest political unit, the taqbilt, and from there perhaps to the great legendary divisions of North Africa: Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. There the reign of unwritten law begins.

At the antipode of this gentilitial life, here is the individual person. Not only is it the single subject in the eyes of the law,

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it. Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaï. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423 The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position
[128] will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/355 cont./

423 /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the oc-
691 casion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgit. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{w}a. The jemâa proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{w}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{w}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

175 A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.:
691 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the
423 ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack
425 the Idma recovered it. But certain ikhs-s were false, being on the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
[192] The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

428
(192)

/356 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ᶜorf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175
423
425

/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (ᶜimâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

/357 cont./

423 denying any value to possession, have been /358/ found in Imt'd-
671 dan and in Idma. I have given elsewhere (1)

1. "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 386 sq.

the text and the translation of the second of these documents, which it seems useful to reproduce, as much for its basic interest as for an illustration of the singular disposition of these groups to legislate.

175 /The following six paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
423 inal source./ Copy (1348) of an act of rabîᶜnabawî 1266 Heg.:
671 1870. Be it known by these presents that in the custom of the Idma country there can be no rights drawn from possession. The latter, even prolonged, does not constitute valid title.

It is only if the titulary of the possession establishes its origin: how the right to the property passed to him, and the proof of his entering into possession by sale, redemption, donation, inheritance, that his possession will be valid. The party arguing faulty sales, or redemption, will again claim his title, and the original right will return to its origin.

Consequently, possession legally requires from the one who argues for it a legitimation. But if the origin that it invokes was reduced to nothing, the possessor would be no more than a usurper in our country. If not, not.

That is what we hold in all certitude from our past ancestors, and what they have written in our acts anciently and successively.

Still today, whosoever does not produce his origin, his possession depends on the pillaging of the goods of orphans, and on the iniquity due to the fact that in an unruly country the weak one does not obtain his rights (2).

2. Fine trait of what a modern school would call a feeling "of alterity"!

/358 cont./

175 423 671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

/359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

425 This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^cAbdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

/363 cont./

432 country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093
[195] Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the
[175] forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains
423 the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794
423
428
562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the
423 woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is
428 exercised not only in the margin, /this foot-
562 note is continued on the following page in
the original source/ Ih'âchit, that the "agnatic
[432] sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant
procedural theme. The women's share often
being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will
later bring about their annulment for all that
concerns the women's share, and without pre-
[184] scription intervening. On the other hand, in
neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example,
if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ mon-
ograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess
landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa,
a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the
contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir,
Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is for-
428 mally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been
562 observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of
[171] "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a
procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does
not disguise itself by any stratagem is crudely displayed. The
founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches,
there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the
428 so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An inter-
[175] esting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult
of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-
over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order
of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed
with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the
jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b.
Ibrâhîm at-Tamulît. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in
this manner.

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.
671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
212

/367 cont./

121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

/411 cont./

311 182 423 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object: it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neighbors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 182 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

/412 cont./

312 eye, who can follow the cutting up of the principal séguia by the
423 successive trenches. In the dry, the notion of quarter is enlarged
182 to that of ground. In fact, the use of water no longer intervenes to impose so extended a differentiation of the landscape and of work. Correlatively the toponymy, which, in the irrigated, would be confined, would refine divisions and subdivisions, describes in the dry no more than very broad meshes. This changing of rhythm, linked to the agricultural technique, constitutes an important sign. The comparison of structures collected from the upper cantons with the immense deployment of the Mez'ud'a or the Mtugga furnishes another one.

423 But let us leave the fertile avenue that is open here to re-
182 search, in order to evoke -- if only for a moment, and only for the fine antagonism of the types -- the Latin fundus, with its individuality, its name, its mass: veritable syntheis of notions of patrimony, parcel, quarter, and ground. The economy of the high valleys permits one to observe the play separately. It thus permits analysis of it. The individual patrimony is dissolved into a sampling of parcels encased in the different quarters constituting the ground. The parcel is not a unit. It is a fraction. Several causes are undoubtedly responsible for its evanescence: want of economic consistency, lack of mass, excessive and exclusive liaison with human data. The parcel, if one wishes, is the atom of this rural world, but so /413/ paltry and so little charged with material that it is reduced almost to a purely social definition.

It is not the same for the quarter. It is a veritable collective object, for it consists of the assemblage of representative shares of the gentilitial elements of the group. To neglect such a character would be to abstract and mutilate a communitarian genius that alone explains and supports the institution. But the quarter is not only an object. It is above all the meeting place of the object aspect and the factors aspect. In it are conjugated the social forces and the natural conditions. It is at the junction of the group and the soils. In it a bundle of family names is compounded in order to be enclosed in a toponym based on a fragment of landscape and a concourse of agrologic elements. Thus, the Twuttyan

/413 cont./

423 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the
182 same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more
182 general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can ex-
103 ceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of [613] the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, themselves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the [423] subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a [177] makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166 privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184 /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422 bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
• [423 mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^c" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^ca," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^c."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^c" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^c" pos-
621 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
• 423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^c" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

595 /218 cont./
[539] eat your harvests (1)!"

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778]
[787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/248 cont./

735 794 431 171 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as members of the Mussulman community, but the community, for them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaʿa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

•423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 171 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confederations have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./

423 578 486 651 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ [571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet [578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still [203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, [554] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing [625] policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

S
*631
423
571
578

/293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establishment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the

S
[121]

families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organization and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-Atlas may present.

R
634
631
171

XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Morocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of personal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen /makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the

R
[616]

Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton republican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states, the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R
634
631
614
578

Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that sometimes led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years. The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/360 cont./

*631 174 171 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).

1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 174 171 •423 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves, [567] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the [566] villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 *634 174 171 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/412 cont./

*[63] [648] [17] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which [578] [669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops [653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./
343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the
village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers
that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is especially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the
[621] village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/
/309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives
a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the
amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief
found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is
not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms.
Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the
victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in
order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
212 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five cham-
621 bers there.
423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
[312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925,
[669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres-
[727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
[358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.

Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

613
621
184

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613 these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621 prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346] granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343] that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [764] forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423] they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313] unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [623] [622] functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

431
425
428

Shluh MW11

[For information on habous endowments of land and other property to religious institutions for the glorification of Allah, see Categories 794 and 423.]

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/157 cont./

312 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is
423 of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage
178 of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to
[425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear
312 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For
423 stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that
171

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

> 1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/355 cont./

423 /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the oc-
691 casion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgit. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{w}a. The jemâa proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{w}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{w}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

175 A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.:
691 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the
423 ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack
425 the Idma recovered it. But certain ikhs-s were false, being on the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation
[613] of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment
[192] (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/356 cont./

428 (192)

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /fuwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ᶜorf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175 423 425

/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (ᶜimâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

/358 cont./

175 423 671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

/359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

425 This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^cAbdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

/359 cont./

425

/footnote 1 continued/ Surdon, Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Sketches of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, pp. 196 sq.; Marcy, R. al., 1932, "L'engagement immobilier (rrehen). Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier zemmour /The landed-property engagement (rrehen). Contribution to the study of the Zemmour customary law/," pp. 78 sq.; R. Aspinion, Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier berbère marocain (Zayân) /Contribution to the study of the Moroccan Berber customary law (Zayân)/, 1937, pp. 185 sq.; Blanc, "Effets du contrat de rehen dans les tribus berbères du Haut Gedmiwa /Effects of the rehen contract in the Berber tribes of the Upper Gedmiwa/," R. J. C., 1952, No. 7, pp. 7 sq., which describes the forms closest to those of our sector.

The equivalent in Arabic that is given in the texts for this term is the one of "sale with power of redemption," thunyâ, known from the fiqh. The jurists of the Sous, such as al-ᶜAbbâsî, have devoted long developments to it. In fact, it is a customary type so frequent, under diverse names, that the claimant is allowed, long after the fact, to put in a plea to demand the resolution /annulment/ of a sale: he then explains the length of his silence by a "presumption of thunyâ."

This sale is general in the Sous: ghâlib fî buldati-nâ. It bears several names there: iqâla or rahn. At-Tamanârtî writes: "No difference between this assumed rahn so widespread in the country and the thunyâ sale." And at-Tamulîî: "My rule in matters of purchases of land made in our country under the name of rahn is to leave the fruits to the purchaser, for what the parties have sought is clearly a thunyâ sale."

This resolutory faculty (properly called iqâla) is in principle a clause vitiating the sale. Nevertheless the tendency of the jurists is

/359 cont./

425 to tolerate the latter as a fait accompli. They even use the argument of this vicious clause to rescind the sale in exchange for reimbursement. And that even after lapses possibly exceeding a century, and during which the possession effected no prescription. Rescission and application a posteriori in this case come back to practically the same thing. They are of interest to us only through the judicial preoccupation that they express to offer a local form absolutely irreducible to orthodoxy.

But here are further significant aspects. With the assimilation with the classic thunyâ are already distinguished some elements of of a singular archaism. Thus in the modes of "resiliation." It takes effect reckoning from the payment of a portion of the sum, tamuzunt, /360/ tauqit, that is, of an "obole." In a. Abdella, the deposit is made on the pile of fruit. Everything happens as if the lessor thus re-establishes communication that was interrupted by the collecting of the price. Such seems to be the substrate of what was later interpreted as security, sale with power of redemption or with resolutory condition. Even at present a devaluation of a hundredfold to one has not taken from the Seksawa any of the gravity with which they effect the liberation of the field, its ransom, tefdiyya, ifda, iftida, in exchange for sums of a ridiculously small amount. For there is in all that indeed something other than the quantitative.

425 175 Truly an ancient form: al-Bakrî points out the existence of it in this part of the Atlas in the eleventh century. He undoubtedly connects it with some montagnard heresy: râfidî-s or worshipers of the ram. During periods of religious zeal the reaction of the learned became vehement. Thus, in 970 Heg.: 1563, the official interdiction of this contract was proclaimed at Taroudant. This was a period of fervor and strong political power. At about this period the mystic Ah'med u. Musa died. The Sâadian Mawlây ᶜAbd Allah al-Ghâlib bi'llah begged for his approbation and had conferred on himself the quality of ᶜadl by the doctors of the South. This was also the time when the Arab notarial practice became generalized in the Atlas. However that may be, the interdiction did not hold against the customary unanimity that it

/360 cont./

425 tried to break, and whose riposte, significantly, assumed a pious
175 and juridical coloring. The jamāᶜa cadi of Taroudant, Saᶜīd ibn ᶜAlī al-Hawzālī, consulted the saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanārtī, who, by classic reasoning of Malékite /Maliki/ pragmatism, concluded in favor of tolerance: "And that is why this practice is thus perpetuated throughout the country of the Sous up to our day."

425 If the saints come to the rescue of the lender at interest, it is because it is a matter of a particularly powerful social fatality. In fact this mode of credit on a landed-property pledge is not only an economic and juridical category. It is also a sentimental motive power: the lessee's effort to consolidate his possession is opposed by the continuous attack of the lessor. Any means will do: feint, fraudulent denegation, falsehood, etc. All is fair in war. The two parties, as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, confront each other like cat and dog: one seeks to disguise the rrahn as a definitive sale, the other to do away with it without any outlay by title of pure and simple monopoly. More than gain, it is probably an advantageous position, fame in the bosom of the group, that one seeks. That against preoccupations of subjective sincerity, indeed old rules of obligation that the rrahn still expresses, /361/ this is undeniable. But what counts here is triumph in the joust. Something superior even to patrimonial legitimacy is affirmed in this tension that divides the group in conflicts of sometimes several generations. These mores give the skillful litigant and even the falsifier his chance. Must one accordingly attribute them to the decadence of the institutions? No, undoubtedly, but rather to a procedural primacy. And beneath this last is divined an old agonistic structure.

432

The Ruse-Sale

This is undoubtedly what explains the fact that, in spite of all the objections against landed-property alienation, it nevertheless exists. It is rare in Seksawa, and certain neighboring populations have purely and simply abolished it. Out of four "sales" one is affirmed as definitive: such is the ratio

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] haracter of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today, in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talïint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin,"
[312] tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the seguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are
[433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc-
[426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots
[242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some
[251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./

343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country.
[465] He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
[358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

[423] [427]

/114 cont./

233 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^c confines, yet
221 without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes,
648 the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178]
[427]
[494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce. milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
(675) nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[191] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the fields:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

431
425
428

Shluh MW11

[For information on habous endowments of land and other property to religious institutions for the glorification of Allah, see Categories 794 and 423.]

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 175 619 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. Âbdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ît.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1).

[731] [428]

1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619
173
175
(428)
[731]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

[648]

173
619

His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great [428] personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Abdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has
[778] his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
[634] that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago partici-
[776] pated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

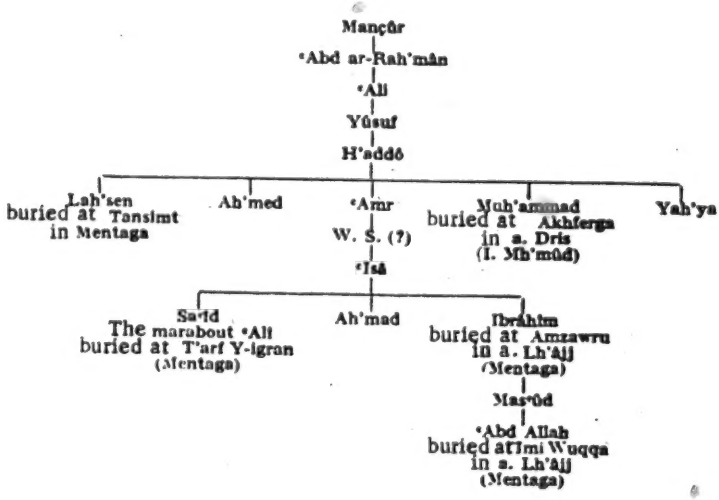
175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
794 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
428 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in viands."

428 There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga,
428 whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left
602 as heir his cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, whom this mention undoubtedly
776 identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been
127 made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The
602 first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in
428 spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of
776 ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜîd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other docu-
602 ments. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral
428 tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut
776 Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh',
602 Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No
428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line,
776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants.
[613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they
[175] postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person-
[602] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/
abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/342 cont./

585 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance
• [428] anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this
[779] case by literate men when the fatih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work,
421 it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the
562 man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

597 /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an
671 old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by
the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grand-
[428] father if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the
671 child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator.
[881] Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from
421 the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
421 inal source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw
175 Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Sekkawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
[192] The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/356 cont./

428 [192]

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ᶜorf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175 423 425

/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (ᶜimᵊra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/363 cont./

432 country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093
[195] Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the
[175] forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains
423 the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794
423
428
562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the
423 woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is
• 428 exercised not only in the margin, /this foot-
562 note is continued on the following page in
the original source/ ih'âchit, that the "agnatic
sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant
[432] procedural theme. The women's share often
being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will
later bring about their annulment for all that
concerns the women's share, and without pre-
[184] scription intervening. On the other hand, in
neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example,
if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ mon-
ograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess
landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa,
a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the
contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir,
Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 From these haboûs, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is for-
428 mally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been
562 observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of
[171] "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a
procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does
not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The
founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches,
there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the
428 so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An inter-
esting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult
[175] of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-
over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order
of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed
with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the
jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b.
Ibrâhîm at-Tamulît. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in
this manner.

/364 cont./

794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

794 428 671

An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'ăchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfăa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634

The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1),

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in
[67] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428
On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A
[69] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga.
[177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrīda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(562) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.
671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
212

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[613] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/140 cont./

241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/." Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

/46 cont./

•43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Ait ʿAisi and the Ait Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
•43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

● 431
425
428

Shluh MW11

[For information on habous endowments of land and other property to religious institutions for the glorification of Allah, see Categories 794 and 423.]

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}ûr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone
[634] remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyan from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
[571] political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[586] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and
[428] then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/232 cont./

*634 648 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional [431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a benefi-
ciary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the
one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days
of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself
according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often
also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put
in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of
the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary con-
tribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate,
levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and
the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying
contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
•431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In
the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the coun-
try and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary
of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests
or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official
measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way ob-
served in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of
the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been
said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the
legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 794 431 191 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as members of the Mussulman community, but the community, for them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaᶜa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 191 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confederations have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/224 cont./
175 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).
*634

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

• [431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent factions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
[361] enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
[431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*631 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
*634 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
619 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction
616 of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals
648 to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

Very friendly relations were even established between El Haj
175 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
●432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

/277 cont./

175 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).
675
[876]
[126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mâruf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in
675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from
[776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
[432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
[693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/360 cont./

425 tried to break, and whose riposte, significantly, assumed a pious
175 and juridical coloring. The jamâ^ca cadi of Taroudant, Sa^cîd ibn ^cAlî al-Hawzâlî, consulted the saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanârtî, who, by classic reasoning of Malékite /Maliki/ pragmatism, concluded in favor of tolerance: "And that is why this practice is thus perpetuated throughout the country of the Sous up to our day."

425 If the saints come to the rescue of the lender at interest, it is because it is a matter of a particularly powerful social fatality. In fact this mode of credit on a landed-property pledge is not only an economic and juridical category. It is also a sentimental motive power: the lessee's effort to consolidate his possession is opposed by the continuous attack of the lessor. Any means will do: feint, fraudulent denegation, falsehood, etc. All is fair in war. The two parties, as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, confront each other like cat and dog: one seeks to disguise the rrahn as a definitive sale, the other to do away with it without any outlay by title of pure and simple monopoly. More than gain, it is probably an advantageous position, fame in the bosom of the group, that one seeks. That against preoccupations of subjective sincerity, indeed old rules of obligation that the rrahn still expresses, /361/ this is undeniable. But what counts here is triumph in the joust. Something superior even to patrimonial legitimacy is affirmed in this tension that divides the group in conflicts of sometimes several generations. These mores give the skillful litigant and even the falsifier his chance. Must one accordingly attribute them to the decadence of the institutions? No, undoubtedly, but rather to a procedural primacy. And beneath this last is divined an old agonistic structure.

432

The Ruse-Sale

This is undoubtedly what explains the fact that, in spite of all the objections against landed-property alienation, it nevertheless exists. It is rare in Seksawa, and certain neighboring populations have purely and simply abolished it. Out of four "sales" one is affirmed as definitive: such is the ratio

/361 cont./

432 that one can very roughly imagine from the lists of ancient acts that sometimes fall into our hands. Naturally during periods of famine usury practices its ravages. People remember in a. Abdella the years 1295-96 Heg. when a piece of land was sold for one rîâl! But the grandfather of the present amghar confiscated all these acts one day, put them in a pile the height of a donkey in Inzzûyma, and set them on fire: and everyone regained his rights.

[175]

This was a violent procedure. There are others. In fact the ratio of sales is much smaller than that of one out of four. Now, whatever might be the nature of the terms that there has been care to have consigned to it, the local law will change the resiliable act, make it slip in some way into the inferior category, if the wording in the least presents a weakness or irregularity of technical order: a single notary instead of two, and two who are qualified; the seller's suddenly producing an iqâla, "resiliation," the fact that there has been no tradition; that the lessee does not have peaceable possession, etc. Obviously all sorts of obstacles are raised against the consolidation of the sale.

It is thus that a dissertation, undated, but attributed to the son of sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, who would have to go back to the second third of the seventeenth century, assembles in a potpourri all the nullities that can infirm a sale: indetermination, chance, injury, conditional stipulation. Fine manifestation of pedantry conspiring with the inalienability that local instinct wants and which such codification will express by decreeing that whoever is convicted of wanting to alienate land to a foreigner must sacrifice a cow as an offering to the jemâa.

/362/ Indeed, even better, the seller can unilaterally go back on his act, either because he declares himself wronged or constrained: this is then a declaration of istirᶜâ', or because he "repents": this is then an istighfâr al-bayᶜ. Lacking written jurisprudence, one poorly knows what the judiciary effect of these declarations might be. Undoubtedly to contribute to creating a climate propitious for revendication, rather than to orient the procedure, henceforth bilateral, decisively. A trace undoubtedly,

/362 cont./

432 as has been seen, of a very ancient imprecatory law that disappeared under the adaptations to the fiqh. An amusing expression of these repentances is offered by an act from Imsker. The witness goes back on his declaration, proclaiming that the sale did not take place, he was misled by Satan the accursed and the enticement of a few pounds of honey! (1141 Heg.: 1729.) It is not rare that the troubled conscience of the t't'olba becomes clear toward the end by the inscription of these curious acts "of repentance," istighfâr, infirming such-and-such of their testimonies. The act remains hidden at the bottom of a leather bottle. Its accidental discovery will produce a striking procedural event and will cause everything to begin again at zero: the ancient possession will no longer count for anything in opposition.

Correlatively a veritable profusion of orthodox formulas will come to color the hazardous alienations and compensate for their obvious precariousness by a virtuous verbalism: "Firm, licit, executory, definitive purchase, exclusive of any cause for redemption or option, concluded in full knowledge and elimination of ignorance concerning the price and the thing a price was put on, for a sum and a forfeit of an ounce and a half of whole coin, the two rightful claimants being put in possession, one of his money, the other of his property." It is doubtlessly thus that the buyer runs his risk. Although he enters into a perpetual dialectic with the progeny of his seller, he hopes to make his rights valid, and, seniority helping, to constitute an açl. It is possible that this açl may be contrary to the old agnatic distribution; in any case, the thing will not go far, since about five centuries of play of notarial writing have not noticeably disturbed the order of the grounds of the valley.

These purchases and these rrahn-s ordinarily bear on, rather than land topographically delimited, parcels individualized by the name of the legitimate owner in such-and-such a quarter. The expression is sometimes: "all that on which his name bears" (1).

[171]

1. In a completely different society, the France of the upper Middle Ages, it was the name of the

/362 cont./

• 432
171

/footnote 1 continued/ estate that identified the land: a formula diametrically opposed to ours and which rests, as has been seen, on a completely different conception of the "field." Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, L'alleu et le domaine rural /The allodium and the rural domain/, 1889, p. 18.

With any aim at comparativism set aside, but by title of a geographical lesson, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ let us note that in the milieu, similarly montagnard and conservative, of Andorra the so-called sale with power of redemption is by far the most frequent. Like the rrahn of the Chleuhs /Shluh/, the Andorran redemption can be very long term, transferable to a third party, and the operations of repurchase are connected, in their validity and their effect upon the pending harvest, with considerations of agricultural season! J.-A. Brutails, La coutume d'Andorre /The customs of Andorra/, 1904, pp. 198 sq.

432 /363/ The sale is then called "aggregate," muchâ^{c} (1),

1. Al-^{c}Abbâsî, Ajwiba, lith., t. I, p. 169, l. 8 sq., defines this muchâ^{c} sale, the name of which he writes, ibid., p. 174, l. 15 sq. Locally muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c} is also said.

an expression of bookish origin that we will find to designate the collective, with an unexpected oriental analogy. Other terms are sometimes used: busiyyar or basiyyar in Nfifa, for example. [195] Sometimes the pen of the writer even rises to hyperbole: a whole

/363 cont./

432 [195] [175] country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093 Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Ih'ŝchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

[432] [184]

794 428 562 [171] From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175] War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulît. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[306] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any
[178] doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as [465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his [685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main- [358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be- [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin," [312] tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are [433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc- [426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts, not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots [242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some [251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

/172 cont./

182
121

/ footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233 433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds [182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

619
[423]
[657]

/217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzlyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzlyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals...	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Lah'sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nûfa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ᶜabra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ᶜAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
[631] objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/257 cont./

343 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the
571 "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the
554 chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do
683 with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuse the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of
571 the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress
554 itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collec-
[574] tion of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They
[671] claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions,
[434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that
[681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a
[652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus con-
[556] stitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who ex-
[471] ploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

175 /274 cont./
*634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
•434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

/274 cont./

*634 556 •434 661 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] [486] [558] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata," which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains [721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 661 721 571 [574] So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar everywhere in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for [616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 *634 128 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
[192] The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
[693] which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
10 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
10 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
● 437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/271 cont./

794
437

in series, whose complexity doubtlessly offers an interesting clue, but about which we are still unable to say whether it is authentic or results from a deformation of the system.

/The next two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ During the agricultural periods suitable for collection the jemâa takes in the quota of each one and stores it in a traditional location: the mosque at Awines, an ad hoc chamber at Wanz'id', for example. Upon the arrival /272/ of the titulary (let us take in this case at hand the representative of Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment), the products are sold. Most often they are sold at auctions, according to the mode giving rise to free contests and charitable works, which is commonly observed in this kind of thing. But sometimes, too, at Tagenza among others, this grain is bought at the market price by destitute citizens who lack the beasts of burden to provision themselves in the plain.

Lastly, it happens that the gift may be "portable": this is the case for the large collective dues for sidi Ah'med u Ali. Once gathered together in the mosque of Awines, they are sold at auction, and it is the cash that will be paid to the saint by a delegation from the taqbilt. In the course of recent years, this sale has produced a sum of 25 to 30,000 fr. for the cereals alone, which, if one applied the rule of 1/80, would lead to an evaluation of a harvest of some 2,500,000 fr. for the Bas /Lower/ a. Lh'sen: an interesting economic indication, because it is a matter of about a hundred foyers.

Fiscal exactitude, distributive sharpness, rigorous calculation in the assessment of the charge and the collection of the product, but also reveling at the time of payment, joyous release of the auctions, ostentatious generosity in its place: all these aspects join to make of this system of dues, punctuating the agricultural year, a rich source of religious feelings and juridical ideas.

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
•437 tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
484 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

[233] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyâra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sons, the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 166 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The 167 amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/101 cont./

317 Among the economic determinants that make the mountain
438 depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).
439
[487]

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance
[263] of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt.
[443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/20 cont./

133 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
181 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have
182 acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the in-
133 terior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
361 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
[226] Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain
[439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our ère had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 166 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The 167 amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/101 cont./

317 Among the economic determinants that make the mountain
438 depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).
439
[487]

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance
[263] of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt.
[443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
133 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
361 Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
[226] cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the
[439] feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
•439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

• 439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
*631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
713 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
648 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
•439 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*634 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
726 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
648 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col
of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi
Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can [171] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul^{c}wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal 241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational 441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms 237

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwāh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sākin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wân (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/: it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[571] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig- guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Âbdallah u Sîid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con- 634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular 619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong 619

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyʿra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 166 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The 167 amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/101 cont./

317 Among the economic determinants that make the mountain
438 depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).
434
[487]

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance
[263] of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt.
[443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has 245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstak- [241] ing clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and [262] when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach [443] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible [412] number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety [586] is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Demsira]

/220 cont./

613 312 [443] [691] 1) At Timezgadiwin, an important market between the Tizi Umachcho and Argana, the law is so present that it could serve corollarially in a judiciary investigation in the proceedings setting against the present jemâa the claim of a formerly evicted ikhs, the a. Umahal. This ikhs's turn for water and its share in all the quarters of the ground: Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeranan, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, had been camouflaged by the four other ikhs-s making up the a. Timezgadiwin, but three quarters of a century of occupation did not succeed in abolishing them. Thus there were always 5 turns for water for 4 ikhs-s, no plausible explanation being alleged for such an anomaly. That in a matter which in such a milieu is always reasoned out very exactly. An error in the administration of the water: the investigation thrust itself in there and unmasked the usurpation.

613 312 423 2) At Tinnmrutin, high-mountain village of the a. Châib, endowed with a relatively large ground, there exist 7 ikhs-s. The irrigated land is divided into 12 quarters perpendicular to the axis of the torrent: Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. As a general rule, each quarter is divided among all the ikhs-s. Nevertheless inequalities of appurtenance, going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 423 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday [443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
[778] by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Demnate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwallal, and of Bou Lʿajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/37 cont./

632 162 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amismiz [361] [443] /Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1). 562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to [527] Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two [831] groups.

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
• [443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manufactured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/ rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the "Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the "taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus it can happen that political events that took place on the north versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
[178] however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/249 cont./
423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.
[554]
[625]

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/250 cont./

443 Bouzia in the Haha tribe, the "Had" of the A'it Mzal in the Anti-Atlas, or still more often at the foot of the mountains, such as, for example, the markets of Amismiz and of Tisgin of the
443 Gedmiwa. Sometimes surrounded by a contiguous wall, these
366 markets possess several hundred shops formed out of alveoli of earth and dry stone, covered with branches, divided into quarters or "rahba." One finds in their enclosure cafés, which are often unpleasant places, sometimes permanent storehouses for storing commodities, always a mosque in which people go to
443 swear an oath if some dispute arises. These markets, frequented by all the tribes of the vicinity, sometimes at two days' distance, often gather together several thousand Berbères /Berbers/. It then becomes necessary to watch particularly to protect the transactions by special regulations.

443 It is a great disgrace for the inhabitants of a country not to
625 be able to repress energetically the thefts that might be com-
685 mitted in their souq /sook/ or on the roads leading to it; so all the little codes of customary law of the tribes of the South of Morocco are devoted to long paragraphs enumerating the considerable fines that punish the thieves and route cutters who would try to practice their trade at the market or its outskirts. Incessant surveillance is exercised by the tribal authorities, so that the guilty may be immediately apprehended and condemned. There is reason to fear, as a matter of fact, that there may break out at the market an altercation whose appearance could be the signal for a panic. Sometimes similar incidents are created on purpose by the thieves in order to "break up" the souq and to enable them, by means of the disorder, to pillage valuable merchandise.

For all these reasons, it is rare that an assembly of notables suffices to make the "horma," the good name of the market, respected. /251/ Certain tribes nevertheless succeed in protecting their souqs, and then reap large profits from them (1).

1. Cf. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 128-134: the development of the market of Tinghir (Todgha) permits leasing the rights

/251 cont./

•443 625 685 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, 443 634 554 692 685 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on *634 792 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi 784 Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-[708] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203
R
[681]

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
•443
171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
[114]

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amgh..
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small meilah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
• 443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
451 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436]
[104]

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

451
634
652

/378 cont./

Credit	Nature of the operation	Debit	Nature of the operation
	A) In cash		
12 m 4 o	Remitted by the taqbilt.	60 o, 1/2 mu	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Amount of the present of condolences made by the jemâa of the Idaw Mçat't'og and the Idaw Kaïs.	3 uj	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
		57 o	"Bled Lebda," Idaw Mçat't'og and Idaw Kaïs.
9 o	Amount of a present of condolences.	45 o	Price of sheep remitted to Lah'sen b. Ah'med and Moh'ammed b. Messâud of Tamarwut, that is, 30 o + 15 o.
9 o	Price of a sheep slaughtered for the jemâa and reimbursed to the moqaddem.		
9 o 1 mu	Amount of the condolences of the Mentaga.	4 uj	Partial reimbursement to Lah'sen u Ah'med. This sum represents part of the debts that the taqbilt owes.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the granddaughter of the a. Buzid of Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the daughter of Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed of Agersif at the time of his return to the mosque of Asif Leh'lu.
Total: 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		Total: 16 m, 8 o, 1.5 mu, 7 uj.	

/379/

B) Fiduciary operations

451 4 o	Price of a sheep.	20 o	Price of sheep of dhbîh'a and sum remitted to the women.
634 3 o	—		
652 7 o	—		
5 uj	Loan to an old man.		
5 uj	Loan to an old man.	60 o, 1 mu	Gift given to Sidi H'asan, one of the sons of the a. Ben Nâçer.
11 mu, 2 fl	Price of sheepskins.		
10 o	Loan to Abdallah u Març	6 o, 1/2 mu	Gift given to the Ulad Sidi Muh'.
		3 o	Sum spent by the moqaddem (?).
		9 o	Sum remitted to Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, that is, the price of three sheep.
		6 o	Sum remitted to Lah'sen Kâbûs as reimbursement.
		30 o	Gift to the marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ᶜAyâd of the Sous.
		4 o, 1/2 mu	Sum remitted by Abdellah b. Ah'med u Març to Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
Total: 24 o, 10 uj, 11 mu, 2 fl		Total: 138 o, 2 mu	

Recapitulation of the credit: 18 m, 9 o, etc.
Recapitulation of the debit : 30 m, 6 o, etc.
Balance: — 11 m, 7 o, etc.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, fqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/198 cont./

423 794 [452] peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here, and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 613 592 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Ali, are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen.	10 --	105 --
a. Ali	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Ali each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Ali have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Ali	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen.	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 423 178 613 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phenomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has been done s-icd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/277 cont./

175 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).
675
[376]
[126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice,
796 tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
675 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from
[176] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
[432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
[693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

/110 cont./

231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

[171]

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/159 cont./

121 /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian
182 S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias,
114 L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation
[171] hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to
182 exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains
184 and by tools and by modes.

241 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasing-
412 ly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is
184 horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts,
407 zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more
492 than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows,
184 and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja
[162]

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Pl. V/

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
859

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

•462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/ [462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

624
644
463
357

Shluh MW11

[For information on the servants, retainers and other personnel of the casbahs of the "great chiefs," see categories 631, 712, and 634.]

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538]
[581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
976 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyara). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 166 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The 167 amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/47 cont./

511 556 291 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 184 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.

325 326 184 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

[306] [178]

439 177 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

[432] [464]

556 184 511 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cultivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in-
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[171] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

609 /245 cont./
574
[344]
[485]

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert. Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners. Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

*[634]
[162]
609
57
556
563
[672]
•[464]
609
641
563

When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

609
166
*634
563

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable [241] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural [221] periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the 212 repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli- 875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison [634] of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, [423] to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/327 cont./
695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afel "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
[794] 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
•[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

/306 cont./

343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
712 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five cham-
621 bers there.
423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
[312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres-
[727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. [465] He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his [685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main- [358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be- [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II. Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II.- The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

• 466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

•466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] [177] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] [651] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 [651] [681] In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened. 735 794 431 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har- [465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/342 cont./

175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
[466] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
[333] A'it Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
• [466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*63 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*63 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and [693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re- [343] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops [653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] [556] [491] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

•474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
*634 to the in[illegible] of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

272 178 /36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[566]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592 476 [233] [464] [241] ooo

/168 cont./

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
(624) guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

(613) In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
(624) for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
(613) zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a
476 general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and
829 here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

"The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right
[624] to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

"The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to
[613] them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the ana-
476 lytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort
[613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
• 476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a benefi-
ciary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the
one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days
of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself
according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often
also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put
in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of
the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary con-
tribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate,
levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and
the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying
contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In
the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the coun-
try and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary
of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests
or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official
measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way ob-
served in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of
the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been
said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the
legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/14 cont./

184 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure
804 is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

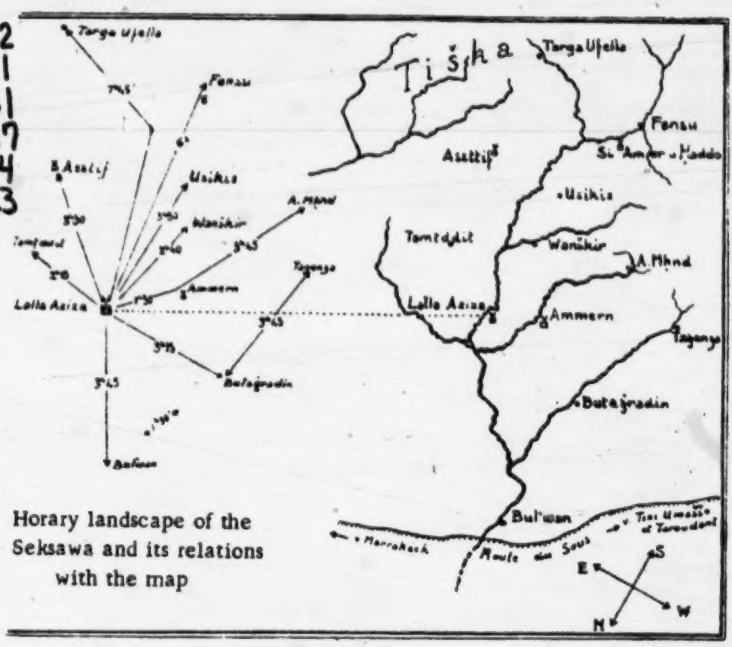
487 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1]
484 and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which
804 will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These dura-
823 tions, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

1. [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

(127) 1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[178] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sîid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last
[484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-
634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 em times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
133 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
101 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
[181] vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

776 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

/The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
794 source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own
484 taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt.. The perimeter of
527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'ajj Hfid' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This reserve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

794 484

776 794 The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sâid u Abdennâim (1);

1. Dawh'at an-nâchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜfd, who repelled the advances of the Sâadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/13 cont./
133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga ~~of~~ the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
134 the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with dévout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," Hesp., 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his Rih'la, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly
485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of
794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a
621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a madinâ. He will
000 savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

609 /245 cont./
574
[344]
[485]

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert. Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners. Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

*[634]
[162]
609
57
556
563
[672]
[464]
609
641
563

When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

609
166
*634
563

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

*631 121 182 /321 cont./
trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them. It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

[651] [486] [485]

*634 *631 121 182 It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 799 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./

423 579 486 651 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ [571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet [578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still [203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. [554] These then are the notables of the place, [625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without failing. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
[616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

*631 /321 cont./
121 trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will
182 carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs
[651] of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from
[486] travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them.
[485] It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

*634 It is true that the possession of a major route of communica-
*631 tion, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley,
121 obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain,
182 give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/7 cont./

133 [126] /footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâ^{c}, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bul^{c}wân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâ^{c}. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2). [487]

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
133
487
361

102
103
131
133
484
361
19/
I d a w
M h m u d
Tassila
Ayerou
Amergui
Tessen
Ulengo
Tamgurt
Tagrawt
Wanzeg
Zabat
Ait Mhand
Amdjibb
Imbdon
Ait Zemlal
Ait Ba Hamma
Ait Mendel
Ait Ameur n. Tamgin
Tamgin
Igherzaffen
Tamanrasset
Tamanghet
Tabelbala
Tassili
Ait Ali
Ait Mengued
Ait Ali
Ait Ali
Ait Ali

/14 cont./

184 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure
804 is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

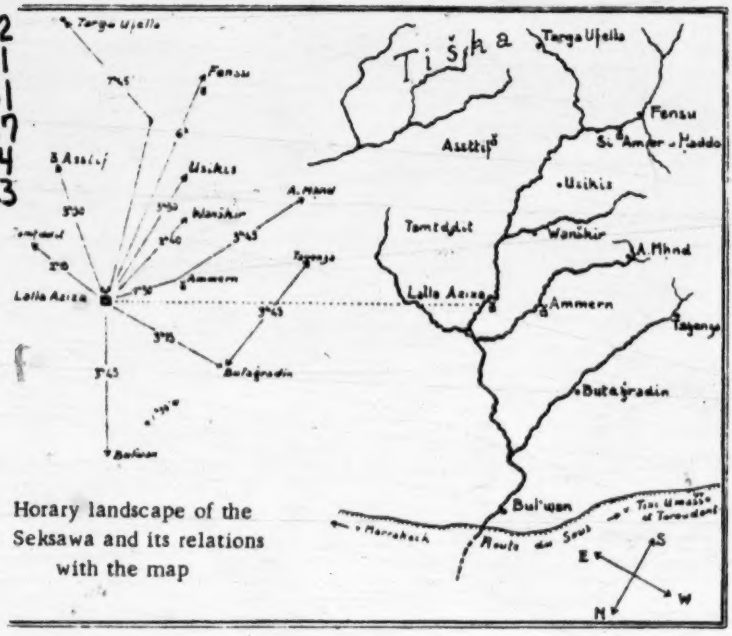
487 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1]
484 and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which
804 will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These dura-
823 tions, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper de-
[217] scendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth
[127] century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-
[721] bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryum, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
• 487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.
101 a. Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

174
487
619

/74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1).

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

/74 cont./

487 174 619 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Ámer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 166 619 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 175 619 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

1: Berque--138 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/100/

101
102
487
221
312
131
133

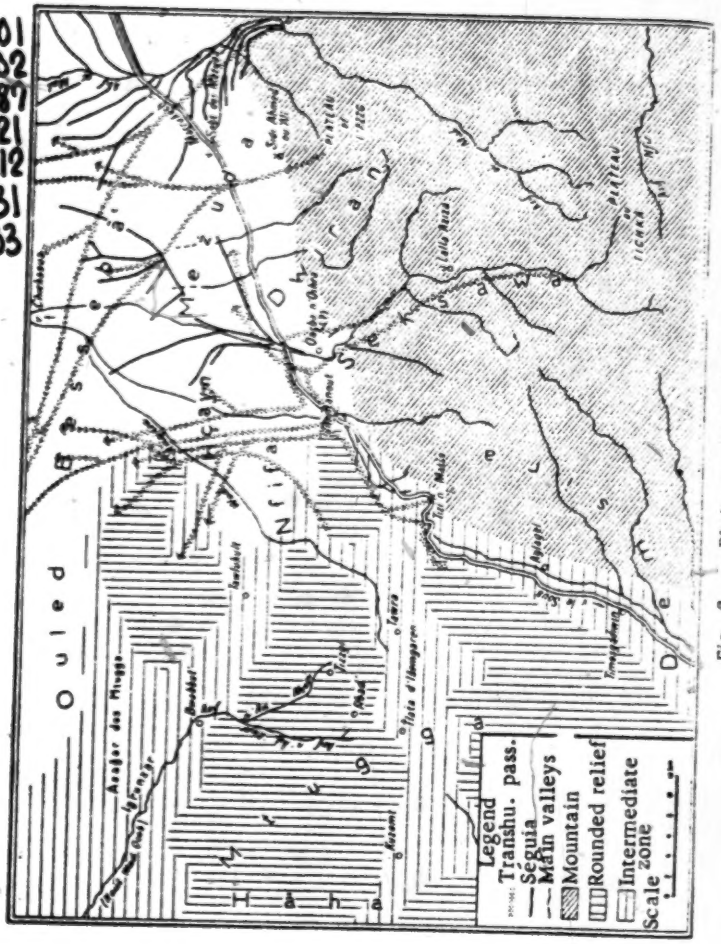


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

> 2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

> 1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the [illegible]
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the [illegible] of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^wel. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^car, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/303/cont./

776 B. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

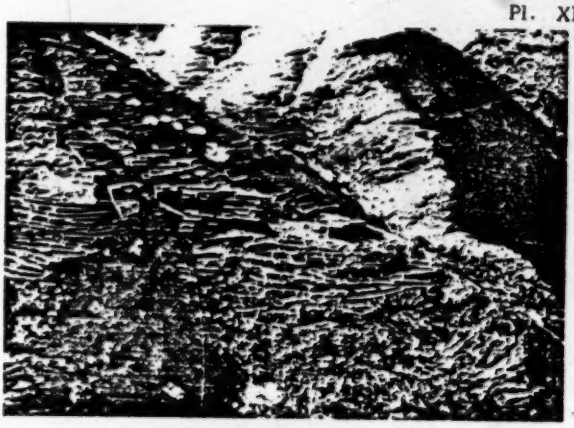
/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

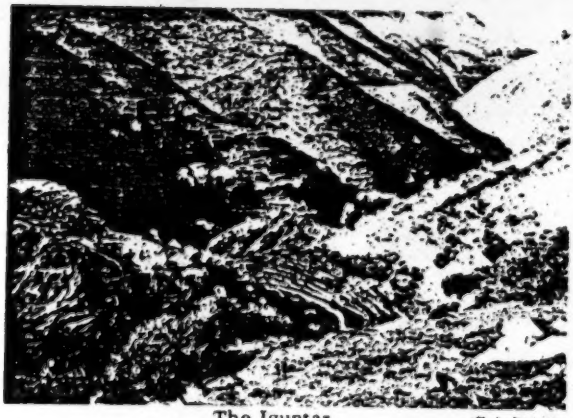
142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[192]
[712]
[343]
[487]

/16 cont./

133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

[233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In * [634] [578] [437] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 628 • [487] [438] On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

102
103
131
133
619
491

P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/. Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal movements is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/15 cont./

133 In the western Atlas the Tizi n Fedghat and the Tizi n
491 Telwet, at close to 2,000 meters in altitude, thus put the land of the Skoura, the Haut-Dra, in communication with Demnat and Marrakech by a road that the winter snows sometimes cut for several weeks. Farther to the West, the Tizi n Test, which rises to 1,900 meters, presents the same difficulties; it is followed by travelers who are going from Taroudant to Marrakech by following the valley of the Nefis. The Tizi Ma^c^cho, whose altitude does not go beyond 1,400 meters, is free in all seasons; it commands the passage from Taroudant to Imi n Tanout and Mogador. Finally, no difficulty is found on the coastal trail, which borders the country of the Haha, other than the slope of the last hills of the Atlas or the bed of the dry wadis in the vicinity of the Ocean; this is the natural route of invasions between the plains of the Sous and Marrakech, which Arabs and Berbères /Berbers/ have so often taken in the course of the centuries.

These routes of the Deren are themselves only the prolongation of the ones used across the Anti-Atlas by travelers who have come from the palm groves of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani and who want to reach the towns of the North. From Aqqa and Tatta, by way of the crests of the Ida ou Kensous or the valley of the Inda ou Zal, one thus arrives in the Sous plain at the very point where the trail of the Tizi n Test climbs the Haut-Atlas toward Marrakech; from Tamanart by way of Amanouz and the Tizi n Taraqatin one reaches the land of the Ida ou Gnidif and the A^c^lt Mzal, to find before him the passage of the Tizi Ma^c^cho across the Deren. Between /16/ the Ocean and the western massif of the Kest and of the Ida ou Semlal, the rolling territory of the Aît Ba ^c^Amran, the plain of Tiznit and of the Chtouka offer an easy route for the caravans that go up toward Mogador by following the trail of the Haha.

133 There are many other intermediate passes, which, without
491 being graded for the movement of the heavily loaded camels,
492 cross the high crests between the upper valleys of each versant. In the Deren during the fine season the montagnards use up to

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
[487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

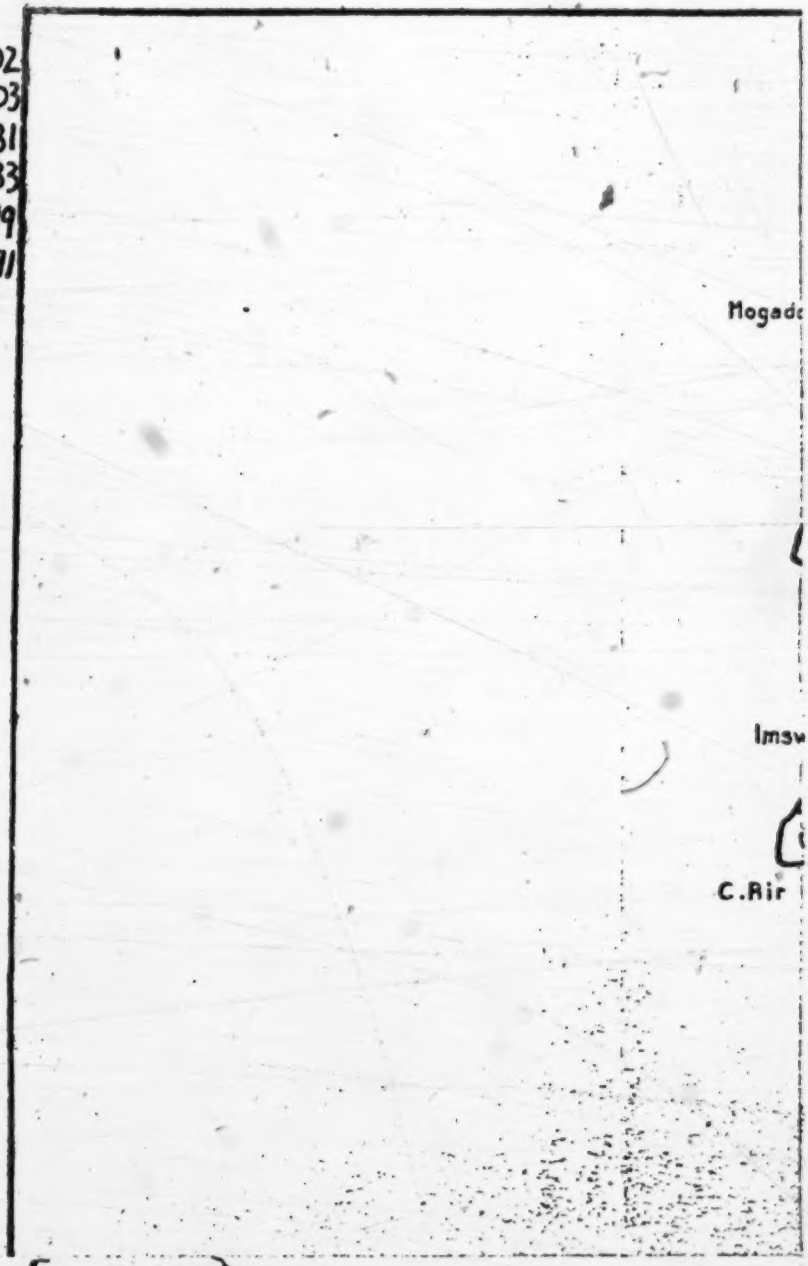
491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains. [643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping [619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^ccho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

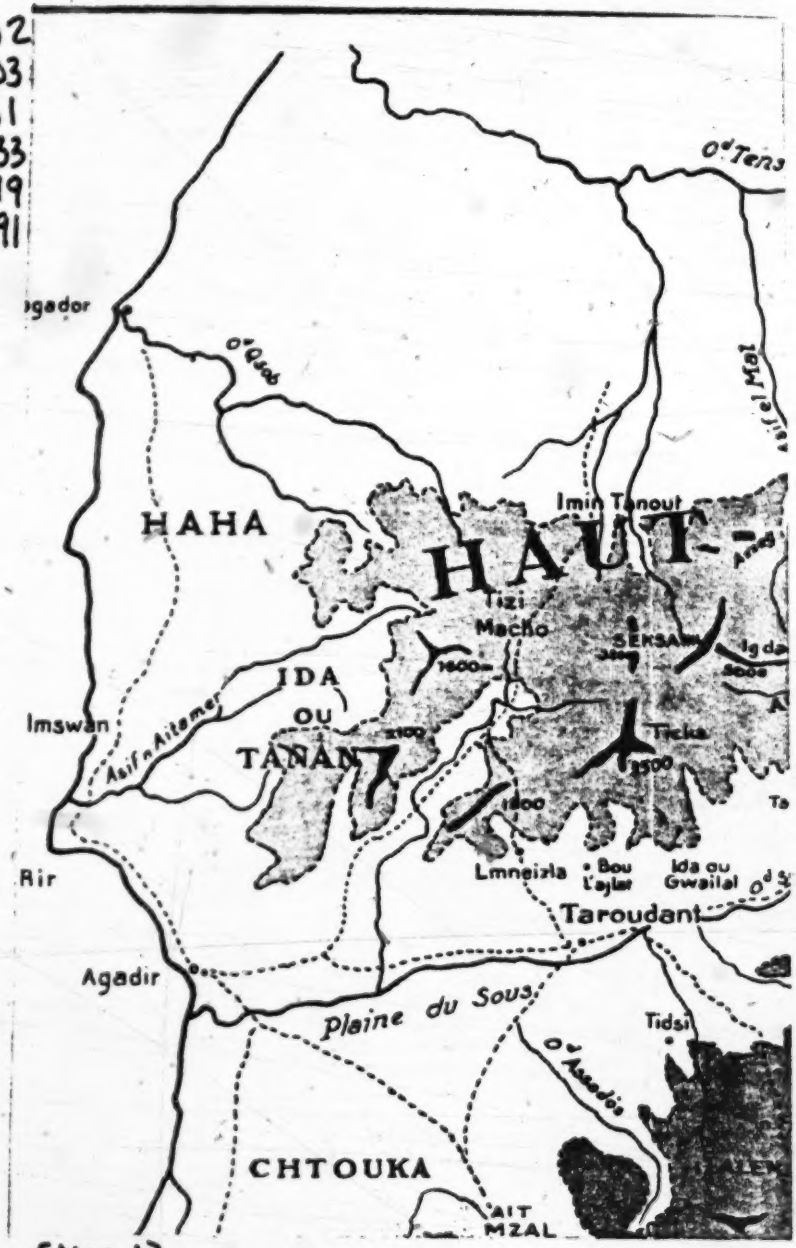
102
103
131
133
619
-491



[Map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

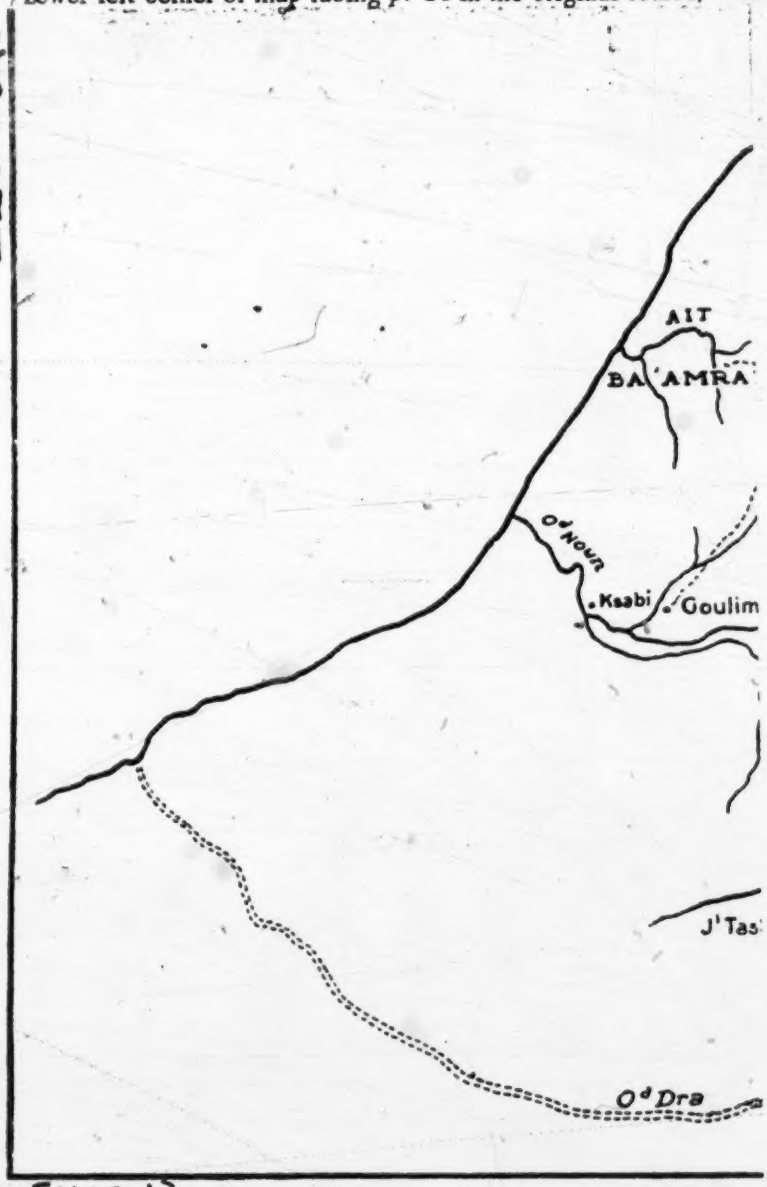
102
103
131
133
619
•491

[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

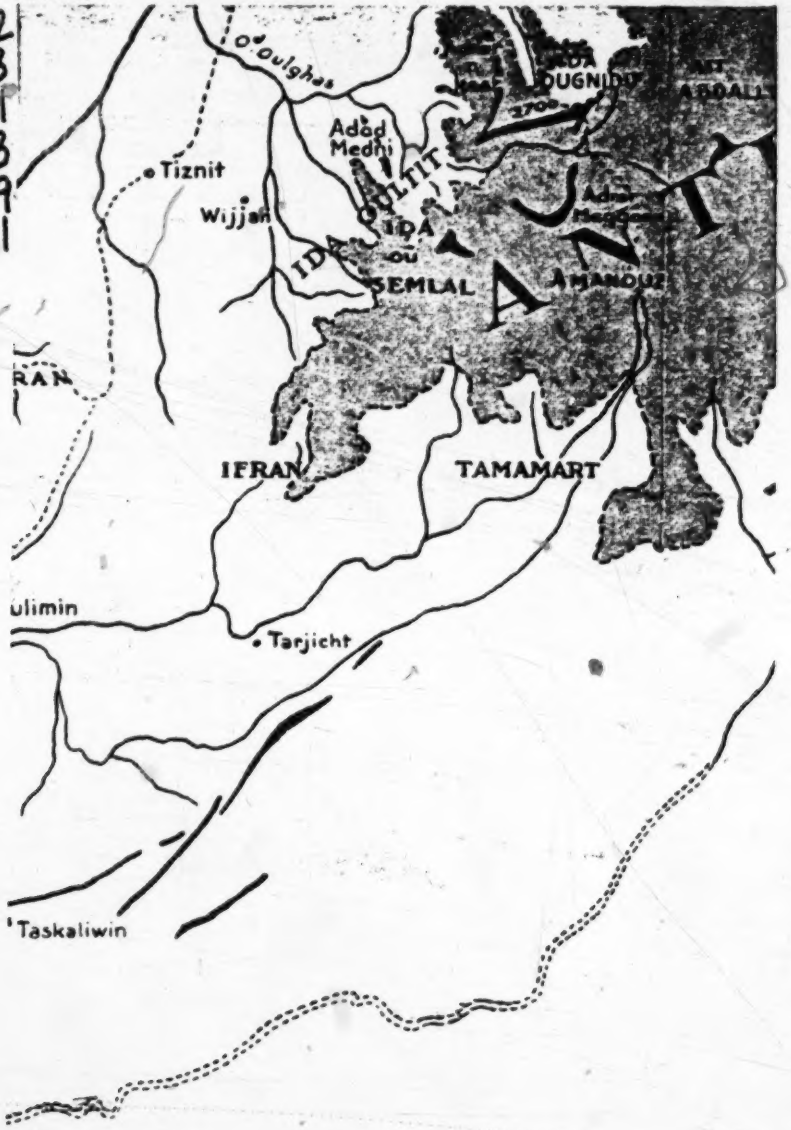
102
103
131
133
619
.491



[MAP 1]

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

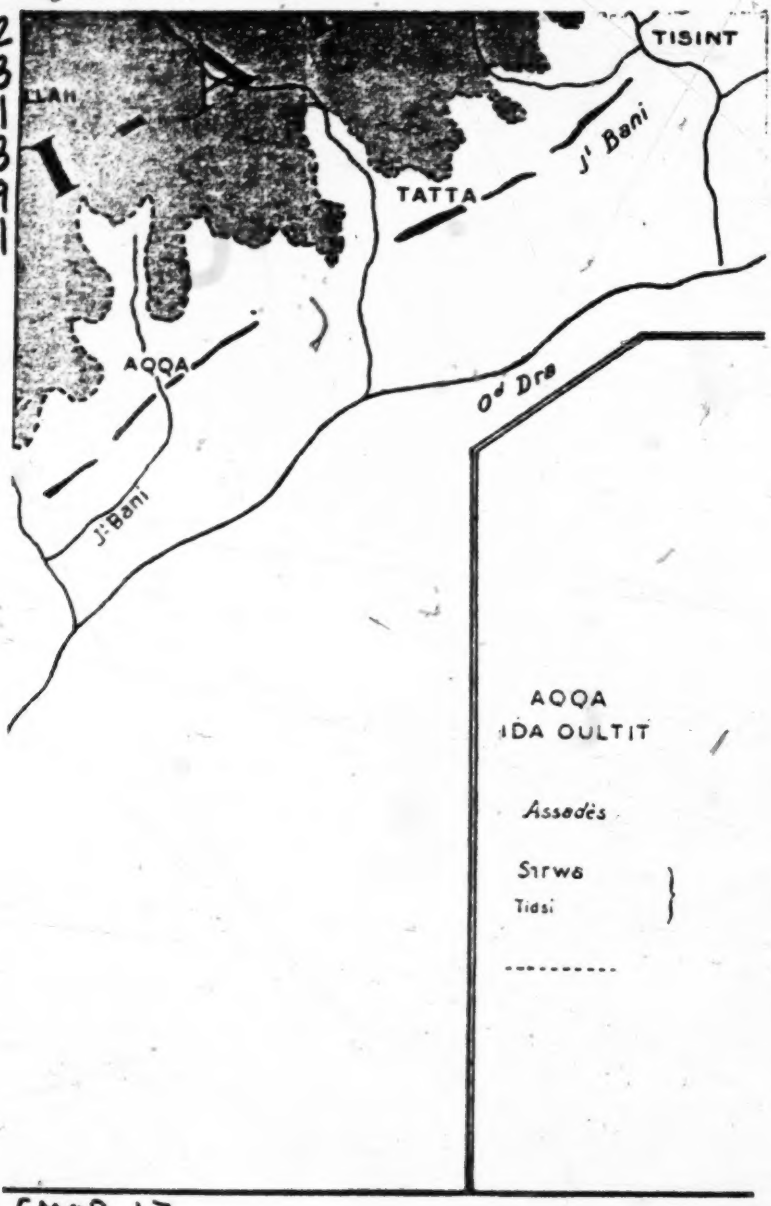
102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 17]

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
.491

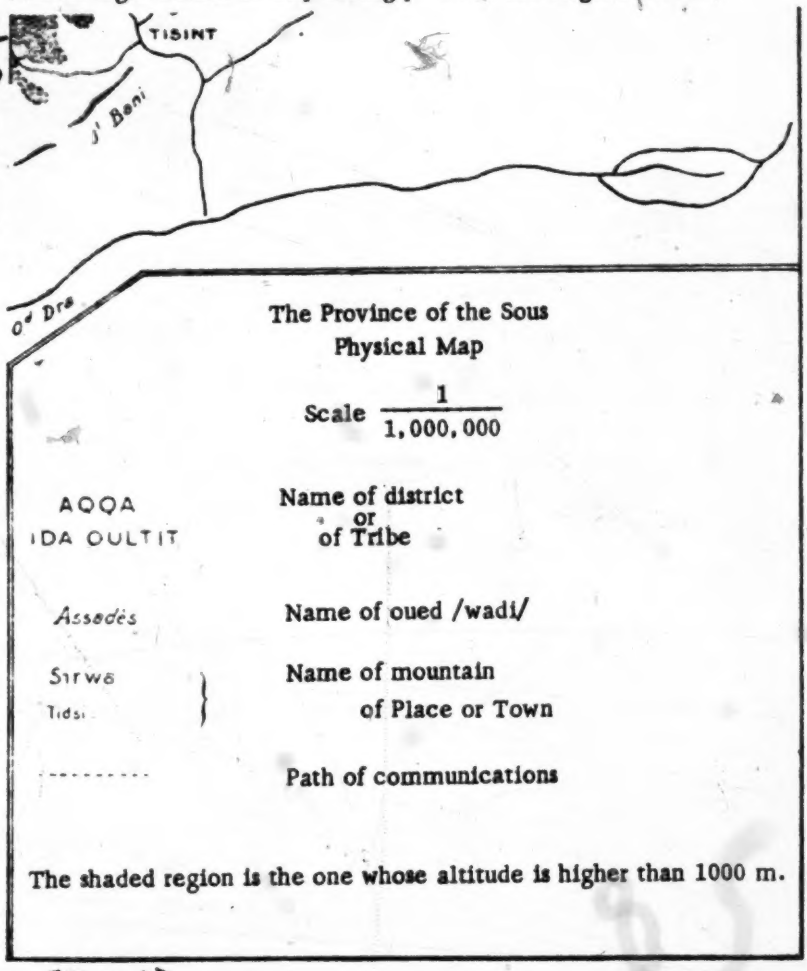


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
•491



[Map 1)

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
•491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/186 cont./

*634 616 •491 361 "Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of equilibrium (1).

1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

*634 616 As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Ait Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

/202 cont./

101 616 619 The "Aoggwa" (1)

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the A'lt Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the A'lt Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 619 184 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the A'lt Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and A'lt Amer. In going around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the 616 619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/159 cont./

121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

241
407
492
184

and Iferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduyws	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the Iferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*Iferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is.....	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt.....	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
• 412 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
184 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the glib, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ^{c}ala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferynd'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Uk^{w}ays	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of trans-
[492] port, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/15 cont./

133 In the western Atlas the Tizi n Fedghat and the Tizi n
491 Telwet, at close to 2,000 meters in altitude, thus put the land of the Skoura, the Haut-Dra, in communication with Demnat and Marrakech by a road that the winter snows sometimes cut for several weeks. Farther to the West, the Tizi n Test, which rises to 1,900 meters, presents the same difficulties; it is followed by travelers who are going from Taroudant to Marrakech by following the valley of the Nefis. The Tizi Ma^cho, whose altitude does not go beyond 1,400 meters, is free in all seasons; it commands the passage from Taroudant to Imi n Tanout and Mogador. Finally, no difficulty is found on the coastal trail, which borders the country of the Haha, other than the slope of the last hills of the Atlas or the bed of the dry wadis in the vicinity of the Ocean; this is the natural route of invasions between the plains of the Sous and Marrakech, which Arabs and Berbères /Berbers/ have so often taken in the course of the centuries.

These routes of the Deren are themselves only the prolongation of the ones used across the Anti-Atlas by travelers who have come from the palm groves of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani and who want to reach the towns of the North. From Aqqa and Tatta, by way of the crests of the Ida ou Kensous or the valley of the Inda ou Zal, one thus arrives in the Sous plain at the very point where the trail of the Tizi n Test climbs the Haut-Atlas toward Marrakech; from Tamanart by way of Amanouz and the Tizi n Taraqatin one reaches the land of the Ida ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal, to find before him the passage of the Tizi Ma^cho across the Deren. Between /16/ the Ocean and the western massif of the Kest and of the Ida ou Semlal, the rolling territory of the Aït Ba ^cAmran, the plain of Tiznit and of the Chtouka offer an easy route for the caravans that go up toward Mogador by following the trail of the Haha.

133 There are many other intermediate passes, which, without
491 being graded for the movement of the heavily loaded camels,
492 cross the high crests between the upper valleys of each versant. In the Deren during the fine season the montagnards use up to

/16 cont./

133 491 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the [492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of [233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the [438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In * [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons [578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at [437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages 628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only [487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since [438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/114 cont./

233 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^c confines, yet
221 without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes,
648 the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178]
[427]
[494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-lbûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
[501] eral natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
•[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
5 [illegible]ermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
5 [illegible]ttle hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
197 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
•511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
•512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
• 512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Pl. IV

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
353 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
361 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of
414 terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood,
tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils,
issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut,
with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-pad-
lock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing
is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door
of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior
stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of
habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
516 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
533 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
554 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
613 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
634 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
534 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of
535 Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the
ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating
from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
798

Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
718
796

Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/63 cont./

166

/footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1903, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamés, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 829 [634] [521]

They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/135 cont./
let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab ilkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chfib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Ufziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sfid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the Iqfleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/154 cont./

312 613 423 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ᶜaçr to ᶜaçr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Âbdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] [534] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekchchut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merrymaking that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

/130 cont./

805
171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221
527
[796]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[191]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being
able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
[181] vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they
have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside.
Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so
marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid
u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the
North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who
has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right
bank of the Sous.

776 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or,
more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding
tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-
Tichka ensemble.

794 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own
484 taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might
say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais,
the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, ~~of the~~ Tigguga,
of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the
Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer,
of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him
on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of
the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn
Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In
January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage
to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March
he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is
in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of
527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia.
The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'ājj Hfīd' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This reserve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

794 484

The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

776 794

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sāid u Abdennāim (1);

1. Dawh'at an-nāchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜfd, who repelled the advances of the Sādian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups
it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in [701]
office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of office, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
796 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the
• 53 ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their
[361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
.53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
182 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of
619 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Dibala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3),

[986]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears
[574] the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzîben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 [634] The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, [114] and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession [533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat [787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation [634] starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The [171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Cl. L. Berque

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

133
291
533

Cl. L. Robin

Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship; the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
•[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Satumalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

> 1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171]

> 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ[c], for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 121

792 171

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

/313 cont./

792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ [794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. [691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/252 cont./

occ infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1).

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171] 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Pl. IV

Faces of Sekawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeqray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Ait Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
•535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Ait Atman" against the "Ait Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
•535

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
796
.535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/252 cont./

541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women. [536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

121 541 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

121 171 541

1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [779] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/95 cont./

174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171]

1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâlî is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

/295 cont./

776 561 171 Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2).

2. Istiqçâ, A. M. tr., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ᶜAzzûna: Istiqçâ', A. M., XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ᶜAzzûna" (ibid., p. 476). Bû ᶜAzzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ᶜAzzûna and a funduq of the same name.

notably /296/ the "famous Taᶜazzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ᶜAzzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ᶜAbd Allah, expert in uçûl (1).

776 171

1. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

776 538 171 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

/296 cont./

776 538 [171]

sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb, W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Maçmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

776

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4).

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

787 /317 cont./
[539] -- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [71] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hiba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ^{c}a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât' of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

/317 cont./

787
538

/footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t'ṭ'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../." Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then
778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee
776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/349 cont./

178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

212 But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
671 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
178 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the perma-
178 nence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

• [538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ᶜamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ᶜamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
[554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The
[192] incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vocabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./
174
175
634

Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

175

Here now are two documents from annals.

The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
● 539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.

At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan
619 and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 175 726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 539 726 619 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imß'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gßir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of [361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgarẹn, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ẓjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ẓjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istir^{C}ẓ', "ritual protestation" against [539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gẓr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[731] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâfî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâfd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241

Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, [539] get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one [233] gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ſchura or amſchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. [796] People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al- [539] ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign.
24 The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr,
[539] "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggrava-
[233] tion. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch
[233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the
[539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what
[539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

22| of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
24| this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[594] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday [443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 716 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
823 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the com-
782 munal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way, [784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
578 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the
000 victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

[796]

[126]

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That is April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

787 /317 cont./

[539] -- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [171] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hîba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ^{c}a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât' of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/." Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^c." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^c." The "mouda^c" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/260 cont./

343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute nat-
726 ural centers of resistance against the domination of the great
[631] chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Ait Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nine-
[175] teenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

• [539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
178 years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact,
726 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/280 cont./

175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

"Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the At-
• [539] las. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[182] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Satumalia. The skins of sacrificed animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

/252 cont./

541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women. [536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

121 541 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

121 171 541

1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] into paradise.
[541]

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/ is almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1). 562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/40 cont./

551 that it does not have several Bihi u Âli, several Addi u Bella. The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations, all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in contrast to the Arab country, the ikhs always has its designation. This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness and its solidity contrast with the banality of the praenomen, pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that the surname, laqab, so common in Arab country, is very rare here.

613 551

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected. All that one can affirm is that the name of the ikhs avoids all ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other than the political unit, the taqbilt. Therefore, from the first step of this inquiry, the force of the ikhs manifests itself. And, simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture, comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent performance, at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organization of the patres or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impression asserts itself that, if the ikhs is a cadre essential for an understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its fundamental structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its continuity in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

[634]

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical
175 cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
●551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/295 cont./

776 561 171

Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2),

2. Istiqçâ, A. M. tr., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ᶜAzzûna: Istiqçâ', A. M., XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ᶜAzzûna" (ibid., p. 476). Bû ᶜAzzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ᶜAzzûna and a funduq of the same name.

notably /296/ the "famous Taᶜazzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ᶜAzzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ᶜAbd Allah, expert in uçûl (1).

776 171

1. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

776 538 171

As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

2: Montagne--550 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

Index of Names of Persons and of Families

/The numbers refer to the page numbers of the original source, which are given in slashes in the translation./

551

A

Abou l Abbas Ahmed ben 'Abdallah el Mahalli, 96.
Abou Amer ben Yousef, 73.
Abou 'Abdallah (des Beni Oumghar), 85.
Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed Jazouli, 100.
Abou 'Abdallah Moha mmed ben Ousa'doun, 91.
Abou 'Abdallah Mohammed es Sghir el 'Amri, 86.
Abou 'Ali ben Abou Sa'id (Merinide), 74, 80.
Abou 'Amar, 94.
Abou Debbous, 69, 80.
Abou Faris, 92.
Aboul Qasem, Idris, 58.
Abou Ishaq ben Ahmed (de Tamesloht), 96.
Abou 'Inan (Mérinide), 75, 78.
Abou l Hasan (Mérinide), 74, 75.
Abou l Hasan 'Ali ben Abou Qasem Es Sandjai, 95.
Abou I Hasan 'Ali Jazouli (Sidi 'Ali), 97, 99, 100.
Abou Hassoun (cf. Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli).
Abou Mohammed ben 'Abdallah el Hasani, 87.
Abou Mohammed 'Abdallah el Kouch, 94.
Abou Mohammed 'Omar Ajana, 86.
Abou 'Otman Sa'id el Hartanani, 85.
Abou Sa'id 'Abd er Rahman Regragi, 85.
Abou Sa'id (Mérinide), 74.
Abou Salem (Mérinide), 78.
Abou Tabet (Mérinide), 74.
Aghennaj (Mohammed ben Yahya), 106, 203, 204.
Ahansal, 408.
(Caïd) Ahmed n Ait Sa'doun Mtouggi, 333.
Ahmed Anflous Neknafi, 114.
(Chikh), Ahmed Agzal, 354, 355.
Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed (de Taghennoust), 330.
Ahmed ben Mahrez, 101.
(Caïd), Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, 337.
Ahmed el 'Arj (Saadien), 89, 90.
Ahmed el Mansour (Saadien), 92, 370, 374.
Ahmed el Mezwari (Amghar), 329.
Ahmed en Nasiri, 107.
(Moulay) Ahmed Er Raisouli, 294.
(El Hajj) Ahmed n Ait Lhasen Gontafi, 276.
Ahmed Ou Bihi, 278, 307, 309.
Ahmed Ou Malek, 304, 306.
Ahmed Ou Mansour, 280.
Ahmed Ou Moulid, 169, 311, 312, 355, 382.
(Sidi) Ahmed Ou Mousa, 49, 51, 84, 87, 91, 95, 203, 235, 251, 324.
(Caïd El Hajj) Ahmed Ouzgiti, 277.
Ahoukar, 67.
Ait Ammo (de Takhorbant), 285.
Ait Bacha (de Taberbourt, 317.
Ait Bazzi (de Talekjont), 279, 303, 304, 356.
Ait Ben 'Ali, 330, 331.
Ait ben Haddo, 330.
Ait Bihi, 105.
Ait el Bazz, 312.
Ait Ja'far, 356.
Ait Mousa, 105, 133.
Ait Oumghar (de Tassedremt), 291.
Akensous, 107.
(Amghar) Akherraz, 289, 290.
Almoravides, 29, 59.
Amhaouch, 106.
(Amghar) Aqqai, 282.
(Caïd) Azerwal Er Rehamani, 330.

2: Montagne--551 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

'A

551 El 'Abbas (Moulay) (Saadien), 99.
'Abdallah (Fqih), 90.
(Moulay) 'Abdallah (Filalien), 368, 369, 371.
Abdallah ben Idris ben Idris, 58.
'Abdallah ben Sa'id (Sidi), 92, 93.
'Abdallah Ibn 'Omar Seksawi, 75 77.
(El Hajj) 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, 109, 110, 114, 123, 130, 134, 260, 280, 332, 349, 353, 357, 375, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 388.
'Abdallah Tamachot, 304.
'Abd el 'Aziz (Mérinide), 79.
(Moulay) 'Abd el Aziz (Filalien), 114, 115, 295, 327, 338, 385, 386.
'Abd el 'Aziz ben Sa'id el Mezwari, El Ouzgiti, 92.
'Abd el 'Aziz Mohammed Hintati, 78.
'Abd el 'Aziz Mohammed Ibn 'Ali Hintati, 75.
'Abd el 'Aziz Et Tebba', 86.
'Abd el Hafid (Filalien), 114, 121, 338, 339.
(Mohammed ben) 'Abd el Kerim, 175, 295, 296, 297, 299, 402, 403, 404, 416.
'Abd el Kerim el Fellah, 94.
'Abd el Kerim Ibn 'Isa Gedmiwi, 77.
'Abd el Malek Mtouggi, 114, 122, 333 et sqq., 353, 386, 398.
'Abd el Malek Sba'i, 86.
'Abd el Moumen el Goumi, 29, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 299, 401.
(Emir) 'Abd el Qader, 314.
(Moulay) 'Abd er Rahman (filalien), 107, 108, 115, 184, 261, 286, 313, 370, 380, 385.
(Cherif) 'Abd er Rahman Derqawi, 408.
'Abd er Rahman Gellouli, 123.
'Abd er Rahman Ibn Yedder, 74.
(Amghar) 'Abderrahman Irro, 356.
'Abd es Semed, 298.
(Amghar), 'Abd el Wahad Zanifi 316, 350.
El 'Adel ben el Mansour, 68.
(Caïd el Hajj), 'Addi Mtouggi, 333.
'Addi Ibn Hennou, 74.
'Aisa ben 'Omar Abdi, 386.
(Sidi) 'Ali Amhaouch, 408.
'Ali ben Boujja, 353.
(Caïd) 'Ali ben Lhasen Ouzgiti, 304.
'Ali el Hajj, 105.
(El Hajj) 'Ali Hammo, 273.
'Ali Ou Hammo, 287.
'Ali n Ait Bazzi, 280.
(Amghar) 'Ali Ou Naser, 292.
(Amghar) 'Ali de Tamedakht, 316, 335, 350, 361.
(Sidi) 'Ali du Tazerwalt, succ. de Sidi Hachem, 109, 367, 407.
'Ali Ibn Yedder, 32, 69, 80.
'Ali Ya'ich, 74.
'Amer Ibn Mohammed Hintati, 77, 78, 79, 399
'Amer Seksawi, 77.
(Ibn) 'Askar, 83, 91, 94.
(Ibn) 'Attouch, 69.
El'Ayachi, 97.
(Caïd) El 'Ayadi Rahamani, 338.

B

(Caïd) Baddoh, 307.
Ba Hmad, 114, 122, 334, 335, 337.
Banou Salih, 209.
(El) Beidaq, 62, 199.
Beirouk (Oulad), 109.
(El) Bekri, 26, 208.
Beni Abes, 401.
Beni Khettab, 73.
Beni Ouriaghel, 403.
Beni Sa'd (Saadiens), 87, 211.
Beni Yedder, 32, 73, 80.
(El Hajj) Beqqich, 295, 296.
Bethencourt (J. de), 22.
(Sidi) Bibi, 251.
(Amghar) Bihi Achao, 292.
Bihi Ajerram, 332.
(Sidi) Bouagaz, 89.
Bou l' Achrat, 376.
Boucheta el Baghdadi, 295.
(Sidi) Boudmeia, cf. Abou l Hasan 'Ali Jazouli.
Bou Hamara, 114, 327, 337, 386.
(Caïd) Bou Houch, 287.
(Amghar) Bou Naser, 302.
Bou 'Otman (Sidi), 115, 339.
Si Bou Slem bel Housin Mtouggi, 333.
(Sidi) Brahim Ou'Ali, 94, 129, 169, 230, 235, 289, 291, 292.
Brahim el Grawi, 110, 111, 286, 287, 302, 304, 375.
(Caïd) Brahim Ouzgiti, 278, 301.
(Sidi) Bouxima, 89.

C

(El) Cheger Mousa Mtouggi, 333.
Chehid (Ibn Ech), 68.
Chénier, 373.

2: Montagne--552 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

551 Chorfa filaliens, 98.
Chorfa d'Wezzan, 294.
Corap (Colonel), 403.

D

Dadda 'Atta, 149.
Daoud ben 'Abd el Moumen, 92.
Derqawa, 294.
Devaux (Cne.).
Doutté, 239.

E

Edrisi, 25, 26.
Erckmann, 376.

F

El Fadel (frère d'Abou 'Inan), 75.
Fatimides, 401.
De Foucauld, 137, 138, 201, 259, 292, 316.
Roland Fréjus, 100.

G

Ghaleb Billah (Mohammed ben Abdallah), 91.
(Imam el) Ghazzali, 60.
Ghilan, 97, 101.
(Caïds) Glawa, 137, 185, 194, 202, 263, 280, 284, 316, 321, 357, 415.
(Caïds), Gontafa, 278, 311, 316, 357, 398, 399, 415.

H

(Sidi) Hachem (ou Hicham) du Tazerwalt, 107, 109, 139, 203, 204, 324, 367.
(Caid El) Hachmi Ez Zemrani, 330.
Haddo ben Yousef (Seksawi), 72, 76, 78.
(Si) Haddouch el Maghousi, 190, 310, 314.
(El Hajj) Hafid des Idma, 275, 278, 281, 311, 317.
Hafsides, 71, 88.
(Caïds) Haha, 371.
Haida Ou Mwis, 123, 280.
(Amghar) Hajj Mbarek, 303.
(Caïd) Hamida el Menebbhi, 333, 353.
Hamidi Ibn Yedder, 80.
Ha Mim, 58.
(Si) Hammadi Glawi, 331.
(Caïd Si) Hammo (Glawi), 121, 340.
(Si) Hammo el Maghousi, 315.
Hammo Ou Bella, 273.
Hannon, 22, 25.
Hanoteau et Letourneux,. 211.
El Harran (Frère de Moulay Isma'il) (Filalien), 101.
El Harran (Saadien), 90.
(Sidi) el Hasan de Timgilcht, 306, 410.
Hasan el Foudoudi, 78.
(Moulay el) Hasan, Filalien, 110, 112, 113, 134, 231, 284, 306, 314, 327, 332, 333, 334, 367, 368, 371, 376, 385, 408.
Hérodote, 25.
El Hiba, 114, 115, 124, 287, 339, 340, 363.
(Moulay) Hicham (Filalien), 106, 313.
(Amghar) Hijjo, 304.
(Sidi) Hosein ben Hachem (du Tazerwalt), 109, 112, 113, 316, 324, 383, 410.
El Housin ben El Cheger (Mtouggi), 333.

I

Ibn 'Askar, 83, 91, 94.
Ibn Hauqal, 26.
Ibn Khaldoum, 26, 27, 28, 36.
Ibn Toumert, 29, 60, 62, 70, 71, 167, 299, 401.
Ibn Sa'd Allah, 313.
Id Mhammed de Tamjerjt, 285.
Idris, 401.
(Moulay) Idris (chef des Haha), 109, 260, 280.
(Moulay) Idris Hintati, 88, 90.
Idris le fatimite, 58.
Idrisi, 209.
Idrisites, 38.
Ihebban, 317.
Ishaq, frère d'El Mortada, 69.
(Moulay) Isma'il, 101, 369.

J

(Imam) Jazouli Mohammed ben Sliman, 84, 85.
(Chikh) Jorran Gedmiwi, 287.
Juba, 22.

2: Montagne--553 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

551

K

(Caïd) Kabba, 287.
Kerroum el Hajj, 99.
Khalid ben Yahya El Masmoudi, 94.
Khomalcha, 294, 408.
(Amghar) Khorsa, 354.

L

Léon l'Africain, 38, 166.
Lhasen Bou Naga, 289, 291.

M

Mackensie, 112, 113.
(Si el) Madani Glawi, 113, 114, 121, 188, 329, 331, 332, 335, 338, et sqq., 349, 386, 399.
Ma el 'Ainin, 114.
El Mamoun Ibn el Mansour, 68.
Mangin, 115, 339, 364.
Masqueray, 297.
Mbarek Anflous, 333.
Mbarek Chtittihi, 278, 279, 285, 307, 308, 311, 334, 361.
(Sidi) Mehend Gou'azzoun, 149.
Merobbi Rebbo, 124.
Mérinides, 18, 31.
Mesa'oud d'Aqqa, 295.
(Caïd) Mesa'oud Mtouggi, 333, 353.
Metzara, 72.
Mezwar du Dra, 34, 88, 89, 90, 92.
Michaux-Bellaire, 171, 210.
El Moezz le Fatimite, 401.
Mohammed Anflous, 123.
Mohammed 'Abdallah (des Ijaounen), 295.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben 'Abdallah (Filalien), 103, 373, 375, 385.
Mohammed ben 'Abd el Moumen, 66.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben 'Abd er man (Filalien), 110, 111, 123, 134, 375, 386.
(Amghar) Mohammed Achefar, 284, 302, 303, 304, 361.
Mohammed ben Echcherif, 374.
Mohammed bel Housin Mtouggi, 333.
(Sidi) Mohammed ben Taïbi, 408.
Mohammed el 'Alem, 102.
Mohammed Echcheikh El Asghar, 374.
Mohammed el Qaim (Saadien), 89.
Mohammed en Naser (Almohade), 61.
(Amghar) Mohammed Ibibat el Mezwari, 110, 137, 305, 329, 330, 331.
(Caïd) Mohammed Mtouggi, 333, 353.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Hasein. 302.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Lhasen Gontafi, 110, 111, 276, 277, 282, 284, 301, 302, 303, 306, 318, 319, 327, 328.
(Caïd) Mohammed n Ait Mousa Mtouggi, 332.
(Amghar) Mohammed n Ait Qaid 'Ali El Maghousi, 313, 318.
Mohammed Ou Ben 'Ali, 286, 287.
Mohammed Ou Hammo, 308.
Mohammed Ou Mansour (Seksawi), 376.
(Cherif) Mohammed Raisouli, 403, 408.
(Amghar) Mohammed de Taghennoust, 361.
(Amghar) Mohammed Zanifi, 331.
(Caïd El) Moizz Mejjati, 314.
Mokhtar Seksawi, 273, 278, 284, 305 et sqq., 311, 319, 319, 354.
El Mortada (Almohade), 69.
El Motammid (Mérinide), 78.
(El Hajj) Moulid, 310, 318.
(Chikh) Moumen, 89.
Moustapha Kemal, 403.
(Caïds) Mtougga, 273, 278, 280, 308, 309, 311, 332, 357, 359, 371, 380, 388, 398, 415.

N

Nasiriya, 306.

O

Oqba ben Nafi', 31.
Oulad el Beqqal, 294.

'O

'Obeid Allah, 401.
'Omar ben Haddo ben Youssef, 74, 76.
'Omar Hintati (Abou Hafs), 71.
'Omar Ibn 'Abdallah, 79.
'Omar el Khayyat, 67.
'Omar el Maghiti Chiadmi (Es Seyyaf), 86.
(Caïd El Hajj) 'Omar Mtouggi, 333, 349, 353.
'Omar Seksawi, 67, 361.
(Caïd) 'Omar Touzzalti, 301, 302, 313.

2: Montagne--554 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

551

R

(Moulay) Rechid (Filalien), 99, 100, 367.
Regraga, 410.
Roustem, 401.
Ruyter (Amiral), 100.

S

(Caïd) Sa'id el Korimi, 333, 353.
(Caïd) Sa'id Gellouli, 163, 337.
(Sidi) Sa'id ou 'Abd en Na'im, 49, 251.
Saugnier, 324.
Sidi Ou Sidi, 49.
(Moulay) Sliman (Filalien), 106, 115, 370, 379.

T

(Si) Tayeb Gontafi, 260, 303, 306, 308, 328, 335, 336, 338 et sqq., 349, 386.
Tayeb n Ouchefar, 305.
Tednest, 76, 89, 378.
(El Hajj) Thami Glawi, 120, 122, 338, 340.

W

(Abou Hasan ben) Waggag, 65.
Wanudin (Abou Mohammed ben), 68.

Y

(Sidi) Yahya Abou Zakaria, 93, 96, 97, 371.
(Sidi) Yahya ben 'Abd en Na'im (des Ait Tamment), 251.
Yahya ben Naser, 69.
Yahya ben Tahfouf, 88.
Yahya el Sahrawi, 67.
Ya'qoub el Mansour, 31, 61.
(Abou Yousef) Ya'qoub (Mérinide), 69, 71, 73.
Ya'ich Ibn Ya'qoub, 74, 80.
(Abou Ya 'qoub) Yousef, 61, 66.
Yousef ben Tachfin, 29.
Yousef Ibn 'Ali 'Ayyad, 74.
Yousef Ibn 'Ali (Hintati), 68.
Yousef el Mostanser (Hintati), 68.

Z

Ez Zayani, 102.
(Moulay) Zidan ben Isma'il, 102.
(Moulay) Zin el Abidin (Filalien), 103.

000 /Page xvi is blank; the errata listed on p. xvii have been corrected in the translation, p. xviii is blank./

/xix/ Table of Maps

The province of the Sous 26
The great political divisions of the Moroccan South 183
Tribes and fractions in the Confederations of the Haha and of the Ida ou Tanan 218
Aspect of the Leffs of the Western Haut-Atlas and of the Sirwa . . 261
Diagram of the Leffs of the Anti-Atlas 268
The two Leffs of the north of Morocco in the twentieth century . . . 280
The valley of the Nefis in the nineteenth century 369
The region of the Seksawa 406

/Page xx is blank./

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity. To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow par-
[184] ticularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
● [554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

778 /287 cont./
776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
794 Bu^c^anfir in Ud Bessebâ^c^ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd in
[685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide
[554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom
[771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a...., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the ^{c}orf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[179]

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

/375 cont./

634 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân.
554 On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between
(613) ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
(648) were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been consider-
634 able. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/376 cont./

634 554 repairs of the séquias, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166 Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose pre-
[681] valence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the moqaddem": so much fine, man idda°a bichibha wa ta^c^arrad'a illâ bi-muchawarat il-muqaddam. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed.

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the moqaddem is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the moqaddem can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the jemâa is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the moqaddem or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the jemâa, illa bi-muchâwarat il-jamâ^c^a".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institu-
[212] tion could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[794] jemâ^ca and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

/377 cont./

compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regulatory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profound-
[346] ly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
791 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
• [554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vo-
[192] cabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waoûzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
•554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
•554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
[616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
•554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
[592] that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/223 cont./

*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ᶜawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 •554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is [666] [613] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 692 554 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

•554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

*634 /225 cont./
.554 firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a
673 list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions,
[681] according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small
[613] states. In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal govern-
184 ment of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaʿin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/249 cont./

423 579 486 651 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ [571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet [578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still [203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. [554] These then are the notables of the place, [625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaʿa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

443 /251 cont./
625
685 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge
443 all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often,
634 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitu-
554 tions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of im-
692 posing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty
685 and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas
*634 succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on
792 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the
784 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-
[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2).

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.
The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
[578] exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[556] [471] [186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 619 [648] /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradition attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different

*634 619 178 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 619 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime, a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to

*634 619 578 [613] whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal ambitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase. When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in importance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time

• [554] that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

/299 cont./

OOO the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

/300/

Chapter II
The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the A'it Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

*634 616 •554 571 The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
•554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt
[727] Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
•554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
•554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the
intervention of the kaid ᶜAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the
protection of the marabout Abou ᶜAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of
the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded
in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his
part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar
Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
•554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
[431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
•554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals
648 to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
•554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
*634 Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
616 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
726 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
[648] ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faithful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
126 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
•554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 .554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened (648) from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/322 cont./

*631 121 182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 • 554 [1178] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/323 cont./

*634 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of
.554 leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes ab-
554 solute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to
178 deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same re-
791 gions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

(113)

2. Laoust, Manuêl de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[212] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
[796] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
*[634] power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
175 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
791 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
792 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
554 zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
•554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*651 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/347 cont./

*631 *634 *554

Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 557 595

X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the
• [554] mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
*634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
*634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
•554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

•554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
•554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*631 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
616 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
571 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

R /403 cont./
175 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
631 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
182 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete
648 ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

121 171 *631 •554 182 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 171 *631 554 182 578 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory, as do all the companions from their village associated with the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland. Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] [616] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
17 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
•554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

/406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
121 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
171 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
578 house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
•554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222). 623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224). 621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups [701]
it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of offiice, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate 635
completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally 554
in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the schedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority [701] to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; [72] together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibilities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, [623] as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-

241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ᶜAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
•556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./

•556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/220 cont./

632
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaʿt" of the [632] "moudaʿ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact repre- [613] sented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each ham- [621] let may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to [556] become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouʿ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaʿin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaʿin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

609 /245 cont./
574
[344] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
[485] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
•556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
* 634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
563 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[556] [471] [186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/274 cont./
175 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).
*634

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
•556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

*634 /274 cont./
•556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
571 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

•557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/347 cont./

*631 *634 554 Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 559 595 X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
•[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
72 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
[616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the fámily that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, 623
Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of 634
superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are 635
designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic [171]
ejjemaa. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer [192]
to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest 621
groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* 623
inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "not- [554]
able" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired autho- [561]
rity, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 000
96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebac, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebâc Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: africh in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

578/266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fâtih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/342 cont./

586 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can ob-
562 tain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison
171 between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where
171 the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584 1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by
171 G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes
114 kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/346 cont./

585 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is
675 even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose,
175 wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 However that may be then, not only in the division of the ac-
[562] quests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contrac-
585 tual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out
171 better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

432 /363 cont./
[195] country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093
[175] Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 [432] [184]

/footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 428 562 [171]

From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175]

War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulît. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant. if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(562) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/44 cont./

562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.

565 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/.
792 These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

/50 cont./

771 entirely; in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
• 562 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
789 regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[787] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
712 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five cham-
621 bers there.
423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
[312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925,
and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres-
[727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562] out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described...

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wari- 000
yaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family 596
elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on 42
a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held [562] •
by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in 596
some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually 597
persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell 735
their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt 609
assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823]

3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mîl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mîl, the Seksawa, all

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
•563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

609 /245 cont./

574 1. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
[344] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the
[485] assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
563 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the A'lt Arba'in,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the A'lt Arba'in to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "'ar" to the jema'a in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
• 563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried 571
daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying 754
that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner 695
of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in [627]
civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term 571
ameqqon ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* 563
("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relation-
• 563 ship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If
[621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second; so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the al-
628 liance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur;
571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic
628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see
571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most
171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

/44 cont./

562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.
565 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/.
992 These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ᶜamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ᶜamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/359 cont./

*631 174 171 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 565 174 171 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113]

2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 174 171 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism, said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/384 cont./

*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court [662] to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

• 565 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

/360 cont./

*631 174 171 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).

1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 174 171 423 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves, [567] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the [566] villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 *634 174 171 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
• [567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
• [567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still be observed in the more distant territories that have been successively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[[75] In the short period during which the large commands were constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

/360 cont./

*631 174 171 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).

1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 174 171 423 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves, [567] [566] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 *634 174 171 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wân (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[57] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Ṭazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^wel. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}ar, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A
[634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Bessebâ^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyân from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by
[571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
571 Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
137 the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
619 among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
171 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
987

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/270 cont./

776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the
776 Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the
794 enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had
782 the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he escaped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 778 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 571 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. [602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

/332 cont./

695 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our
571 intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait dif-
695 ferently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described,
613 but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to [184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/394 cont./

577 foundation. The result is this judiciary tension in which the per-
571 son has his place, which defines him. This stage is not that of the old group solidarities. Nevertheless it stems from it. In certain respects, it expresses it, in rejuvenating it. Proceedings here have, even more than a role of extinguishing trouble, a role of maintainer of the trouble. Its essential function is to reveal and to keep watch of the individual and collective lives. This is the very function of the rite in other societies. This one, harsh, rational, polemical, has a more juridical than religious bent. It finds its privileged moments in judicial tension rather than in religion. It is a society -- own genius or historical factors -- at the stage of dialectic and moral indignation.

This moral coloration is very important. It produces antagonisms in a very much constructed communal milieu. It also produces the heated asides of individual resentment.

Partisanship, vengeance, what people will say become the motive forces of an existence that perpetually oscillates between the two faces of the oppression: submit or make submit. There is scarcely any intermediary plane. That certainly not from the lack of a sense of imminent justice, but from a keen appetite for reparation. An /395/ unfathomable heredity imposes in all its rigor the persecutor-persecuted alternation, revealing the hazards of a milieu nevertheless profoundly egalitarian.

The enormity of the legacy of oppression governs the reactions of the passions to the extent that any success obtained in the revendication appears out of proportion with the immense failure of the past. Sterile tumults, repression in an economy where the forces of the man are untiringly wasted impose a heavy heritage of vengeance.

Whence it comes that, over against modern law, where the matter judged guarantees social stability, it would be to the protection of an indefinite possibility of instance, of a perpetual deferment of trial, that the Seksawa aspire. That is related not only to the structure of such a milieu, but also to an unconscious calculation of the probabilities. The civil life being defined for each one by insertion into the inextricable web of the disputes and

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/425 cont./

616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3).

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its
[695] field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

616 571 184

/430 cont./

616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/187 cont./

*634 616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 627 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 •571 The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. [574] The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 616 .57 [574] shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the re-
[754] quest thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

*634 616 726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 616 726 .571 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^c" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 616 182 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 616 726 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
•571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

• 571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616] 1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall
[171] give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose
[616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt,"
[578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/196 cont./

• 571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
* 634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to deliberate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples [571] of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by [782] making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 [171] In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2), the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
•571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
•571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
182 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of
619 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. <u>The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès.</u> -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
• [571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/249 cont./

423 579 486 651 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ [571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet [578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still [203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group them- [554] selves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, [625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

343 712 182 671 571

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside. The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
[578] ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
683 stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in them by the people for the administration of their property." As for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indispensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the material life of the users depends each day on the administration of the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, almost unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circumstances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a decision by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/257 cont./

343 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the
571 "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the
554 chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do
683 with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of
571 the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress
554 itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collec-
[574] tion of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They
[671] claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions,
[434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that
[681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a
[652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus con-
[556] stitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who ex-
[471] ploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
•[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Ait Arbaʿin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
•57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
•571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
C ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S [121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/299 cont./

000 the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

/300/

Chapter II
The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the A'it Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

*634 616 554 .571 The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
•571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] into paradise.
[541]

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

• [571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
559 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
• [571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus
175 the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
175 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
•571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in independence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
*634 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the bound-
642 aries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
578 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*631 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part
*634

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ᶜAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*634 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of
*631 the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said, within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*634
*631 exploitation of the résources of a large confederation or of im-
616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
•571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
•571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*talmat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

571 609 574 754 171 192

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 754 punishment could place himself in the protection of a prominent person by entering his tent or grasping the tent-pole at the entrance and exclaiming, "I am in God's *'ar* and your *'ar*," or, "I am seeking refuge with your children." The owner of the tent is then obliged to assist him, at least by acting as an intermediary between him and his pursuer, or by speaking to the *caid* or governor on his behalf. The pursuer, in such a case, cannot try forcible to remove the fugitive, but must apply to the owner. A similar custom prevails among the sedentary populations residing in houses. A fugitive could also place himself in the *'ar* of a woman by touching her, sucking her breast, sitting down in front of her, or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill; her husband and family then being obliged to help him. He could also place himself under the protection or *'ar* of an entire village to which he has fled by crying, "I am seeking refuge with God and You, O Community", or by seeking refuge in the village mosque. Mosques generally, however, are not as safe as saints' shrines, for an individual seeking refuge in a shrine came under the *'ar* of the saint. In the Arabic-speaking area a fugitive frequently used *'ar* to obtain a pardon from the authorities.

571 754 695 This alliance mechanism could, however, be used not only by the defendant in a civil or criminal case, but also by the plaintiff. Persons who had suffered damage or injury, or had had a relative murdered, and were unable to protect themselves or obtain vengeance, secured aid by casting *'ar* upon other individuals or upon various social groups. This could be done by hanging an earthenware pot around the neck and entering another person's tent or house; by turning the handmill in this person's tent or house; by placing a saddle upside-down at his door or sacrificing an animal there; or, in the case of women, by cutting the hair, blackening the face, covering oneself with rags and cow-dung, and passing from village to village asking for aid – the latter being a particularly powerful form of casting *'ar* which cannot be refused. Among the Beraber a person may cast an extremely compulsory kind of *'ar* by taking his little son or daughter to the house of the leading man of a village, or to the mosque, laying the child across the door, holding a knife over the artery of the neck, and threatening to kill it if the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561). 571 754 695

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532). [627]

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term *ameqqon* ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* ("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that 571 563

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 563 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relationship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If [621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the alliance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur; 628 571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic 628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see 571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most 171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571 first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171 lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571 groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628 teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616 or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634 *lfuf*) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635 *tafergant* in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171] Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

102
• 571
616
634
635

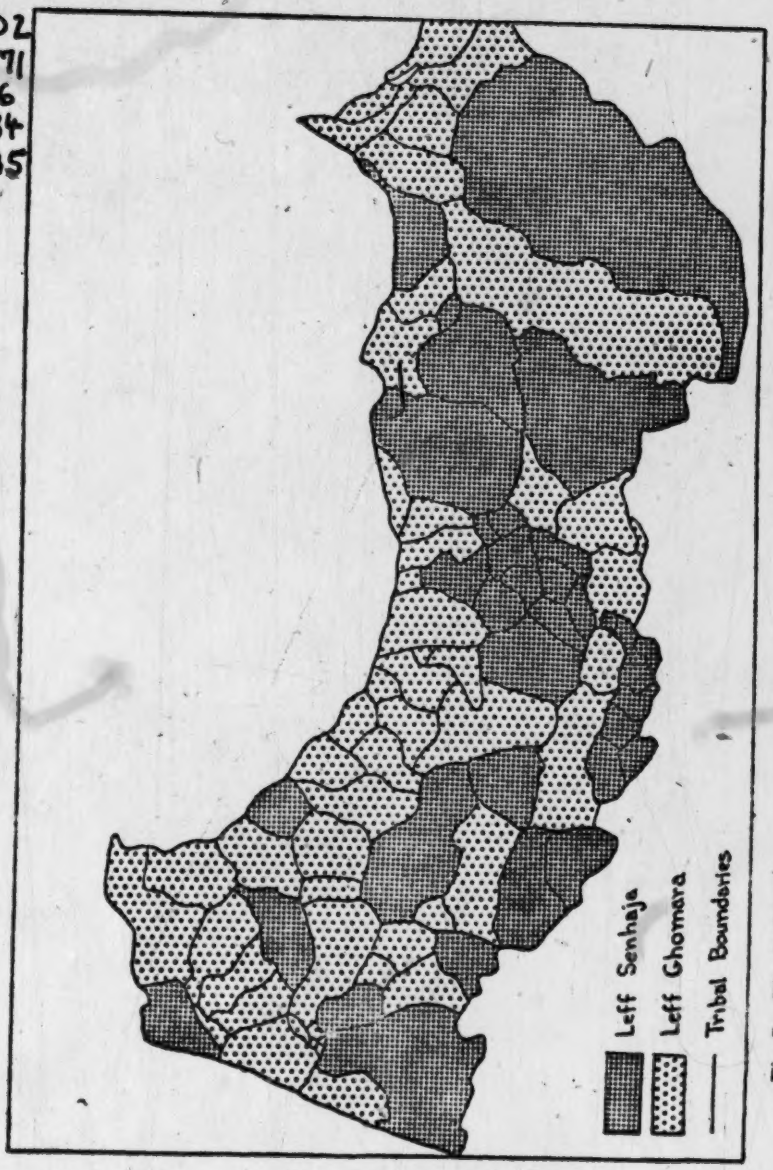


Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171] [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/133 cont./

22| of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
24| this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lînçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[986]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt,
[514] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/187 cont./

*634 616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1/ Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 627 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 571 [574] The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 616 57 [574] shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

[754]

*634 616 726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113]

1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
•574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
1 *634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] [787] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
•574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

609 /245 cont./
•574
[344]
[485]

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert. Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners. Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

*[634]
[162]
609
57
556
563
[672]
[464]
609
641
563

When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

609
166
*634
563

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
[619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the A'lt Arba'in,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the A'lt Arba'in to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "'ar" to the jema'a in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/257 cont./

343 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the
571 "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the
554 chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do
683 with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of
571 the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress
554 itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collec-
[574] tion of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They
[671] claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions,
[434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that
[681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a
[652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus con-
[556] stitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who ex-
[471] ploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
•[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
159 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
*631 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
571 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
•574 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
431 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*taimat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

571 609 574 754 171 192

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
578 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear
781 here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

/329 cont./

212 Such-and-such a jrîda, "list of parcels," victoriously brandished
695 in support of a case, rests only upon the absolutely unilateral al-
legations of an ancestor: what belief would it merit in strict
212 proceedings? From that, too, the frequency of falsehood. In the
695 judiciary jousting, every expedient counts. What is falsehood
• 577 after all, if not a meritorious trait of craftiness, of concern to
give better proof, and, finally, of intelligence in the dispute?
More profoundly, if the force of a title consists on the one hand
of its very material, on the other hand, of the emotional inten-
sity that it reveals on the part of the usager or avowant — force
of the thing on one side, force of the person on the other, /330/
the distinction between false and authentic act will be only
subtlety. This is indeed what, even today, the litigants as well
as the judges confusedly feel.

695 The notion of oral testimony, on which the written act rests
212 in fiqh, could not therefore find total application here. On the
one side it is replaced, in case of conflict, by chirographic
proof (1).

1. Thus decided, in 1953, apropos a case of this kind, the Tribunal coutumier /Customary Court/ of the Seksawa.

695 On the other side, it is surpassed by sworn law: plural oath among others. The "witness" is effaced before the coswearer. Here the ordeal, there the human word.

... The Oath

One knows how much the cojuratio, by its still indicated magical character, mixed with rough computations, has retained the attention of our sociologists (2).

2. Summary bibliography and discussion in J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, under §15.

/393 cont./

175 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneous-
121 ly a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys,
[177] in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to
[128] the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to
[184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

577
571

/394 cont./
foundation. The result is this judiciary tension in which the person has his place, which defines him. This stage is not that of the old group solidarities. Nevertheless it stems from it. In certain respects, it expresses it, in rejuvenating it. Proceedings here have, even more than a role of extinguishing trouble, a role of maintainer of the trouble. Its essential function is to reveal and to keep watch of the individual and collective lives. This is the very function of the rite in other societies. This one, harsh, rational, polemical, has a more juridical than religious bent. It finds its privileged moments in judicial tension rather than in religion. It is a society -- own genius or historical factors -- at the stage of dialectic and moral indignation.

This moral coloration is very important. It produces antagonisms in a very much constructed communal milieu. It also produces the heated asides of individual resentment.

Partisanship, vengeance, what people will say become the motive forces of an existence that perpetually oscillates between the two faces of the oppression: submit or make submit. There is scarcely any intermediary plane. That certainly not from the lack of a sense of imminent justice, but from a keen appetite for reparation. An /395/ unfathomable heredity imposes in all its rigor the persecutor-persecuted alternation, revealing the hazards of a milieu nevertheless profoundly egalitarian.

The enormity of the legacy of oppression governs the reactions of the passions to the extent that any success obtained in the revendication appears out of proportion with the immense failure of the past. Sterile tumults, repression in an economy where the forces of the man are untiringly wasted impose a heavy heritage of vengeance.

Whence it comes that, over against modern law, where the matter judged guarantees social stability, it would be to the protection of an indefinite possibility of instance, of a perpetual deferment of trial, that the Seksawa aspire. That is related not only to the structure of such a milieu, but also to an unconscious calculation of the probabilities. The civil life being defined for each one by insertion into the inextricable web of the disputes and

/395 cont./

577 571 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good objective law could have made victory anticipated before a jurisdiction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it: [634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To [628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for [721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal 121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[731] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâfd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the
619 mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

/107 cont./

312 séguias contrived at mid-flank of the left bank will then have their full use. And not only the Talh'archt, whose intake, however, dominates Tuz'z'umt. It is indeed still higher, at Imi n-tghli, by way of the Targa n-berdun, that the people downstream are obliged to make the water pass. At Imi n-tghli, in fact, the utilizers observe -- a phenomenon doubtlessly related to the cessation of the primary soils -- a sudden loss, which no longer permits entrusting the waters to their natural bed. Thus it is only thanks to a series of works of art that, in the case of drought, far away in the Ud Bessebâ^c plain, the fellah of the Sa^cîdat or of the Ud Sawla can benefit from the rains falling on the distant Idma or in the more distant Taddert. And it happens only by making them cross, by the precious gift, the territory of several tribes. Veritable geographic concert! An organization of the space, of a space studded with rival centers, masters the difficulties caused by the long-term management of the waters. But that insofar as a certain atmosphere exists. Now, this is not always the case, even among contributors. The Idma of Taselli
312 depend for their séguia on the a. H'adduyws, who control its in-
578 take. Hence continuous conflicts. Even between Idma, the enormous séguia of the Amerdul, which the stream takes twelve hours to travel, has no longer been the object of any attack on the part of the people of Tasa since an agreement at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But its distribution still causes numerous conflicts between the villages of Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, and Wanchkrir. On the whole, however, the system has held.

624 The administration necessitates complicated and sometimes
312 extremely delicate surveillance. It is a functionary who performs it, the amazzal, plur. imazzalen, or "runner" (cf. ar. /Arabic/ jerrây). The fulfillment of such a role requires initiative and integrity, but it especially requires that a collective order, made of unwritten laws, work. The personage who assumes it is in general subject to the unanimous designation of his fellow citizens and can stay, even though upheld by the temporal authority, only with their confidence. A very old order, with

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171] 1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the ar (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Besseba[c] for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
(312) whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent confliot.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/181 cont./

311 103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 311 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
[613] ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[578] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubtlessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

/262/ The Rite of the Stone On the Boundary

423 578 Boundary disputes between riverains are all the more frequent here because the modicity of the parcels makes one utilize as separation of the lands only the "lane" of grass saved sparingly between two tillages, or even stones put likewise on the fallow land and whose dotted line symbolically marks the passage from one right to another. The agricultural ground of the villages is thus constituted by tiny patches, sometimes reduced to one or two squares of irrigation: by them, as has been seen, each family is represented in each of the toponymic quarters whose ensemble forms the ground. Any one of these parcels is therefore defined less by the topography than by its fitting in between four others. From one to another, no interruption. Only just a difference of vegetation due to inequality of manure. It is necessary to hold the stalks apart in order to see a small, raised stone, awuttu, base of an ideal line sectioning the quarter perpendicularly to its axis. Here then is a peasant society without actual limitation of the lands. One conjectures that such a stage defies judiciary law. The problems that it poses in fact are those of a criticism of legitimacy, based on the contestation of civil status rather than concrete problems of emplacement. The former are never even with the plane of litigation. This is because they are amenable, not to a procedural course, but, if I may venture to say it, to an immediate law.

423 627 578

A sacramental operation resolves them. An "oath," as one says, or rather a gesture explained by a formula. To whom is it administered? Here, naturally, there is no qualification as plaintiff or defendant (1),

1. Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, op. laud., p. 95: "There is neither plaintiff, nor defendant."

in spite of the influences released by the judiciary mores, and indirectly by a procedural automatism inspired by the cadis. Someone is summoned to justify the limit reached by his plowshare or his hoe. Unless it should be the claimant himself who offers to

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'ā plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'ā, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'ā, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[154] bic/ Mā rd'ā-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/263 cont./

423 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of
627 the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that,
578 by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

[114]

2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3).

[114]

3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
[171] absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" included, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

/265 cont./

42 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper:
627 itrama, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the tamuzunt can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2):

[171]

2. Similarly in old Kabyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," R. al., 1930, p. 247.

if it is after uktuber (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individuals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the rrahn or from assault are certainly numerous in the [578] Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the istirᶜâ' or "act of reserves" (3).

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 369.

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
538 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the
000 victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

578 /266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fāz', most often confused with those of istirᶜā'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.
794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
[692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de-
794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/436 cont./

preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together
182 the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This
695 proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small
634 taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions
578 without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects,
613 does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /socks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
• [578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[487] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
[438] live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

/133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
*631 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
175 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of
178 the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Ait Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the in-
fluence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
*634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the
cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part
of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them
by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three
generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère
/Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in
spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independ-
ence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the
great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high moun-
tains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to ac-
cept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible gov-
ernment of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar."
Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in
the fractions of the A'lt ʿAbdallah, the A'lt Lhasen, the Idma, the
A'lt Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the
Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the tra-
ditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
[178] "amghars," one still sees the "A'lt Arbaʿin" and the "moqaddems"
holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the
progressive development of personal power prepares and announces
the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our
intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs
in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course
of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been
able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid
and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their
• [578] secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648]

1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ʿAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
[669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of resistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M^cader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
• [578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by in-
ternal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed
destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly
divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
128 method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fic-
*631 tion of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions
of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain
summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high
valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two
opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
121 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
648 dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs, dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until /145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
*631 of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the internal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[598] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Ait Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616]

1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall [171] give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose [616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," [578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/198 cont./

571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
.578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hesperis, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

*634 616 578 174 619

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

175 *634 619

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Žagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

/204 cont./

616 619 648 175 [173] of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him contingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 578 174 [184] XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 174 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
•[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1/ Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[578] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center
[361]

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
•578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

/232 cont./

*634 648 [651] [431] passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids generally content themselves with claiming the traditional she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 •578 726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/232 cont./

*634 most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults,
•578 then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst
726 forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war.
628 But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to
[571] form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples
[571] of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by
[782] making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

*634 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the
578 soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over
571 power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for
726 measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle im-
628 perils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),
578
726
628

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
•578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
182 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies:
796 "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/249 cont./
423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group them-
[554] selves once a week. These then are the notables of the place,
[625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaʿa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside. The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
[578] ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circumstances, and their discords should not become manifest to the common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in them by the people for the administration of their property." As for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indispensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the material life of the users depends each day on the administration of the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, almost unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circumstances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a decision by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
• [578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
•578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Alt Arbaʿin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/271 cont./

*634 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of
•578 amghar (1).
613

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the
671 time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix
681 the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen accord-
[592] ing to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones
[652] into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
•578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars. Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ʿAbdallah. Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaʿin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
• [578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
159 new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
*631 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*634 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
616 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
726 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ʿAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 619 [648] /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradition attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different

*634 619 178 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 619 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime, a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to

*634 619 578 [613] whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal ambitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase. When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in importance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions

[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/289 cont./

*634 613 682 [697] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut *634 613 dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 616 •[578] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

S
*631
423
571
•578
S
[121]

/293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establishment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organization and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-Atlas may present.

R
634
631
171
R
[616]

XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Morocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of personal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen /makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton republican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states, the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R
634
631
614
578

Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that sometimes led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years. The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "Aït Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the Aït Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Aït
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "Aït Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Aït Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

175 /304 cont./
159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the A'lt Semmeg and
*634 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.
•578 The leff of the "A'lt Zolit," having thus entered with its
616 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen by the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "A'lt Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "A'lt Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the A'lt Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.
726 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ʿAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ʿAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/307 cont./

175 159 *634 926 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 159 *634 [625] [602] Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 159 *634 616 578 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator, relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
•578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him
by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in
seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi ap-
proaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he
himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo.
For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later
he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.
The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his ad-
versary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house,
which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ʿAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influ-
726 ence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
616 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more
to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances
in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to
neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si
Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of
his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident
"Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he
finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he
annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the
"Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
• [578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/329 cont./

195 In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
*634 the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords, who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

195 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
•578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa "khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

The favor of the

175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
[648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader, charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
*631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
•578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
[648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Actually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben ʿAli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
578 the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
*631 the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*634 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
[712] enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Žanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Netis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
'Ali. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
175 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells, and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success against the cantons of the enemy left in the nearby valley of the Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a "siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
(1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
*631 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
578 of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
*631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
-578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
*631 in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
326 reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even suc-
[669] ceeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and
named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal,
supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally for-
tune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the
Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids
of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards
ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by
the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to
take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed
toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/337 cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
[712] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
*631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
578 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi, chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Marrakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of collecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his elevated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marrakech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz. His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*631 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
*634 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
616 had preserved their Aït arba^c in and their small senates. In the
178 valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
•[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifhout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

/357 cont./

178 616 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends. Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

• [578] * [634] * [631] [648] Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rivalries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

* 631 * 634 XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the Atlas really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

* 631 178

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
194 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
•578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
•578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ʿOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself; the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 •578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

*631 175 648

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
571 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the boundaries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form
• 578 are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 •578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are in-
171 spired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like it-
*631 self. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly de-
554 voted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all cir-
182 cumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
171 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their mem-
*631 ory, as do all the companions from their village associated with
554 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
182 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland. Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by
• 578 the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
[616] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
17 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
578 house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/406 cont./

121 171 *631 182 •578 648 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies, the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 795 *631 [175] [178] /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

[128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we [648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger
•[578] branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity
[178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops [653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./

423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
•579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group them-
[554] selves once a week. These then are the notables of the place,
[625] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaʿa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/340 cont./

581 That is, however, a sort of exception, of reminder. In fact, in spite of a great ceremonial richness, marriage here no longer offers any trait that would reveal, at least on the plane of the law, collective conditionings. In the eyes of the local jurists, this whole part of their institutions draws its inspiration closely from the fiqh (1).

[114]

1. In this sense, cf. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of the customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 25 sq., and, in an Islamizing sense naturally indicated even more, the nikâh' chapters in the works of an-Nâçirî, ar-Rasmûkî, al-ᶜAbbâsî, etc.

Such a profession, assuredly exact if one clings to the judiciary plane, is less so for one who considers the mores, the tensions that they express, the images that they suggest. What part to give to the one and to the other of these two modes of perceiving, each reflecting a different level of reality? The inquiry by Westermarck (2),

[114]

2. E. Westermarck, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, and the numerous allusions to the Moroccan institution made in the other works by this author. On the method of W., see Lévi-Strauss, "L'oeuvre de W. /The works of Westermarck/," R. d'hist. des Religions, No. 1, 1945. E. Westermarck was struck by the Moroccan institutions to the point that his Histoire du mariage /History of marriage/, for example, tr., 2nd ed., makes broad appeals to them, and not always happy ones. Cf., for example, what he says about the famous Night of error (t. I, pp. 121 sq.). Interesting remarks

/340 cont./

581
114

/footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

581
121

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/343 cont./

584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprencticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh 581 /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, 481 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab countries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a 581 171 bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the çadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ʿamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ʿamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mlād, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 599 611 601 595

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mūlūd, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/340 cont./

581
114

/footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

581
121

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Sekawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/341 cont./

584 3) the feast called asghurt: it gives to the ensemble its name, which etymologically evokes a "ritual cry."

Beyond the presents handed over on this occasion, arising from an economy of the gift and of the feasting, the young man owes to the girl during this period clothing and ornaments, according to the customary modalities. He contributes to her support at the domicile of her parents. In exchange, she owes him a certain intimacy in general not total, and joins him in various practices bringing into play age classes and rites of passage: young people's feasts and evenings, applications of henna. The unilateral rupture of this state by the young woman entails on her part the obligation to give back the gifts and expenses incurred.

585 b) The "nuptials," tameghra, include a ritual part, a statutory part, and a conventional part.

Ritual part:

1) The tarzift: the delivery of propitiatory gifts by the young man to his parents-in-law, giving rise to a "procession," and sometimes to simulated pillage;
2) the processional conveyance of the young woman to the marital house, this is the ŝid n-tslit;
3) the exposition of the dotal contribution of the bride, the ŝid urukn;
4) the utterance of the fâtih'a, Koranic formula accompanied by wishes of good augury;

/342/ 5) The consummation: this is the ŝid ukechchum, sanctioned, if it is a matter of a virgin, by the yo-ho /Fr. youyou/ of the matron on duty, taghorit, and a new gift, lh'aqq n-ççbâh'.

Statutory part:

585 675 586 1) Conclusion of the amerwas: promise by the bridegroom to the bride to have to pay her, in case of dissolution of the marriage, a sum uniformly fixed by the custom of each tribe, and varying from one to the other: in Seksawa, 6.50 for a virgin, 3.25 for a nonvirgin;

/342 cont./

586 562 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can obtain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 171 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of departure. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584 171

584 171 114

1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/343 cont./

584
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 104, finds in very ancient Roman law an opposition between the "betrothal," more conservative form, more imbued with magic rites and with the notion of patria potestas, and "marriage," individualized and consensual form. In Rome, however, the juridical tie of the betrothal fell into decadence early. Similarly in Mussulman law the institution's point of departure in time, in the juridical sense of the term, is the fâtih'a. Nevertheless in Chleuh /Shluh/ law the frequency of litigations that we would call "breach of promise of marriage" is significant, and at the very least covers the notion of a juridical state already established anterior to the pronouncement of the fâtih'a. This is what I call the prenuptial stage, by allusion to practices of this order fallen to the level of simple folklore in certain European milieus, for example. Cf. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français /Manual of French folklore/, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. In the Berbère /Berber/ domain itself, it would not be adventurous to compare this phase of "frequentation," where the daughter remains at the home of her parents, with such a trait of Touareg /Tuareg/ marriage: "custom requires that the newly married live near the parents of the woman for a year," M. Benhazera, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar /Six months with the Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1908, p. 18. In Morocco itself, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas knows different practices dependent on a conjugal life first paired with work at the home of the parents, according to the Biblical theme of Jacob at the house of Laban. This is the custom of the amhares. Something analogous among the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara,

/343 cont./

584 171 114

/footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprencticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh 581 /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, 481 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab countries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a 581 171 bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the çadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great [181] families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
•584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once: For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of admini-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
[796] and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he requested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and lafif, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/341 cont./

584 3) the feast called asghurt: it gives to the ensemble its name, which etymologically evokes a "ritual cry."

Beyond the presents handed over on this occasion, arising from an economy of the gift and of the feasting, the young man owes to the girl during this period clothing and ornaments, according to the customary modalities. He contributes to her support at the domicile of her parents. In exchange, she owes him a certain intimacy in general not total, and joins him in various practices bringing into play age classes and rites of passage: young people's feasts and evenings, applications of henna. The unilateral rupture of this state by the young woman entails on her part the obligation to give back the gifts and expenses incurred.

585 b) The "nuptials," tameghra, include a ritual part, a statutory part, and a conventional part.

Ritual part:

1) The tarzift: the delivery of propitiatory gifts by the young man to his parents-in-law, giving rise to a "procession," and sometimes to simulated pillage;
2) the processional conveyance of the young woman to the marital house, this is the ŝid n-tslit;
3) the exposition of the dotal contribution of the bride, the ŝid uruku;
4) the utterance of the fâtih'a, Koranic formula accompanied by wishes of good augury;

/342/ 5) The consummation: this is the ŝid ukechchum, sanctioned, if it is a matter of a virgin, by the yo-ho /Fr. youyou/ of the matron on duty, taghorit, and a new gift, lh'aqq n-ccbâh'.

Statutory part:

585 675 586 1) Conclusion of the amerwas: promise by the bridegroom to the bride to have to pay her, in case of dissolution of the marriage, a sum uniformly fixed by the custom of each tribe, and varying from one to the other: in Seksawa, 6.50 for a virgin, 3.25 for a nonvirgin;

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fâtih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/342 cont./

586 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can ob-
562 tain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison
171 between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where
171 the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584
171
114

1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[792] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq. [586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/344 cont./

585 675 171 [586]

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675 585 586 121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 11 sq.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/346 cont./

585 675 175 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose, wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 [562] However that may be then, not only in the division of the acquests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contractual acuity. 585 171 Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

585
171

/347 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, pp. 48 sq. What is striking in the stage described by H.-L. is the nullity of the woman's rights, not only concerning what would correspond to acquests, but even concerning the "nuptial price," taẓmamt or tutchit, which I translate thus provisionally, for lack of anything better, and even concerning the conventional supplements, or chrut'. What is called cedak' in Kabylia (H.-L., ibid., p. 162) is in sum only a facultative marriage settlement handed over by the parents and deemed equal to renunciation of inheritance. The powers of the husband are exorbitant, since they sometimes include beyond the grave a sort of right of retention, taẓlak'ith (ibid., p. 156), and, in case of repudiation, a negotiable power of interdiction, capable of rendering the woman thamaouok't (p. 178), etc.

which one would imagine to be quite close to it by reason of so many analogies in the habitat and the public law. Now what is striking in the Kabyle system is its brutal masculinity, its negation of any bilateral equity in the status of the conjoints. In the eyes of the French reformer this is a permanent scandal, but a very resistant scandal, against which up to now one has been able to do very little. That speaks of its profound adherence to the milieu.

Let us content ourselves with this brief reference to another Maghrebi law, in order to make the balanced character and the moral value of the Seksawa type stand out. And the comparison will have another advantage: that of dissuading the investigator from calling on a hypothetical common basis of Berbère /Berber/

/347 cont./

585
171

institutions in order to account for their originality (2).

2. The comparison with the neighboring Ud Bessebâ^{c} is characteristic. The "masculinity" of their mores is so marked that the woman often gives up the rights that the fiqh gives her, such as, for example, the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ food allowance for the children. To tell the truth, the Moroccan ^{c}Amal has naturally registered as a "Bedouin" practice the calculation of an indemnity corresponding to the si^{c}âya of the woman, that is, to her comings and goings outside the house. This is what is called the kidd and what the cadis willingly apply to Berbère /Berber/ tribes subject to the chra^{c} /Sharira/, such as the Mtugga and the Mez'ud'a.

/348/ The Family In Time

613

Under such a rubric will be grouped aspects that a classification excessively steeped in our manuals would study successively by the titles of filiation, the state of persons, guardianship, successoral status, adoption, and foundation (1).

1. This is what is done by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

This family in time, which is also, as one has seen, a family in space, is the ikhs. Now its traits appear only in the form of twists or of subterfuges, of flights from the fiqh. This is, moreover, a classic method, but here one whose coherence, obstinacy as

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[431] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

245 [241]

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

[262] [443] [412] [586]

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" in-
[171] cluded, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

/341 cont./

584 3) the feast called asghurt: it gives to the ensemble its name, which etymologically evokes a "ritual cry."

Beyond the presents handed over on this occasion, arising from an economy of the gift and of the feasting, the young man owes to the girl during this period clothing and ornaments, according to the customary modalities. He contributes to her support at the domicile of her parents. In exchange, she owes him a certain intimacy in general not total, and joins him in various practices bringing into play age classes and rites of passage: young people's feasts and evenings, applications of henna. The unilateral rupture of this state by the young woman entails on her part the obligation to give back the gifts and expenses incurred.

585 b) The "nuptials," tameghra, include a ritual part, a statutory part, and a conventional part.

Ritual part:

1) The tarzift: the delivery of propitiatory gifts by the young man to his parents-in-law, giving rise to a "procession," and sometimes to simulated pillage;
2) the processional conveyance of the young woman to the marital house, this is the ßid n-tslit;
3) the exposition of the dotal contribution of the bride, the ßid uruku;
4) the utterance of the fßtih'a, Koranic formula accompanied by wishes of good augury;

/342/ 5) The consummation: this is the ßid ukechchum, sanctioned, if it is a matter of a virgin, by the yo-ho /Fr. youyou/ of the matron on duty, taghorit, and a new gift, lh'aqq n-ççbßh'.

Statutory part:

585 675 586 1) Conclusion of the amerwas: promise by the bridegroom to the bride to have to pay her, in case of dissolution of the marriage, a sum uniformly fixed by the custom of each tribe, and varying from one to the other: in Seksawa, 6.50 for a virgin, 3.25 for a nonvirgin;

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fātih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/342 cont./

586 562 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can obtain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemāa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 171 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikāh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadāq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-
584 171 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584 171 114

1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[192] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

[586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/344 cont./

585
675
171
[586]

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675
585
586
121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and initiator from the Moroccan South.

675 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

/383 cont./

671 [779] thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, unlimited in its applications. Two examples of it have already [421] been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another [586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution 671 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern. 794 In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[431] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebac, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 343 712 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a [171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebâc Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 178 592 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own. [593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the [591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 592 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and resi- [591]
dence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating
every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of
the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562] out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described...

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 611 601 595

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the /30/ "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebâc Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
[178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also presides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in turn by the spouses in a single place: aârich in Mtugga, kech-
[178] china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains, does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the dispersion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode, is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of the habitat, this tremmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultán by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

●592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[198] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

/198 cont./

423 794 [452] peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here, and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 613 592 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli, are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Âli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Âli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Âli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Âli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 423 178 613 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phenomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up [103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
[592] ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchāc of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
[613] a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[592] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
794 inal source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4
[634] villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidas, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
[613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/438 cont./

171 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a
613 clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ᶜazri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs
[592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely regative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/40 cont./

361 At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of
712 the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-
184 Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective
[343] storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes
[243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these vari-
592 ous groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 .592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
[642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Ex-
[789] terior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. 562 443 Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

621 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
[592] that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, p. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines.

[652] The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such as the Ud Bessebâc, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a [171] fortiori among the Ud Bessebaʿ Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.

[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the
178 prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws,
[586] even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 There is another point at which a recent evolution has in-
178 fluenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime
593 seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

597 /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an
671 old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by
[428] the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the
671 child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator.
[881] Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from
421 the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
421 inal source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw
175 Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/351 cont./

593 421 175 evaluations, drawing of lots, convention, measuring." Moreover, the distribution is performed "in front of the jemâa, with the reed, according to the boundaries and by the drawing of lots, and followed by the taking of possession in the presence and under the auspices, bi-wajh, of the father." The latter reserves for himself, the same as the mother, a margin, h'âchiya. All this under the presidency of the grandfather, the chaykh /sheik/ Saᶜîd b. ᶜAbdallah. Patriarchal ambiance, but careful about preconstituted proofs, communitarian, but accountable. This double aspect of the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution stands out nearly everywhere.

593 421 Such a practice, in which both the patrimonial permanence and the autonomy of the person are combined, passes only distorted into the acts to which it gives rise. A discordance breaks out at this place between the juridical base and the form that it has assumed: the latter depends on the free disposition, indeed even the liberality, of the father; but it is not very probable that this tie expresses the authentic climate. The latter is indeed one of a veritable right exercised by the son over the father, still alive, in the name of a certain solidarity among them all concerning the ancestral patrimony, and with a view toward freeing the initiative of each rightful claimant in the realization of the "augments," zawâid (1).

1. It happened this very year that in Demsira, taqbilt of the Irohalen, some children came to claim against their father, still alive, the right to divide /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ the land. One finds, in another Moroccan domain, this attempt having passed to the stage of jurisprudence, R. J. cout., No. 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu of Ahermoumou).

To amass, to round out the plot by /352/ progressively nibbling at the slope or the forest, to accumulate from generation to

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
•593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

*631 175 648

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594
171
114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the développement of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ the literature of the "bureau arabe" /Arab office/, Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., had insisted upon the "patriarchal" side of Maghrebi life. These views are systematized by M. Morand, Etudes de droit musulman algérien /Studies on Algerian Mussulman law/, 1910, pp. 10 sq., and A. Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The Evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1906, in their very rich chapter IX on the social life, pp. 271 sq. They give an account there of the profound study by E. Doutté, "L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'âh'a /The domestic and social organization among the H'âh'a/," Rens. col., Jan., 1905, which approaches our sector, pp. 8 sq. Observations by W. Marçais in a domain more distant, but valuable for the North Africa ensemble, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arab texts from Takrouna/, 1925, pp. xi sq.; good bibliography by A. Mouliéras on the ᶜazwa of the Jebala, Le Maroc inconnu /Unknown Morocco/, 1895, t. I, p. 66; by H. Bruno on the ᶜaz'âm, "Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central /Introduction to the study of the customary law of the Berbers of Central Morocco/," Arch. berb., 1918, p. 306. In this context of observations, R. Maunier does not hesitate to approximate the Kabyle takharrubt to the Roman gens, Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works of North African sociology/, 1930, p. 64, and describes a "segmentary" society. These ideas have been very widespread. Vidal de Lablache himself, Principes de Géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 291, compares Berbère /Berber/ society to an ensemble of Hellenic

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121
594
613

Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/338 cont./

121
613
• 594

/footnote 1 continued/ different term that we employ seems to us to correspond better to the reality described. Its definition is no less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G. Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now, for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussulman ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking, it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594
613
183

The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to inspire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family," ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights. The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

594
613

613

613 /350/ The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns
[623] the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the
personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today:
a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a.
613 Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to
178 only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a.
Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved
and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions
would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken
here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant
for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Ex-
amples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incer-
titudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely re-
newable.

594 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmos-
671 phere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning
the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here
either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the
occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence
671 with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of
sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on
[174] that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jij*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
192
171

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebâc, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1). 562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^c." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^c." The "mouda^c" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

.595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^c" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^c."

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/347 cont./

*631 *634 554 Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 557 595 X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
• 595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still be observed in the more distant territories that have been successively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[[75] In the short period during which the large commands were constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 611 601 595

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jll*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
192
171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596 •
Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596
with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591
parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596
family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic
domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562]
out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described •••

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wariyaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59). 000

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59). 596 42 [562]

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to 596 597 735 609

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

613 178

594 671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 671 [171] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 671 [428] /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 671 [881] The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator. Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 421 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 421 175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglageit.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wariyaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59). 000

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59). 596 42 [562]

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to 596 597 735 609

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 611 601 595

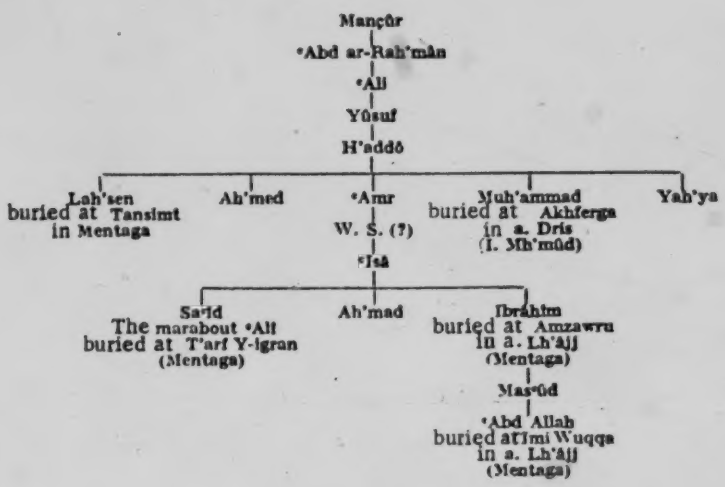
The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



/197 cont./

616 on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any
174 argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

• [601]

1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "Altmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "Altmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

616 One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing
*634 to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of
174 the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 617 601 595

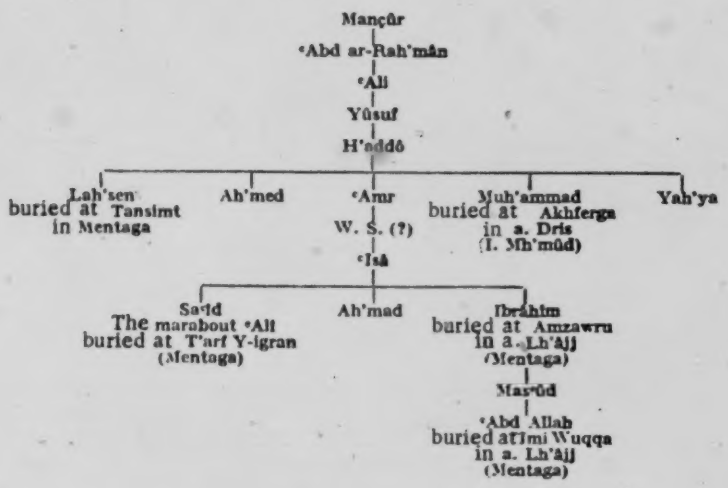
The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga,
428 whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left
602 as heir his cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, whom this mention undoubtedly
776 identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been
127 made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The
602 first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in
428 spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of
776 ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜîd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh',
602 Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No
428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line,
776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants.
[613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they
[175] postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person-
[602] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to
784 take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the
778 timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the
[821] sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar! no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve ex-
571 pression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group.
[602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
•602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
[625] his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
• [602] changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
616 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
578 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
•602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
.602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
661 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse them-
*631 selves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
648 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
661 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
•602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
661 tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
602 while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors: two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^c" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^ca," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^c."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^c" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb,
621 manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^c" pos-
632 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
423 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^c" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

/152 cont./

*634 [184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^{c}," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^{c}" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

*634 166 .609

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
•609 of a neighboring fraction.

A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
632 four "mouda^c" that gather together in all the population of about
*634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (A'lt Lhasen, A'lt ^cAbdallah, A'lt Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the A'lt Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

609 /245 cont./

574 I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-
[344] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the
[485] assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-
166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
563 origin, a consultation of the jemaʿa of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass
[619] into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

404 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arba^cin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arba^cin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "^car" to the jema^ca in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wariyaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59). 000

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59). 596 42 [562]

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to 596 597 735 609

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

571 609 574 754 171 192

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*talmat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

(P.44)

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [591] [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very recently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority [175]
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 611 601 595

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaïs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'ïh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/40 cont./

551 that it does not have several Bihi u Ali, several Addi u Bella. The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations, 613 all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in contrast to the Arab country, the ikhs always has its designation. 551 This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness and its solidity contrast with the banality of the praenomen, pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that the surname, laqab, so common in Arab country, is very rare here.

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected. [634] All that one can affirm is that the name of the ikhs avoids all ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other than the political unit, the taqbilt. Therefore, from the first step of this inquiry, the force of the ikhs manifests itself. And, simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture, comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent performance, at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organization of the patres or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impression asserts itself that, if the ikhs is a cadre essential for an understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its fundamental structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its continuity in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
[217]
[127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
173 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
101 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
634 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
184 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

/60 cont./

174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, impoverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness.

619 634 128 613 173 619 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
[101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/61 cont./

613 128 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 613 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare [415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands. [691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold over one. [195] Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 [829] Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis. But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style,
one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173
[166]

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous. [166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin. [792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
619 printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelâ, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
634 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates
634 vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
[178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of
[613] which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
634
621
613
173
166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bulᶜwân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâᶜ). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
•613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101] [312] [142] [181]

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella, is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

634 632 613 166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

/69 cont./

423 166 619 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their archeological value is therefore probable.

619 173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, [613] to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 613 619 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could prolong indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 166 619 The country of the Dukkâla was subject to a frightful tyranny. One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the an-
[176] cestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in- [613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [796] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two conquering branches.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ It A is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
	a. Daud.	a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains
• 613 why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchû^{c}.

/127 cont./

241 the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

> 1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../," R. afr., 1950.

-- the square, first technical unit;
-- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
-- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
/128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;
[423] (613) -- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimonies of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 796 619 634 184 [613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur. [541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. [578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; [262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair. [613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir- [578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; [262] battle by blows with clumps of grass. [541]

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

746 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a. Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
634 the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
[184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[182] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/From p. 150 of the original source./

312
102
423
613

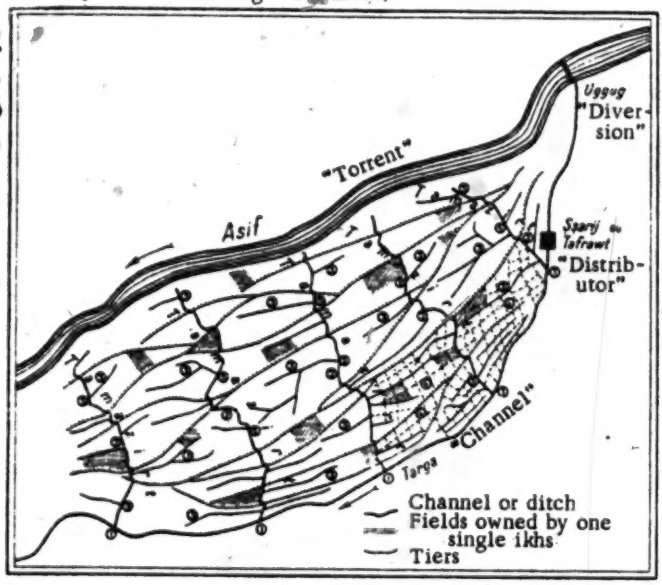


Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

The "channel," targa, leaves from the ççarij, or chcharij, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," asaru, 2, plur. isura, which leave from "principal intakes," açder, plur. içdar or içdran, or further ighin, plur. ighaniwin, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, taghamut, 5, plur. tighuma, opening on the "discharging ditches," isura, 3. Irrigation planches, tisirit, tisaratin, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," uzun, plur. uzunen, 4.

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have dis-
178 appeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard
613 closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the
423 losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/154 cont./

312 613 423 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ᶜaçr to ᶜaçr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Abdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] [634] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekchchut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merrymaking that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/154 cont./

312 613 423

In fact: except for the a. Naçr, who have their lands grouped in the immediate surroundings of the village of Tagenza, the 4 other ikhs-s are all represented in each of the quarters, but it seems without any definite part where the "parcels" under their jurisdictions are grouped. The entanglement seems to be greater and greater from upstream to downstream. In all the "quarters," except for what concerns the a. Naçr, only two do not group the integrality of the ikhs-s: Tamayust and Talšint u-wdi. All the others contain a whole sampling of ikhs-s.

3rd. At Fensu there are 10 séguias. Some come from the high valley of the asif Uziwal, others from the direction of Tasa. This abundance of water makes the portion a day and a night. Eleven turns, including that of the mosque. These turns fall to the ikhs-s, which divide /155/ the water among the foyers in proportion to the surfaces. At the top echelon, which is that of the distribution of turns among ikhs-s, the topography does not count for anything, each ikhs irrigating in turn its lands scattered over several quarters.

4th. At Tasa, three séguias and two orders of distribution. The one bears on the Imengad' and Anngar séguias, the other on the Ti-n-wammam. Here are each of these two orders:

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'šib, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus a turn called ass i-ymengad', privilege, moreover transferred, of the one that regulates the source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sšid, a. Lh'sen, a. Chšib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (individual privilege).

The irrigation rotates by ikhs-s, but within them it is adjusted according to surfaces and gives way when necessary to a drawing by lot, according to the general procedure.

A second method is called taghamut s-tghamut, "sluice by sluice." Without concern for appurtenance to the ikhs, it irrigates by large pieces that are continuous and contiguous to such and such a sluice. The order observed among them is from upstream to downstream. It is a form of decadence, of rupture. It may be due to either a particular abundance of water, rendering useless

/155 cont./

312 the rotation by ikhs-s (explanation given at Lalla Aziza, where
423 this method has functioned for several years), or to an excess of
[613] litigations and privative claims, or even to the gigantism of the system.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ The second motive operated in 1949 in the village
[627] of Ad'erd'ur, which, in order to cut short a threatening dispute, distributed the water of the Tzemzgart. For the whole ensemble of the network of the Amerdul, a claim of this sort: it has not yet won. The order of the ancestors still holds good here.

The third motive results from the case of the a. Lh'sen.

These conquerors of one of the affluents of the middle valley have preserved a vitality which, by a nice correspondence, is also connected to the relative conservation of their soil, to the consistency of the timbering on the sides, and to the abundance of water. They have 14 séguias, beyond the one that Wanz'id', the highest of their villages, draws from a source peculiar to it. Despite the lengthwise stretch of this whole system, the basis for the
[613] distribution is not topographical. Being a matter of an important grouping, the ikhs-s here are grouped into two subgroups, ait Mençur and ait Ddaud, each of the two having each year, alternating with the other one, the privilege of starting. Within the two subgroups, it is the "sluice by sluice" system that functions. The lands of each of the two are entangled the whole length of the valley, from Buteghradin up to Tabratjut, to the confines of the a. Abdella. But this gentilitial system works only on the first four days of the week (starting from Sunday, a day reputed to be favorable in /156/ this taqbilt). The rest of the week, definite portions of the valley receive water: three of them are distinguished. Finally, the distant Tabratjut possesses, with other villages upstream, a special séguia, departing from the place called Ukhriben.

In sum, here there is a combination of the gentilitial system and of the system based on the continuity of several great soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture: expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/. The irrigation calendar, which one has tried to represent below, will give an idea of the complexity and at the same time the harmony of the system.

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a
[173] few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the a. Lᶜanayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid ᶜAbdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/168 cont./

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
[624] guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a
476 general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and
829 here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

"The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right
[624] to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

"The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to
[613] them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the ana-
476 lytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort
[613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, 133 (361) [613] faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life; it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen 613 (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only 312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. (173) Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'oggWa expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

(613) Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The 634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes 613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure 173 669

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
[177] fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/181 cont./

311 103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 311 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

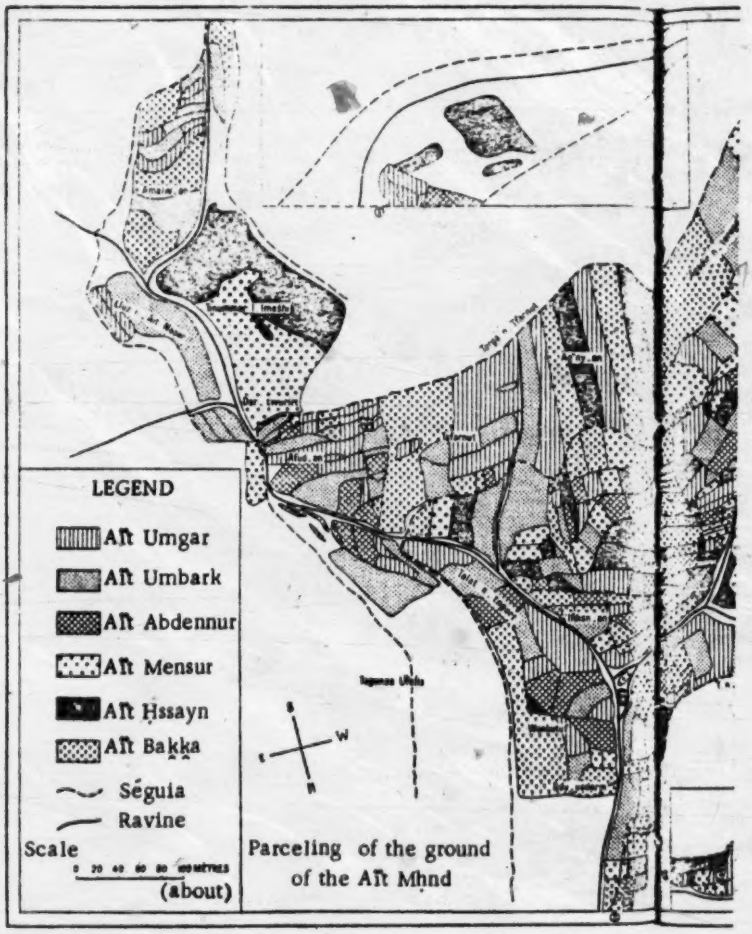
423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

1: Berque--261 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
• 613

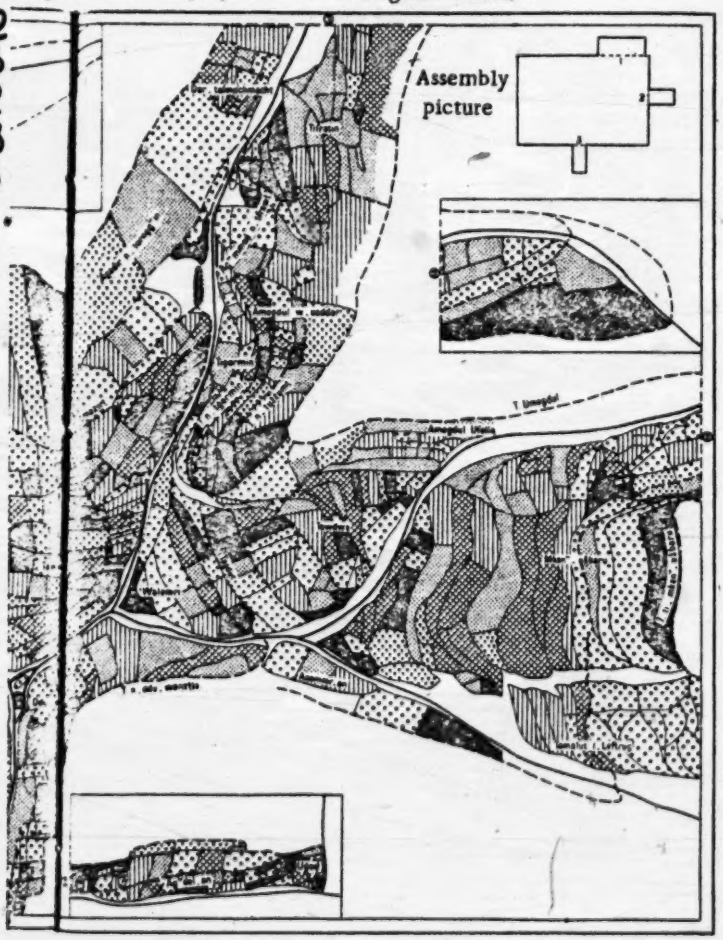


1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613



/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only
423 goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is
[241] still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

1. [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 423 [312] their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

The Distribution of Landed Property

423 The indications recorded here about property come especially from the awareness that the group has of its land bases, that is, from a beginning of interpretation that has taken into account, in certain cases, the owner rather than the occupant. In other cases, on the contrary, it is the possessory situation, based on a rrahn or
423 from an old usurpation, which has influenced the notation. Nota-
613 bly being the matter in the case of the family of the present amghar, the Iseqqalen. Such as it is, however, and despite all the avatars resulting from alienations and female inheritances, /192/ /left side of table appears here/ /193/ /right side of table appears here/ /194/ /chart appears here/ /195/ /chart appears here/ /196/ this document establishes, with a coefficient of cross-checking of about 75%, that each ikhs is represented in each quarter. This cross-checking, bearing on more than 25 quarters, on six ikhs-s and 3,500 parcels, has weight. But inequalities appear, as much in terms of the respective patrimony of the ikhs-s as in the proliferation of these into minor ikhs-s, then into "families." That is, for the Iseqqalen: 7 families, a. Ilarzg 11, a. H'sayn 2, a. Mh'nd u Abdallah 5, a. Ulila 3, a. Uh'qqi only 1.

The law of sampling verified above would be such much less exactly (at 52%, however) if we took into account, not the ikhs-s, but their subdivisions. It no longer applies to the family echelon. Nothing surprising in that. It is a rule of public law, we might say, and not of distributive justice. It stops at a certain echelon, which is that of the ikhs. But the proliferation of certain ikhs-s into certain sectors, where the others are reduced to a representation by principle, doubtlessly reveals complex symmetries. Perhaps there has been division of villages among groups. All are represented in each one, but in variable proportions, and that might produce agreements recognizing local primacy for such a one among them. Perhaps, on the contrary, after an egalitarian distribution, there have been alterings which took account of the importance of action taken within the limits of such-and-such a village by such-and-such an ikhs.

1: Berque--269 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
312
423
613

Names of the ikhs-s	1. Tabit-en.	2. Tasbaft.	3. Tamazyt-en.	4. Is'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Ire'.	6. Fisharin.	7. Tabat n-dfawt.	8. Tabbirt.	9. Amalaytich.	10. Amaku ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Targa wamman.
Isaqqulen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	16
a. Ilarag	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'ssyn		3		29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Abdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	19
a Ulila.....			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi.....			15	8	12					14	16	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	155	93	134
Crop Rotation												
The initials o (barley), n (turnip), m (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49.....	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50.....	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51.....	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1951-52.....	o	o	o + n	o + m	m	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n
1952-53.....	m	m	m	m + o	o	m + o	o	m	m	m	m	m

1: Berque--270 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
613

13. Ins'ughan.	14. Firezten.	15. Uggug l-yml y-iz'ma.	16. F'-ighoul.	17. Amalu y-iml n-iamt.	18. Teiaggut-an.	19. Ddugerd'an.	20. Awrz l-yml y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-iml y-iz'ma.	22. Taiat Uaghar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-irz.	25. Awrir-an.	26. Taiat n-Tfrawt.	27. Ait Yus.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,095
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546
?	o	o	?	m	m	o	o	o	m	o	o	o	m	o	
o+n	o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m	m	n	o	m	m	o	o	m	
m	o	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	o+m	o	m	m		
o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m+n	m+n	m	o+n	o+n	m	o+n	o	o		
m	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	m	o	m	o	m		

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to
613 the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part
423 of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely
[103] neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/

Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

/198 cont./

423 794 [452] peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here, and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 613 592 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Ali, are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Ali	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Ali each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Ali have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Ali	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 423 178 613 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phenomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Rea-
423 son invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimo-
178 nies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the
613 a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave
178 no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the
[613] participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has
[794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
628 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châlb.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaâli.
11. Imiri y-ig^{w}rramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-^{w}gwadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

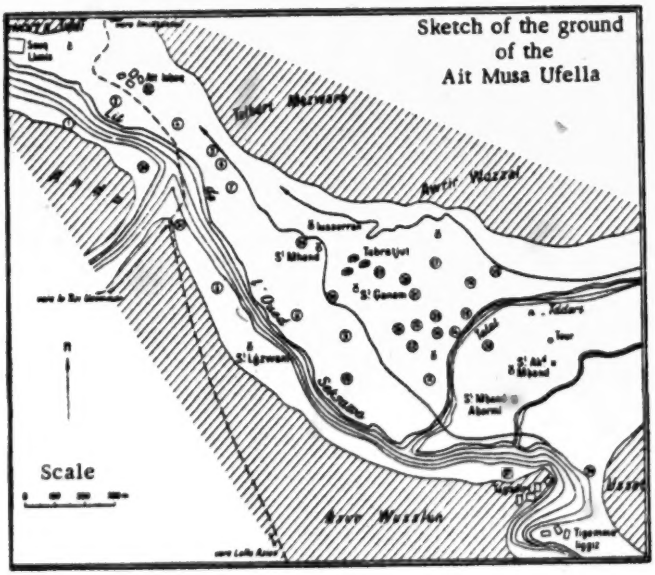


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./

634 613 423 property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s, 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 613 [128] /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51% confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

423
613

/Table from p. 202 of the original source/

Indication of the ikhs-s	Indication of the number of parcels that each ikhs possesses in each quarter (the letters and the numbering refer to the lists above)																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
a	16	15	13	47	64	4	53	45	40	17	25	38	15	7	5	31	4	8	11	15	9	4	39	85	19	47	14	49	37		2	5	783
b				1	3		1	7		1	3	1			1		1	1	1							1	1	8	1				32
c	1	2	3	8	8		12	10	4		4	4	2		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	10	4	16	8	2			121
d	1	2	3	7	8		2	9				4	1		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	8	1	20	6				95
e	7	16	8	9	10		3	17	1	17	3	6	10	5	2	4	7	15	3	1	2	3	3		3	16	9	13	15				208
f	2			3		3	4	5		3	2	4	2	1	2		2	2	2					7	1	5	3	1	7				61
g					1		2	1	1			1											2	3	1				2				14
h	2	1	2	1		1	2	2			1	1		2	3	2			1	3	1	3	2		1	4	1						36
i		4	2	6	4	3	3	6	2				4	1	1	1	1	3		2		6		4	2	18						5	78
j	4	11	5	23	25	1	10	11	11			9	17		1	12	3	5	2	9		16	13	7	11	50	1		1				258
k	1	3	9	7	6	4	8	10				3		2	2	3		3	4	9	3	4	5	6	4	22							118
l	1	2	2	1	4		1	3	2	3	1	3			3	3	2	1		2		1		3	2	4							44
m		1	2		2											3	1				3			2		12						1	27
n	3	1		1	7	1	1	2	2	2					1	3	3	3	1	3		2	1		1	9							47
o																														10			10
p	18	30																															48
q	6	5																															11
r	8	16																															24
Totals by quarters.	70	109	49	114	142	17	92	128	63	43	39	74	51	18	29	74	32	45	25	44	26	39	69	117	47	206	34	107	77	12	2	11	

General total 2,015

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter ṣbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the prin- • 613 cipal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Imt'ddan]

/210 cont./

613
621

Original ikhs-s	Present "minor ikhs-s"	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Uchikar.	Tagunit.
	a. Warrh'u.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Batirat.	Tagunit.
	a. Mulid.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku.	Tagunit.
	a. H'imi.	Tagunit.
	a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt.
	a. Uâzzi.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Jamid.	Tinwalin.
	a. Uturit.	Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Sâid.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Ufarnu.	Tagunit.
	a. Uqurru.	Tagunit.
a. Lehger.	a. Ubaqqa.	Tagunit.
	a. Ubumarth.	Tagunit.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qedeur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferynd'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lcanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

[Taqennurt]

/215 cont./

613 423 241

This table calls for various comments.

1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 1/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchiari (18), the a. sidi Ghânem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^{c}wân the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt.]

/216 cont./

613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

195 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Âbdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Âbdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For
121 a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]

/220 cont./

613 312 [443] [691] 1) At Timezgadiwin, an important market between the Tizi Umachcho and Argana, the law is so present that it could serve corollarially in a judiciary investigation in the proceedings setting against the present jemâa the claim of a formerly evicted ikhs, the a. Umahal. This ikhs's turn for water and its share in all the quarters of the ground: Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeranan, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, had been camouflaged by the four other ikhs-s making up the a. Timezgadiwin, but three quarters of a century of occupation did not succeed in abolishing them. Thus there were always 5 turns for water for 4 ikhs-s, no plausible explanation being alleged for such an anomaly. That in a matter which in such a milieu is always reasoned out very exactly. An error in the administration of the water: the investigation thrust itself in there and unmasked the usurpation.

613 312 423 2) At Tinnmrutin, high-mountain village of the a. Châib, endowed with a relatively large ground, there exist 7 ikhs-s. The irrigated land is divided into 12 quarters perpendicular to the axis of the torrent: Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. As a general rule, each quarter is divided among all the ikhs-s. Nevertheless inequalities of appurtenance, going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 423 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-Ibûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogenous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of 423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organized by an official occupant? [172] That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

[443] 4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor
[312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail
423 this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation com-
178 munities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork
613 mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[671] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than
[421]

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
213 vidual life in general, these correlations.
671
421 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agronomist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchaC of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[423] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/230 cont./
423 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
613 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenom-
184 ena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ^c. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

[613] Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
[571] an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
[619] among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
121 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude
171 of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

794 /The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original
184 source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic gens of the Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two ikhs-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân, [613] the other of Agawz, furnish the mârûf of Sidi Âbderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September.

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, taryalt, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a kharruba of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. It has [613] been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the ikhs.

In a. Âbdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. Bûl^{c}wân does not pay chchard' to the outside.

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patri- [613] monial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed [613] stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us [769] note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the indi- [776] vidual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh',
602 Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No
428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line,
776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants.
[613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ilhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they
[175] postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person-
[602] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the ciroum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/332 cont./

695 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our
571 intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait dif-
695 ferently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described,
613 but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 /333/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it
695 jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the timez-
613 gida, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of s.m.h', gh.f.r., ch.h.d., proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental initium thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between ikhs-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primi-
695 tivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a fqih, Abdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a cojuratio. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," radda nafsahu fî jihat, and "is returning," tâb, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/337 cont./

594
171
114

/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121
594
613

Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/338 cont./

121
613
594

/footnote 1 continued/ different term that we employ seems to us to correspond better to the reality described. Its definition is no less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G. Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now, for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussulman ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking, it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594
613
183

The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to inspire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family," ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights. The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

594
613

613

/338 cont./

613 the occasion of plural oaths, it is the most closely drawn circle of agnates that is invited to confer on the litigant its balance /Fr.
613 appoint/. Conservative mechanisms, such as the chchfâa or the
423 habous /wakf/, are applied to maintain or re-establish a patrimonial immutability, less familial in the narrow sense than gentilitial, against any land alienation or leasing. The /339/ ancient act to which one party, the açl, will allege an exception, and which has the more worth as it becomes older, many times consists of a simple unilateral affirmation of the land rights of the ancestor. The genealogical tree, chchajara, and the successoral distribution, lmirath, archival documents manifesting the agnatic continuity, play a decisive role in the proceedings. An instinct for reconstitution stands in opposition to the dispersive force of inheritances and personal enterprise. Between rich cousin and poor cousins, it animates and obscurely justifies these takings and retakings that tradition and opinion liken less to usurpation than to escheat or a sort of permanent revenge between rightful co-claimants. This alone justifies and authorizes the existence of a gentilitial agrarian order.

613 All the effort of the jurisprudence, were it that of the great
671 cadis of the Sous, has been dedicated to serving rather than amending this situation. It is that the ikhs thrust itself, with all its attachments of public law, upon the private law. Conjugal foyers on the one side, city on the other are pendant, one might say, on the two sides of the ikhs. In it is their point of junction, on each side of which profoundly different social rhythms reign. On the one side kinship and alliance, justiciable to the memory of the living, and finding their practical application in each successoral dispute. This is the reign of the writing. On the other side, larger and larger classifications are drawn up in echelon from the ikhs to the smallest political unit, the taqbilt, and from there perhaps to the great legendary divisions of North Africa: Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. There the reign of unwritten law begins.

At the antipode of this gentilitial life, here is the individual person. Not only is it the single subject in the eyes of the law,

/339 cont./

613 671 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/ procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 [796] Each year, at the feast of the Mūlūd, young men and young women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa [776] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her [778] baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals." [582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/347 cont./

585 171 institutions in order to account for their originality (2).

2. The comparison with the neighboring Ud Bessebâ^c is characteristic. The "masculinity" of their mores is so marked that the woman often gives up the rights that the fiqh gives her, such as, for example, the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ food allowance for the children. To tell the truth, the Moroccan ^cAmal has naturally registered as a "Bedouin" practice the calculation of an indemnity corresponding to the si^câŷa of the woman, that is, to her comings and goings outside the house. This is what is called the kidd and what the cadis willingly apply to Berbère /Berber/ tribes subject to the chra^c /Sharira/, such as the Mtugga and the Mez'ud'a.

/348/ The Family In Time

613 Under such a rubric will be grouped aspects that a classification excessively steeped in our manuals would study successively by the titles of filiation, the state of persons, guardianship, successoral status, adoption, and foundation (1).

1. This is what is done by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

This family in time, which is also, as one has seen, a family in space, is the ikhs. Now its traits appear only in the form of twists or of subterfuges, of flights from the fiqh. This is, moreover, a classic method, but here one whose coherence, obstinacy as

/348 cont./

613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

613 779 178 671 The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say, in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil, istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaqa, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the ççadaqa.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./

178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

212 But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
671 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
178 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
[538] of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the permanence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s
178 and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

613 178

594 671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 671 [191] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/352 cont./

613 671 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane, it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has [178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaI. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/

Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613 423 [128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases 423 181 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
[192] The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing,
has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about
which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the
Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert them-
selves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law,
what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the
/370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish
to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation,
then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which
the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment
and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those
of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the
commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive
individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society in-
to irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into
economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial
primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the
penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no
longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal
power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable
cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions
and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
[613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in
an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the
citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 12 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/375 cont./

634 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân.
554 On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between
(613) ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
(648) were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been consider-
634 able. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

176 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
• [613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well
[613] as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

/415 cont./

613 moral balance in which the group finds exercise and permanence.
182 A good part of the ethics of these populations amounts to rules and sentiments that assure the persistence of this balance against the damage of time and the hazard of individuals. In a past that
000 is not merely hypothetical -- since several modern traits postulate it -- the ikhs could have partaken of a hierarchy of qualifications that conferred upon such-and-such a lineage the charge of common actions involving the collectivity, its soil, its future (1).

> 1. For example, at the stage described by al-ᶜAbdarī, who is witness at Ans, in other words, on the South reverse of the Tizi Umachcho, veritable jousts of quarters, where it is not risky to recognize a ritual manifestation of the tension between ikhs-s. Cf. tr. of this passage in Cherbonneau, Journal asiatique, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Only al-ᶜAbdarī wrote in the thirteenth century. That is a terminus a quo a bit distant!

/416/ Major role! For the existence of the group must bring about connivances with nature, with the unwritten laws of the kosmos. It would follow that war, politics, agriculture, justice, beauty, and even holiness were in certain respects and to different degrees gentilitial affairs. Now there is nothing of this today (1).

> 1. Let us not forget the timezgida, whose communal role has been described above in detail. Borrowing terms from Greek Antiquity, it is in certain respects a prytaneum, it is never a leschè!

This past, if it is necessary to place it, can only be within the four centuries that our archive documentation covers. What counts today is not the function of the ikhs, but the crisis that shakes it. Neither the juridical folklore, nor especially the

/416 cont./

000 hagiology, which could have been a rich repository, nor the popular poetry reflected by any development the equilibrium of the ikhs-s, so essential to the life of the canton, and the meaning of which is so necessary to one who wishes to comprehend it. One is also struck by the relative poverty of the hagiology in personal saints and ancestors. A zone of leveling or of annulation drives back into antiquity everything that one might conjecture about the constructions of an agnatic genius. And perhaps there has never been any of these constructions. Society of gentes, one might say, but whose heroic phase is lacking (2).

2. We are straying here, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, from the nevertheless very suggestive ideas of Vidal de La Blache, this masterly exegetist of the Mediterranean, for whom the Berbère /Berber/ societies represent a stage in which there is not yet synoecism, and which by that especially differ from the classical societies, Principes de géographie humaine, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

613 181 Either it had never been, or it ceased to live in the hearts of the descendants and no longer speaks to the imagination. Individualism reigns even in the bosom of the house. It restricts paternal authority, makes acquisitive aspects predominate in marriage, precisely delimits the feminine autonomy, resolves the union of the couple in punctilious co-operationalism. Victim of its conquests, and even more of its permanent menace, the ikhs has suffered, from the fact of the commune, even more serious defeats. If analysis discloses, confronting the familial conservatism and the symmetries of the agrarian order, an individuation of rights that finds obstacles neither in theory nor in practice, is it not that the tension between the two orders of forces serves the vitality of the group?

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new [613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, them- [423] selves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a [177] makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. With- [613] in the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug [631] was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehen- [616] sion of these names. It has justly been noted that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

/436 cont./

000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds.
[171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together
182 the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This
[695] proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small
634 taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions
578 without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects,
[613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

000 "tribe," the ᶜarch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ᶜarch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ᶜarch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

[619] [634]

M1 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

/438 cont./

171 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a
613 clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ᶜazri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs
[592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely regative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
634 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
534 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of
535 Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

(C. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

(C. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Aflfen," that of
128 the Nflfa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
•613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/151 cont./

621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
[103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n A'lt lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

114
613
621
632
113

3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

114
•613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" pos-
621 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
• [613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
.613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616]

1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of
[171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the
territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose
[616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt,"
[578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

.613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zai, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
• 613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/220 cont./

632
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact repre- [613] sented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each ham- [621] let may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various [556] families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/223 cont./

*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. As his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is [666] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by [613] lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 692 554 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[613] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

*634 554 /225 cont./
firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small states. In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaʿin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

/229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the •[613] councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to 619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the 184 other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the A'lt Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the A'lt Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Ait Arba'in" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/271 cont./

*634 578 .613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones [652] into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 •613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
•613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
*634 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
578 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
661 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
726 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson: when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 619 [648] /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradition attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different *634 619 178 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 619 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime, a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to *634 619 578 whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal ambitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase. When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in importance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder [613] and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time [554] that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/289 cont./

*634 This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other
• 613 notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All
682 his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or
of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for,
[697] like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of
the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near
him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut
*634 dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his
613 domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions.
616 But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of
[578] cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

• 613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
●613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 •613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jll*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* } ("fifth") *thakhammasth* }	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
162
171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

and may sometimes be only semi-localized (see Murdock, 1949, pp. 65-78, for a definition of a clan). 613

Among the Berbers the minor lineage characteristically consists of from two to four extended families which trace their origin from a common ancestor, and which usually reside in more or less close proximity. The minor lineage forms a geographical and administrative unit, is represented in the public eye by its wealthy elders, and derives its name from its founding ancestor, its locality or location, or from some geographical landmark (Deverdun, 1942, p. 304).

In the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (99) the minor lineage is a collection of widely scattered households forming part of a diffuse "village", a situation which has been described by Hart:

... A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living members; it may number some 200 living people, distributed through ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *hauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing., *azdif*, "head") are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqin* in one village to be related to each other.

Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* [extended families] and endogamy within the *thārfīqth* [minor lineage]. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqin* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifāf*)...

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow, and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rif; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to [have] been more often a result of the function of

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jarīs*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qaḍīs*...

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other native *ijājgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijājgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfīqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfīqin* of their own...

In the Wuryāghli sense of being a "whole family", the internal solidaity of the *thārfīqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijājgha* of a *thārfīqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfīqth* of a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfīqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence... (Hart, 1954, pp. 60-62).

613 [171] Among the Shluh the minor lineage is of equal importance, and many of the features described for the Rifians also hold true. 613 621 However, the complex and almost haphazard connection between a minor lineage and a village, or part of a village, is particularly prominent. An *ikhs* may constitute part of a hamlet or village, together with other such units; it may constitute an entire village by itself; or parts of it may be distributed through several villages, sharing these with other lineages. No set pattern apparently exists, and there is no close relationship between this pattern and the political or administrative units. This situation is reflected by great confusion in the sources – a confusion which can be best be avoided by carefully differentiating between units defined primarily by kinship (though also by geographical proximity in the higher levels), and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité....

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksawa (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *Imud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45). [613] [582]

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239). 611 591 582 597 611 601 595

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor 613

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

613 621 184

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613 these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621 prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346] granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343] that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [764] forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423] they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313] unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [623] [622] functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

... In the minds of the tribepeople the *fariqath* is ultimately a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *fariqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *fariqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqin* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton [i.e., commune] together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque (*thamzida n khuṭbath*) to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements... (Hart, 1954, p. 66).

621 613 It should be noted that in some small tribes, communes are absent, all local social and political functions being assumed by the minor lineages and the village organizations (Berque, 1955, p. 65).

The commune or *ikhs* of the Beraber may at times be equivalent to a major lineage, with all of its components tracing descent from a common ancestor; usually, however, some of the lineages are unrelated to others, and the unit is held together more by sense of geographical proximity and common destiny than by relationship. The sense of unity is symbolized by the use of the term "brother" between the male members. The autonomy of the individual lineages is so strong, however, that these may join another commune, or even another tribe, if they so desire. The commune affirms its existence, and expects loyalty from its members, only in time of common danger or crisis (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 152-153; Querleux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The commune seems to have a greater significance, even if symbolic, among the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata:

... L'originalité de la "ferqa" se trouve toutefois mise en relief par l'existence, à l'intérieur de chacune de ces fractions, d'un "ighss" qui revêt entre tous les autres la qualité d'"Ait A'ouwâm". Semblables aux "inflâs" [notables] du Soûs, les "Ait A'ouwâm" incarnent dans les graves occasions l'honneur de la fraction toute entière dont ils ont pour tâche

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or 634
three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics:

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor, is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations [166] resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe 634 (589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor 613 lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe 166 (559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154). 634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16). 619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 621 623 635 634 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village customarily has its own representative council composed of representatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el 'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant re-
vision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building else-
where. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with
their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there
are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of
the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other
economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its
realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the
human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habi-
tat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be
the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social
structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more
closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or
hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and
obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood.
The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a
city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that,
through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the
energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks
and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
• 616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront
one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of
the provinces."

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[701] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)
[121]
[713]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 [121] [113] /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly [184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the 121 way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and [114] these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from 121 this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures [114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idms	Sous	Nûfa	
Barley...	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/218 cont./

114 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the
616 confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking
[127] Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1): [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

[173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison
796 with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. With- [613] in the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug [631] was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. It has justly been noted [616] that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

/423 cont./

619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/ III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616 121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121 171 616 114 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^c^okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ᶜAbda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'oggʷat of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIᵉ siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq, 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

/424 cont./

121
171
616
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616
121

resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasizè the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114]

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171]

In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/425 cont./

616 121 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 [192] One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local vocabulary (3),

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root [571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military [571] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers." 571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but 616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of [695] collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/425 cont./

616
121

They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616
121
114

4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last §. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

616
121

and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

/426 cont./

616
121

consciousness, present there some confusion of contour. It would therefore be inexact to label them under signs that are too precise: consanguinity -- pacts subscribed to -- existence of affinities; or else ancestral community -- convention -- statute. This would be to attempt to define them for the European. What observation suggests, on the contrary, is their indistinction. At the very least the continuity that prevails from one to the other. This continuity goes quite far. It can go so far as to modify the situation of the group, to form or break up what we today, groping a little, call confederations or tribes. Local tradition has recorded several of these morphological variations (2).

2. It is in this fashion that in a. Abdella, the ikhs of the a. Si Mh'and was attached to that of the a. Lkhil through a promise of sacramental assistance, and thus was able to settle in the village. The a. u Gord', of the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), not being supported by their "brothers" in a criminal affair, emigrated and came to live on the border of the plain, attaching themselves to another group. For all that, they have not lost their ritual capacity in the former habitat. During the annual feast of the saints of Aduz, it is they who inaugurate the round of visits that the whole tribe makes there. In Mez'ud'a, the a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gh'id'), for an analogous reason, seceded from their original group, the a. H'sayn, and settled in the village of Tamazirt. The a. Uchellad' left the a. Werdas and was admitted at Taz'arin. They left in their original habitat only a colony of crops. But here is a wider movement. An entire taqbilt, that of the a. Khtab, was accused of murder. Its I. Buzia brothers refusing to swear for it, it was admitted into the Mtugga.

/426 cont./

616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghörti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/427 cont./

616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin, so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, - but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2),

2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

/428 cont./

616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
121 one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Chšib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

/429 cont./

616
121

brought about a basic perturbation. It was thus that Umulid constantly played against other Ighertan, by making common cause with the a. Lh'sen. The very chance of one of his letters shows us apropos of this, as has been seen, one use of the word leff: a valuable lexicographical cross-check, but basically a new difficulty. For either Umulid considers himself as having become Emsifor, like the caid Mokhtar, or he uses this term in an extended sense of alliance, or of front: in a word, in a sense which vulgarizes the Algerian term çoff, which has become so essential to Franco-Mussulman life of small Algerian towns that the modern novel has made it famous.

If the dualism of the leff-s is above all a coexistence of virtualities, between which the collective, and sometimes even the individual, option is exercised, if each one these two terms themselves is exclusive neither of variety nor mutations, the problem then remains entirely one of learning why large zones are subject to it and why, on the other hand, such and such a sector escapes it. The distorting schemings of the chiefs, the degradation of the old order inherent in the rise of personal power during the twentieth century could not in any case account for the particular situation of the Seksawa. Everywhere and always in the Atlas, there has been alternation of the chefferie /military district/ and democracy. The historical and statistical inquiry, with graphic notations, that was desired in the case at hand by R. Montagne (1)

1. In his c. r. /report/ of the thesis of J. Dresch, Hesp., 1943, p. 232.

would certainly be useful for knowlege of the past of these societies. It would not provide any explanation. It would reveal the play of initiatives, being applied to conjunctures. Perhaps the bicolor background of the leff-s would come out as endowed with constancy, with a constancy in restorations, and thus linked to a certain legitimacy: thrilling research, but one does not see that it could advance the definition of the content.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

616 571 184

/430 cont./

616 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw
571 T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such
184 an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and
121 not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to
171 come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/431 cont./

616
171

or on the Hauts Plateaux /High Plateaus/. Truthfully speaking, it is intelligible only in this broad, analogic context. Replaced in an area going from the Saharan socle to the littoral of the Maghreb, the facts of the Sous, of Kabylia, of the Rif are amenable to the same institutional ensemble as the relations of protection between nomads and gardeners of the oases (1),

1. Dj. Jacques-Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, institutions traditionnelles des Draoua /The Oases of the Lektaoua and of the Meh'amid, traditional institutions of the Draoua/," Hesp., 1947, p. 420.

as the herarchies between Mauretanian tribes (2),

2. In. /unpublished/ note by Ahmed Miske Ould Atiq, Hormas et Ghafers, Atar, 1935. Contribution au coutumier indigène /Contribution on native customary law/, Cercle de la Baie du Lévrier, 1931.

and as the still living dualism between Touareg /Tuareg/ "nobles" and "vassals" (3).

3. Besides the work of Foucauld, Duveyrier, H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, and oral references by Lieut. Berthé.

The relations between imochar and imghad have in vain affected the most precise modalities, in essence both chivalrous and fiscal; they are nonetheless irreducible to the analysis of origins, just like the Maghrebi dualisms (4).

4. The amzid is often richer, and as martial, as his suzerain, notes H. Duveyrier, Les Touaregs du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, pp. 334 sq.

•616
171

/431 cont./

/Footnote 4 continued./ The origin of the "dues," tiussé, is incomprehensible.

Even in the latter, any qualitative nuance is not excluded. In the Anti-Atlas, the Tah'ogg^{w}at is opposed to the Tagizzult, as what is less "chic" is to what is more so. If this already ancient notation is highly instructive, what will the comparison with the series, similarly, but more strongly dissimilated, of the Sahara be? In these last there prevails a plenitude of content, whose system seems little by little to be stripped away in proportion /432/ as it is applied to zones nearer the Mediterranean, and more signs of its dry, reasonable, and individual genius. Is not this impoverishment the ransom that must be paid, one might say, in order to be admitted into the classic culture? The antagonisms in it tend to preserve only the formal arête. At this stage the notion has little but nominal value. It is an antithesis without content. Such as we observe in the Haut Atlas, and even more in Kabylia, where it crops out in the most modern electoral debate.

A perpetual exchange appears to operate between configurations of consistency and breadth as discordant as these "balanced dualisms," the simple leagues, and the thousand regroupings of politics or of faith. Basic structures, tactics, tendency and fantasy are then inextricably mixed. Whence a constant reaction of each on the others. The morphological virtue of great style that the antithesis of the leff-s, or of the çoff-s, possesses, when it attains all its geographical breadth -- this is the case for the Haut and for the Anti-Atlas, in the same way as for the Sous; that of oriental Morocco; that of the Constantine South with the confrontation of two great familial parties -- is often broken, exploited, disguised. But it may also be revived in new kinds. The old dialectic then becomes that of electoral propagandas, and tends to be no more than that of a "right" and of a "left" to the French one (1).

1. The matter is current in the elections in Kabylia. Cf. the interesting study by Laurette,

/432 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ "Aspects de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie /Aspects of the social life in Little Kabylia/, "ESNA, 1951, pp. 21 sq.; Jean Menaut (Aug. Berque), "Circonscriptions arabes et kabyles aux Délégations financières /Arab and Kabyle circumscriptons to the finance Delegations/, " Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française, 1935, pp. 64 sq., with historical reminders. In Tunisia, two çoff-s are affirmed and defined in the long struggle of the bey Husayn and his nephew Ali pacha at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are the Husaynîa and the Bachîa. The interference between the tribal antagonisms and a conjuncture of central politics from which they borrowed their names is significant, Cf. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse-Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Lower Steppe/, 1940, p. 208. The çoff, Europeanized, modernized, has become in Algeria a literary theme that runs, for example, through all the work of R. Randau.

In these movements, there is more than an evolution that destroys or restores, modifies or refreshes. There is their very possibility. It expresses a fluidity of terms, an aptitude for substitution, a facility and almost a gaiety in the exchange of territorial and moral forms, which seem characteristic of North Africa.

Examples of Variations

000 The theory of the leff-s, in its classic formulation, made much of evolutions of this genre. It noted that the name of such a great /433/ league is none other than that of a more limited assemblage found by a chance discovery in Almohade archeology. The inverse is also observable. Such great constellations or "races" of the Maghrebi Middle Ages have only left their name to puny tribes: thus Zenâta, Maçmûda, Ghomâra, etc.

/436 cont./

000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together 182 the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This [695] proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small 634 taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions 578 without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, [613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

619 634 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the taqbilt obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship, initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling [616] of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal? .000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
•[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but sim-
ply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/160 cont./

619 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we
174 have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be
*634 found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of
•[616] alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

619
171

1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

/161 cont./
619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).
174

2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- An-
•616 other element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends
619 up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

/162 cont./

*634 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly bal-
616 anced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two
619 by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^c" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in
184 the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great
*634 distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Ait Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
•616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
*634 "khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and Aït Oufella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saʿid Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aït Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aït Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

/164 cont./

619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
•616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of * [634] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions op- • [616] posed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

000 /181 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ these units and the ones found among the sedentary populations, comparisons rigorous enough to permit one to affirm identity of structure.

/182/

Chapter III
The Alliances of Tribes and of Cantons

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- V. The leffs during peace -- VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- XI. Political role of the leffs. -- XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs. -- XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- XV. The Soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- XVI. Kabylie has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

*634 616 171

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- Each of the little Berbère /Berber/ states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which lives within the narrow boundaries of its valley while following the tradition of the ancestors, comes out of its political isolation by entering into one of the two great alliances between which the mountains are divided. Secular bonds thus unite all the "taqbilt" according to particular rules impossible to uncover, but in a way so as to form two opposed parties of equal strength, capable of sustaining their members in peace and in war. Under the name of "leff" or "soff," analogous alliances have been observed, not only among the Berbère /Berber/ tribes having preserved their

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
•616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
128 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
•616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
• 616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/186 cont./

*634 "Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of
•616 equilibrium (1).
491
361

1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

*634 As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or
616 the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Aït Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

/187 cont./

*634 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the
•616 time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacifica-
627 tion. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assist-
616 ance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations
571 whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through in-
[574] dividual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all
• 616 the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the
57 "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's
[574] allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek
support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow accord-
ing to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the re-
[754] quest thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particular-
ly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the follow-
ing: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of
the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the
moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made
their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was
solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their
arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the
place of combat.

*634 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to
616 correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same
726 "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind
of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an
indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning
of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms
in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa.
If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the
progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still re-
mained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a
few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see
arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to
get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A war-
rior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the
•616 parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to
726 one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who
571 enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda<" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before
•182 the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Ait
616 Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the
726

/189 cont./

*634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two fractions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the country still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the
173 time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
*634 of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
616 at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
726 the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaouia of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege, cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there. Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exterminated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collective fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the "Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the terri-
*634 tory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
616 fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitution and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right "to speak" in the assemblies.

*634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwon-
616 sekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa, are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the
726 "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success, the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesmatert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
•616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Ait Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiski" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

•616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït
Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
"Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on
the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
"taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
it can happen that political events that took place on the north
versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
•616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 619 131

/193 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "A'lt Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 619 131 648

It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/195 cont./

616 174 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

616 726

571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616] 1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of
[171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the
[616] territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose
[578] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/198 cont./

571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

/197 cont./

616 174 on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

[601]

1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "Altmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "Altmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

616 *634 174 One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

/198 cont./

*634 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always de-
•616 termined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on
174 the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point
131 without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the
[361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the A'lt Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the A'lt Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmîwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312]
[578]

1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 /footnote 1 continued/ played an important
•616 role in the formation of the alliances, for the
174 region of the middle or lower course of the
131 wadis. This argument, however, is worthless
[312] in the high mountains where irrigation prob-
[578] lems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the
*634 origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High
616 Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never
578 been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn
174 Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the
619 struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade
175 fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),
*634
619

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Ait Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad
[616] Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
•616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the A'lt Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the A'lt Zolit.

The name of the leff of the A'lt Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the A'lt Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the A'lt Fademt and A'lt Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
• [616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
•616
619
131
133

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

102
.616
619
131
133

2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1. Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs

Zone 2. Region of the leffs of the western Atlas — Ait Atman, Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis); Indghertit, Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa); Ait Fademt, Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika); Ait Zolit, Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)

Zone 3. Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua — Inemzel . . . . . ; Ait Iraten . . . . . .

Zone 4. Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas — Isouktan . . . . . ; Igezzoulen . . . . . .

Zone 5. Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit) — Ait Atman . . . . . ; Ait Tintlet . . . . . .

2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

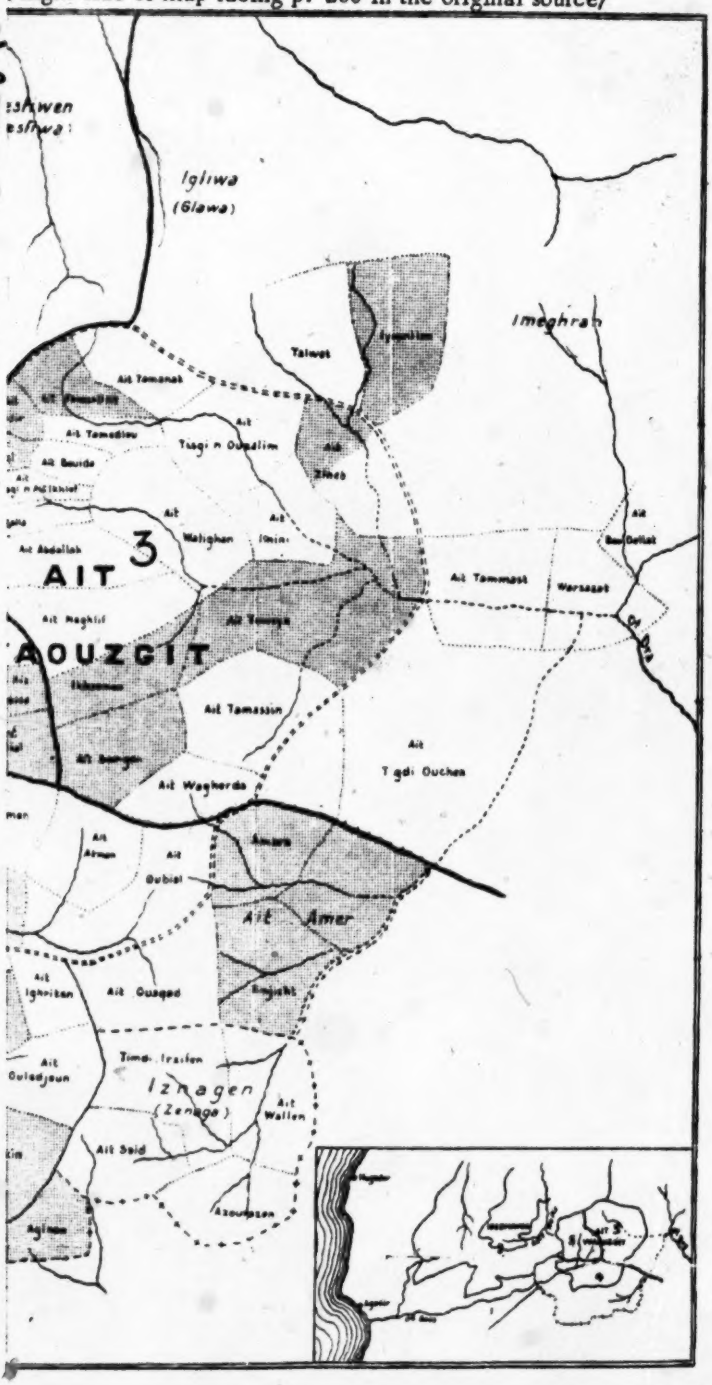
102
•616
619
131
133

/See p. 262 for explanation of boxes./

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133



/201 cont./

616 114 *634 [113]

with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Ct Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 616 619

We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential aspects.

Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)

616
619

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain
[131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the
[491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole,
184 especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In go-
616 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101]

2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

•616 619 [101] *[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616 184 XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of [792] the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one [578] still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

616 619 578 184 In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

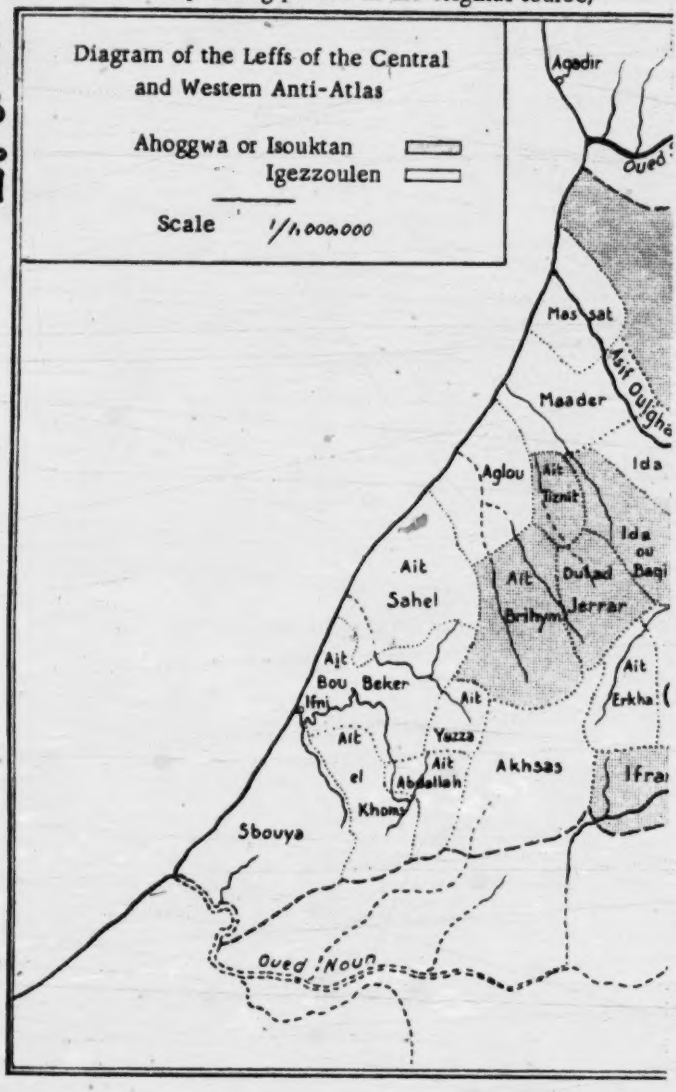
[726] [538] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, be- 616 sides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the 619 mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

2: Montagne--268 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

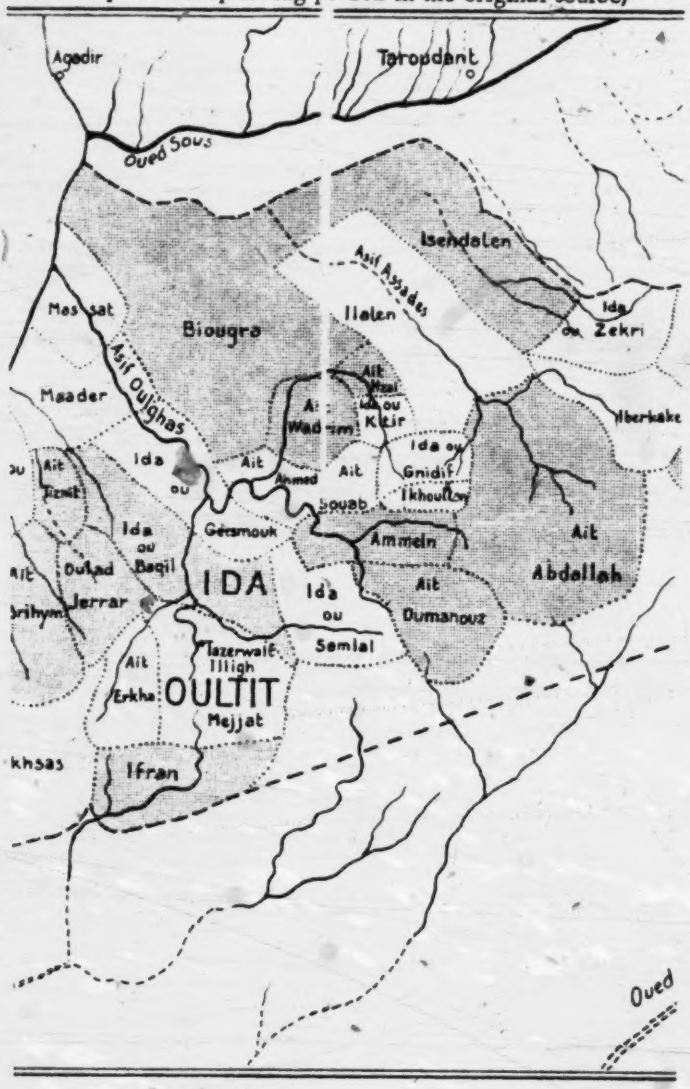
/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
•616
619



/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
•616
619



/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
•616
619

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
648 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
175 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
[173] ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 619 648 175 [173] of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him contingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 578 174 [184] XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 174 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Ma'qil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

S /205 cont./
616 produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains,
174 in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be
[167] penetrated more by Arab influences.
[648]

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the A'lt Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R
616 XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institu-
171 tion of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
•616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
•616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
182 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of
619 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
• [616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
*634 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
578 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
661 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
726 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ᶜAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
[574] augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arbaᶜin"
*634 of his "moudaᶜ." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
*634 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
•616 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at
726 discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
•616 Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
726 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his canton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

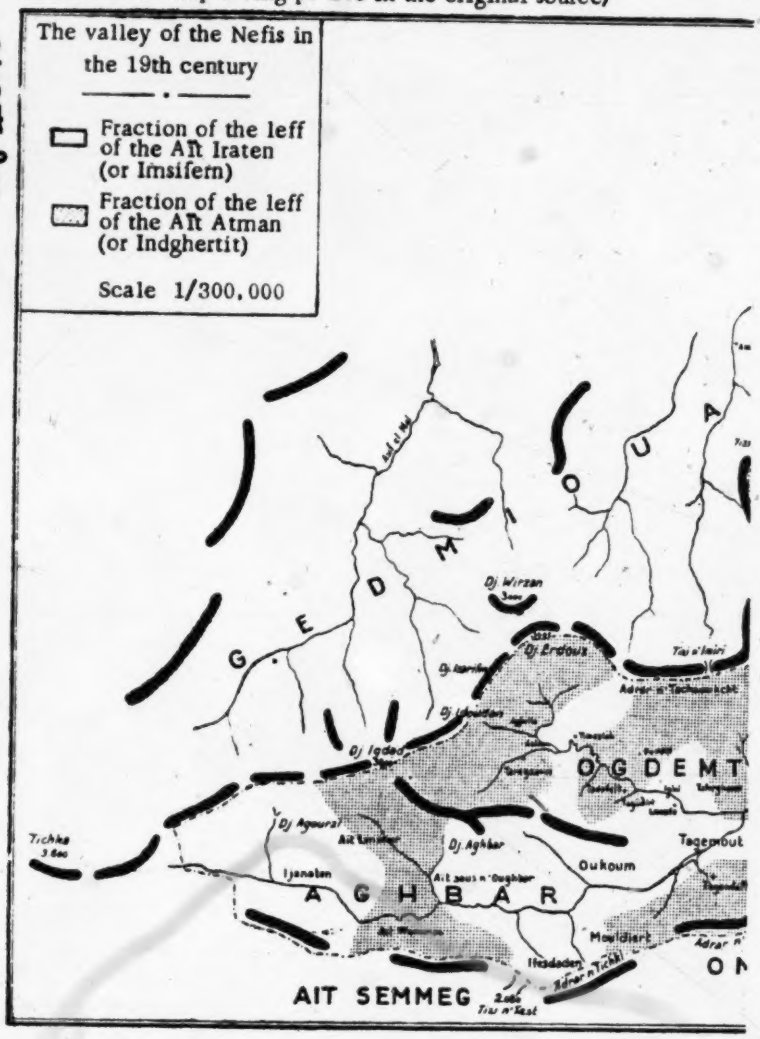
Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
175 new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
•616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
726 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

2: Montagne--369 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
133
*634
•616
131



2: Montagne--370 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
.616

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
•616
726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./

175 and the "A'lt Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
•616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n A'lt Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the A'lt Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/281 cont./

175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
•616 but still at present one sees the A'it arbaᶜin come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the A'it arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the A'it arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and A'it Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/281 cont./

*634 642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

•616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 •616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "A'lt Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the A'lt Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the A'lt Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/284 cont./

*634 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy
•616 leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of
726 the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among them-
178 selves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to
[651] the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules
*634 of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit
616

/285 cont./

*634 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt"
•616 -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political
616 transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not be-
178 come irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of
*634 Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in
726 the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/289 cont./

*634 613 682 [697] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 613

*634 •616 [578] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/290 cont./

*634 actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts neces-
•[616] sary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When
[178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of
[726] the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true,
[642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most
642 of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/299 cont./

OOO the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

/300/

Chapter II
The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the A'lt Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

*634 .616 554 571 The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
•616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "Aït
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
•616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.
*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "Aït Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "Aït Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "Aït Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the Aït Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "Aït Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "Aït Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "Aït Iraten" and "Aït Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
•616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "A'lt Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the A'lt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "A'lt
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "A'lt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the A'lt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

/304 cont./

175 159 *634 578 •616 [727]

the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 159 *634 648 *631 726

One last event was going to increase further the power of the chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title of kaid.

The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 •616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the de-
•616 signs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
[625 his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[602 changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
616 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
578 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

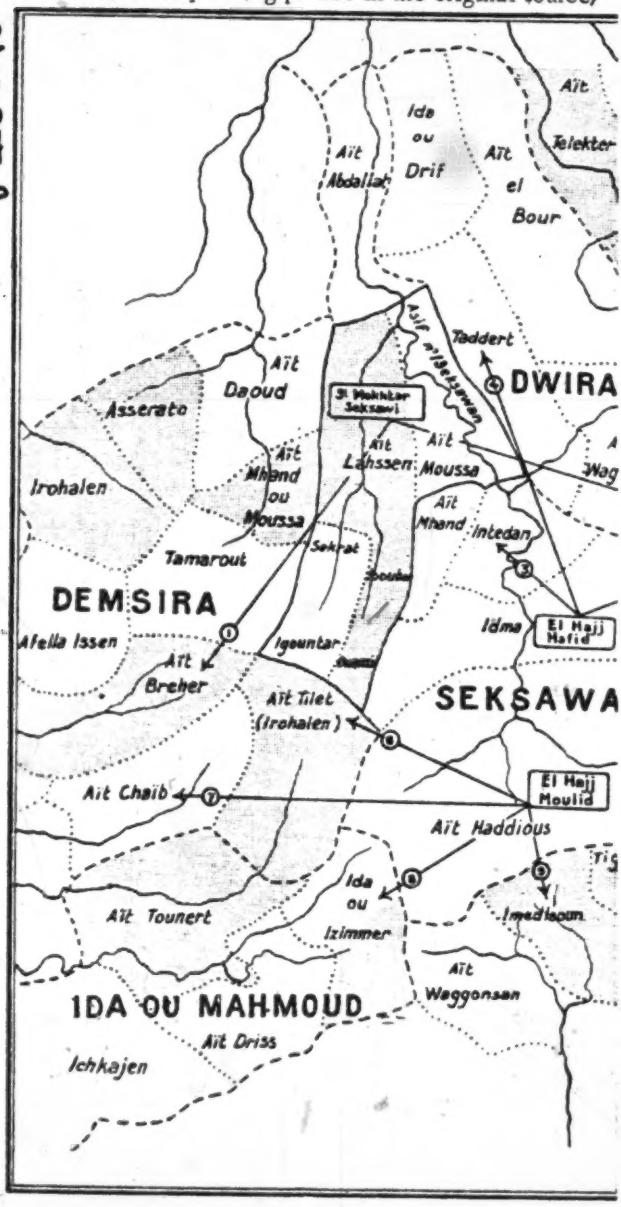
175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
726 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
616 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
•616



2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
•616

2: Montagne--408 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
•616

The Region of the
Seksawa

Si Mokhtar Seksawi

Boundary of command:
zone of influence: Arrows 1 and 2

El Hajj Hafid & El Hajj Moulid

zone of influence {Arrows 3, 4, 5
{Arrows 6, 7, 8, 9

The territories of cantons "in white" are those of the leff of the "Indghertit"; those that are shaded belong to the leff of the "Imsifern"

Scale 1/300.000

Tagontaft

/309 cont./

175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going
• 616 back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/310 cont./

*634 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït
616 Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

175 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous
*634 formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqad-
616 dems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars
726 of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

* [631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys. [178]

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
•616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
* [631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century. It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ʿAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ʿAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cant[illegible] that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
• [616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ʿOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
* 631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
• 616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
*634 Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
616 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
726 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
[648] ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faithful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/315 cont./

*631 *634 ●616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. [616] In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, [648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/317 cont./

*634 *631 648 remains constrained to enter the service of the great kaid nearby or of the caliphates of the Sultan; this was done by El Hajj Hafid of the Idma and by the heads of the family of the Aït Bacha of Taberbourt, in the tribe of the Aït /318/ Semmeg, who went into the service of the Gontafi; and the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont, who rallied to the pasha of Taroudant, to the Mtouggi, and to the Gontafi (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 371.

*634 .616 For the amghar to succeed in freeing himself and fully using his liberty, he must, on the contrary, succeed in dominating at the same time the two leffs of the mountains, whether he incorporates the enemy cantons into his command by main strength or whether his independent attitude toward the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the parts of the country remaining mistresses of their fate makes him the defender of liberty. Moreover, he often attains this goal only imperfectly, whatever may be the energy or cleverness displayed. Sometimes the amghar stays bound, in spite of his efforts, to his first alliances; his domination is exercised successfully, thanks to his strength, on the fractions of the adverse leff, but it lacks solidity and disappears as soon as he weakens; soon no more than his own leff, diminished by defeats or political mistakes, remains to him; such was the situation of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Qaid ʿAli, at Adasil of the Ind Maghous, and of his successors named kaids by the Sultan. But other chiefs, such as El Hajj Moulid of the Aït Haddiyous, develop easily in the midst of political divisions for which they become the arbitrators. Nevertheless their resources still remain insufficient to permit them to escape all the traditional rules. The strongest, like Si Mokhtar Seksawi and the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, are the ones who take over the fractions of the enemy leff, after having killed the hostile amghars and confiscating their property; they put the inhabitants to flight and build their houses in these lands of conquest, which become what we have sometimes called their "fiefs." By these means they acquire possession of

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened [648] from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./

*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance, he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
•616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
178 ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
*631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an im-
182 portant role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

[648] /328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

175 There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
*631 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*634 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
159 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
•616 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
726 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./

175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Ait Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
*616 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
726 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by
night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he
came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the
North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

/329 cont./

175 In the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
*634 the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords, who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa "khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Aït
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

The favor of the
175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
[648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader, charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
*631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
•616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
[648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Actually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben ʿAli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
•616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
578 the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*631 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
*634 enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his
[712] family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
•616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
•616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ounella, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
*631 action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
•616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
178 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
•616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later, all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 *634 619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^cho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^cAbdallah Ou Bihi,

/354 cont./

175 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*631 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
*634 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
726 enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
•616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
* 631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ochour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living. Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

/356 cont./

*631 *634 178 /footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of •616 the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in *634 their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 398.

multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of 616 the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

/357 cont./

178 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from
•616 the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends. Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the
[578] former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rival-
* [634] ries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the
* [631] struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
[648] by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the
* 631 whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs
* 634 of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the Atlas really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become
* 631 absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who
178 preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

*631 It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*634 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
578 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
726 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
175 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

/378 cont./

648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).
619
177
[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*63 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere
• [616] agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère
178 /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
•[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[343] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/387 cont./

178 of Aït Arbaᶜin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
*634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
669 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
178 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
[616] to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are repeated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arbaᶜin are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 •616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stakè is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his ieff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
* 634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
• [616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
* 634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
•616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
• 616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are in-
171 spired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like it-
*631 self. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly de-
554 voted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all cir-
182 cumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
171 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their mem-
*631 ory, as do all the companions from their village associated with
554 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
182 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
578 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
*[634] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his
•[616] canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
• 616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.
*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this country that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
*631 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
182 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
578 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victorious amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to preserve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171
lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628
teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

102
571
• 616
634
635

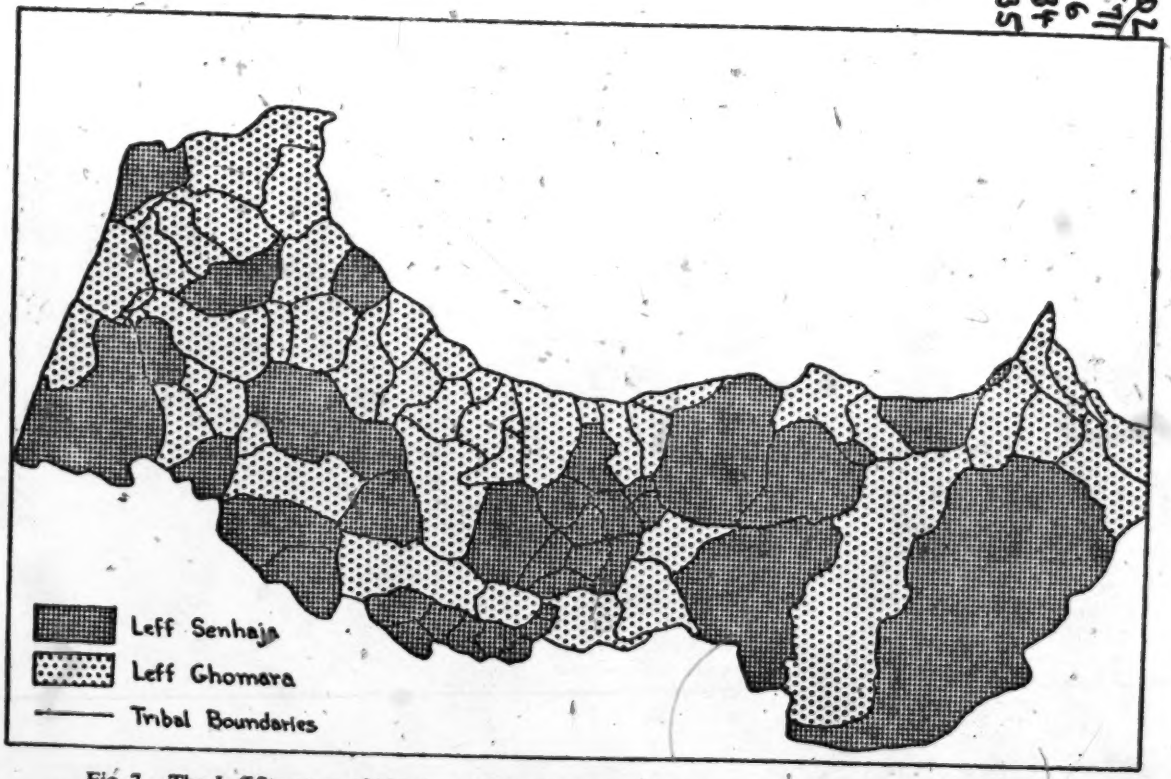


Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

616 in the area around the mouth of the Moulouya, and weakest in the
171 central Rif. In the area of the Beni Uriaguel (99), in fact, the *leff* structure was already at this time of only historical interest and expressed itself only as a mild antipathy towards the opposing group. The primary function of the *leff* as it is known in the southern areas, that of defense against aggressors, is here handled by simple intervention – a point completely missed by Murdock (1956, p. 143) in his discussion of Riffian *lfuf*. The interveners assume this role largely on the basis of their proximity to the area of disturbance, without regard to their *leff* affiliation (as can be seen by comparing Coon's list of interveners with the *leff* structure as given by Montagne and shown in fig. 7); their motivation to take such action springing as much from a desire to secure a share of the fine imposed upon the errant group as from a desire to restrict the conflict and maintain the peace.

000 ... If a lively internal war has broken out in the tibe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal council (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* [districts] five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place [sic] and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its differences quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton* [commune], and from each *bone* [minor lineage]. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reinforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives

[Since the term "tribe" is defined in the literature of this file as a grouping of several districts with territorial unity but without overt political institutions, category 635 has been used for some of the earlier political data in this file pertinent to the "tribe." The researcher is therefore advised to consult this category (635) for additional data.]

619

[Since the Shluh interpret the term taqbilt as both district and tribe, additional information on the tribal composition each of these territorial areas may also be found in Category 634.]

619 Shluh MW11

[For additional information on the so-called Shluh "tribe", made up from three to twelve districts, with political leadership under a tribal council "chief", see also category 635.]

000 /1/

First Part

First Approach to the Country and the People

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

102
131

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 144 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./
121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
194
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreignen indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," agg^{w}mi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og.
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkisit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain
among the Ud Besseba^{c} Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth [217] century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research. [127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: [721] whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of [769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, [349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic [776] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to [197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. 173 Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[178] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
[484] Abdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imiftanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-
634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
•619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
[613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
173 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
101 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
634 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
184 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
133 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ît, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

/49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

619 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
174 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
166 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
133 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
101 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[241] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[233] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
[184] tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful.
[184] steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
241 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
101 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
634 variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 184 101 634 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

361 101 634 619 [776] [778]

133 101 634 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talfint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the 634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to 175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the 726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a 619 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
[241] on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets, risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

/60 cont./
174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 174 175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an 619 unhoped-for richness.

634 128 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ- 613 ent ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi- 173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. 619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 173 619 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 619 [101] Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 613 619 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which itself interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Wafûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173 [166]
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella, is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

634 632 613 166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

/69 cont./

423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'inif'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkâla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all 173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 634 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of [613] which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
634
621
613
173
166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^{c}). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 634 621 613 173 166

/66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 634 /67/ Third Case

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101] [312] [142] [181]

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./
634 pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).
619

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr: they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement
184 from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat
101 of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in
166 a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into
619 each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)
619
[173]

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta
[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immi-
619 gration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in
[174] any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration,
and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance ex-
166 ceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
173 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
776 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
619 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the
Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed
generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi
Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several
Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi
Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several
old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The
legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of
the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material,
their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just
like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the
North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual
psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or,
if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this con-
tinual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing
indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become
exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal
as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions
as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the
terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is
always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world.
Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any
more than he succumbs.

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

101
174
619

Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in a. Abdella, these a. Bihi u. Said /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Ikis, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the a. H'adduyws. Above Ammern is seen a Tagadirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'ah'a). Let us also mention the a. Ish'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in a. H'adduyws; the Iqorran of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Chaib; the Ikessan, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the a. H'ogg^{w}a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ogg^{w}at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these a. Hogg^{w}a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the a. Umgan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the Indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these a. Umgan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukanf distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryun, but to places such as Tawennrrast, Igelwan, not situated in a. Gair. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the liaison of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 174 619 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 619 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 619 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant
619 tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers; but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls
101 three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/
174 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confedera-
619 tion, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
174 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the
619 Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

174
487
619

/74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1),

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

/74 cont./

487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
175 On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
619 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Âbû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of çafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
[176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in- [613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [796] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two conquering branches.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt,
175 the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of
619 Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. Abdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ât.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed
[731] estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epi-
[428] demic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1).

1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619
173
175
(428)
[731]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

[648]

173 His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then
619 follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174 175 634 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

175 Here now are two documents from annals.

[619] The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal. The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits. After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original source/:

175 539 619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 726 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs follows.

619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619
175
726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175
539
726
619 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[992] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gâir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

[Ait Gasa]

175 /84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and prob-
174 bly toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Ager-
619 sili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouïa of Assttif.

The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and
[126] Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of
[361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'âjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'âjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istirᶜâ', "ritual protestation" against
[539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gâr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.

In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among
619 them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[634] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[578] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâid, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
[176] cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity, guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A It is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
	a. Daud.	a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave [176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper [172] there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his [176] intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, [423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the [631] existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/99 cont./

113 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditer-
114 ranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyâr). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sons, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
618 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(631) and the Ud Besseba^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Besseba^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[191]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
[571] Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[137] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) . . .

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/135 cont./

let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab ilkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu'wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
79c the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'hd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Malid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innaïr.
[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

634 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
184 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Abdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
[179] fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talàt wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the
423 other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Harzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system..

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are promptly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irri-
131 gated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[659] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

619
[423]
[657]

/217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals.....	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

243
619
433
184

	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws	Idua	Sous	Nûfa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

114
616

R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIe siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114 121 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the 133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it 175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the 177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an 184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf- 619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from [634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the 312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have [184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./
613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation. Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-Ibûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was
[634] the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-Ibûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-Ibûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistant collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of 423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, [172] called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

[443] 4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exig-
[312] uous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail
423 this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation com-
178 munities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork
613 mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchâ^c of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
619 among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
171 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
619 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
182 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions,
184 or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 794 619 [181] It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

776 794 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa, that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 484 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is necessary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their [634] totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqqura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

634
619
776
794

/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	2
	Tagunit	45	45			45	
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14,5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

/306 cont./

776 823 [789] The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, sometimes that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya, ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.

776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 184 619 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to embody it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints

776 184 619 825 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkrim who, again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in

776 184 619 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest. Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents, so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons between tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be

[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would rejoin a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without always being able to define it.

/323 cont./
691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 12

Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

681

613 178

But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not correspond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

592 [621] [634] [613]

/373 cont./

175 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
685 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
683 brothers cursed the one robbed, yalᶜanû bi-kathrat il-qabîh':
[634] 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

/418 cont./
coff, leff (1).

103
182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634]
[619]

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171
103

An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/420 cont./

000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ᶜaçâbiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1);

> 1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

•619 634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

[613]

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, themselves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

613 619 634 [423]

[177]

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. With- [613] in the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug [631] was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. It has justly been noted [616] that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

619
634

/422 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not the only anomaly of these names, of which a philological study -- perhaps impossible, it is true -- has not yet been done.

/423/ This coming and going between expansions and particularizations is observed even in our day. To each change of dimension corresponds a change of register. More profoundly than the debate between the jemâa and the caid, democracy and personal power, a debate that often accompanies it, this variation of social rhythms connected to the geographical dimensions of the group is revelatory of the life of these societies. The political game here is only superficial. Or rather the politics of the great chiefs of the Atlas succeeded only by a constant adaptation to these differences of level. It is thus that in his khoms of origin, the Idaw Talib, the great Abdelmalek Mtuggi is only an amghar, the first among his peers. At the echelon of the Mtuggi he is a patriarchal centralizer. At the echelon of the ensemble of dependent tribes, a cunning and authoritarian exploiter. His appetites must nevertheless reckon with the local transactional necessities of the minor amghar-s, his vassals at the echelon of the Moroccan South, and almost the entire country, courtier or rebel, he even rises to international intrigue. But the political weight that he throws about in a word amounts to the fidelity of his own jemâa.

A life like that of Abdelmalek has run over the clavier of Maghrebi morphologies from top to bottom. It infinitely goes beyond our cadre. Only the attentive examination of the cases at hand would be able, for such and such a political unit, to cast the accent on one or the other of these movements as having the most influence upon its contexture. For there has been movement, and, throughout the course of history, dilation or contraction of the local cadres. The essential perhaps consequently lies in the correspondences exceeding the narrow limits. And if the present chapter has attempted to set up, in all its value as explicative criterion, the cantonal taqbilt, the precariousness and, on the

/423 cont./

619 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodo-
634 logical import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/

III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616
121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121
171
616
114

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^Cokkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

/426 cont./

616 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The
121 procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any
[184] case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical rolê itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghõrti, plur.
619 Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously
634 Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/427 cont./

616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin, so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2),

2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

/428 cont./

616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
121 one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

/436 cont./

000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds.
[171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together
182 the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This
[695] proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small
634 taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions
578 without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects,
[613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

619 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the
634 Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the taqbil obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship,
[616] initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal?
000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

/437 cont./

000 "tribe," the ᶜarch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ᶜarch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ᶜarch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an [619] [634] aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

M1 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

/439 cont./

000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

/440/ Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

/442 cont./

Recourse To the External and
To the Transcendent

619 634 182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[179] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

C. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

C. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

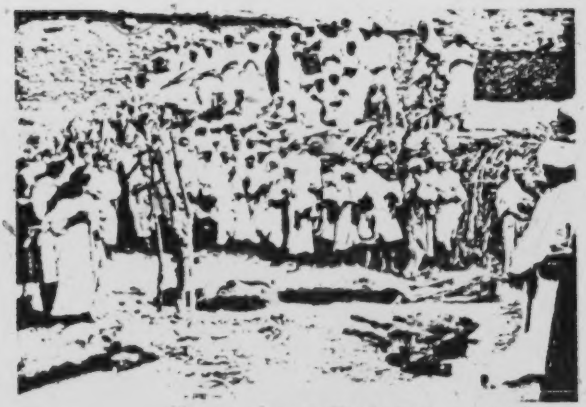
133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796



Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.

[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Maᶜcho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur; the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the [137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab- [312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and [241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
• 619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/24/

000

Chapter II
The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion. It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

101 184 •619

The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

128 127 *175

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

102
103
131
133
619
491

P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

Mogad

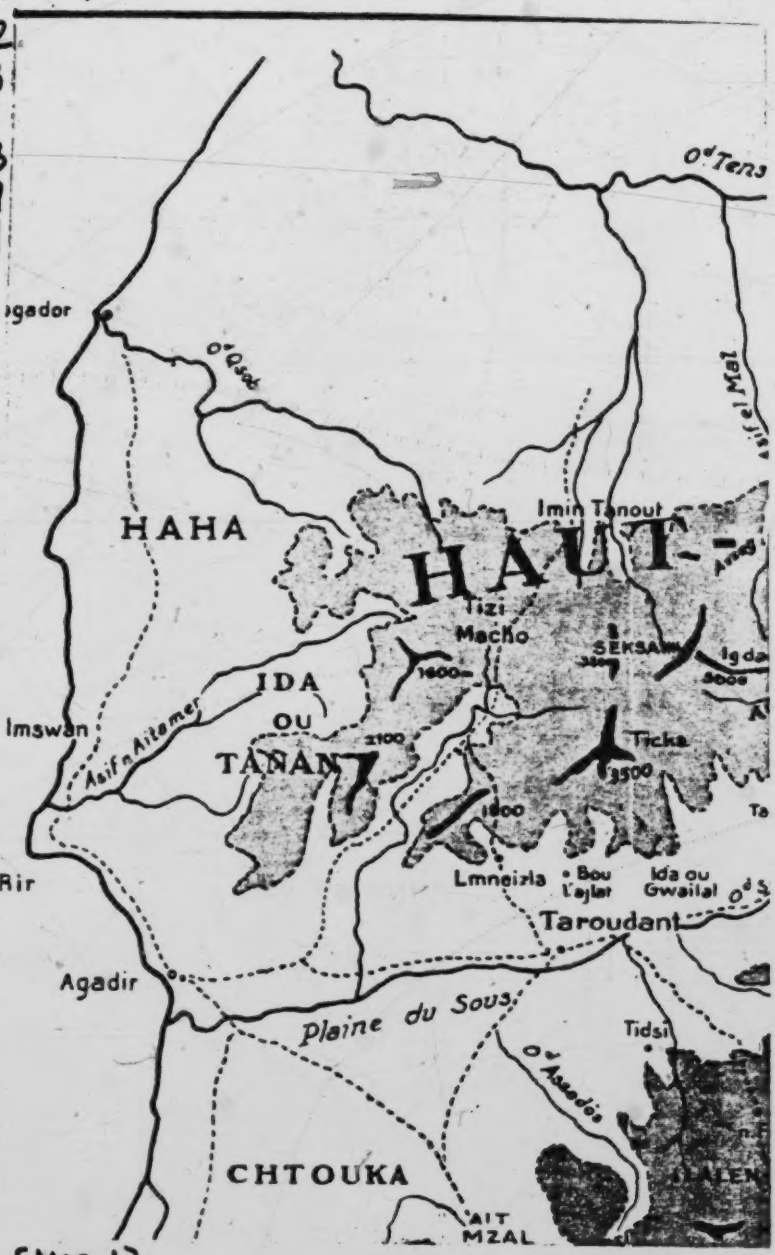
Imsw

C.Rir

[Map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

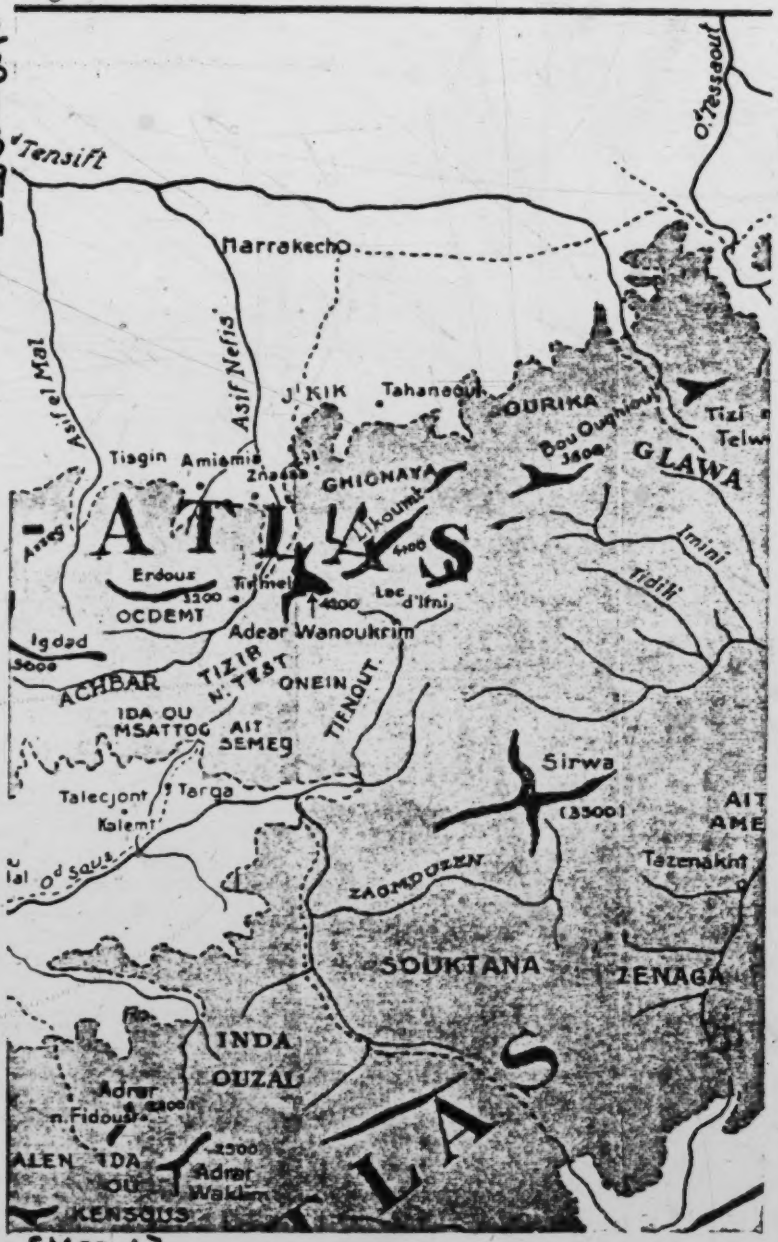
102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491



[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

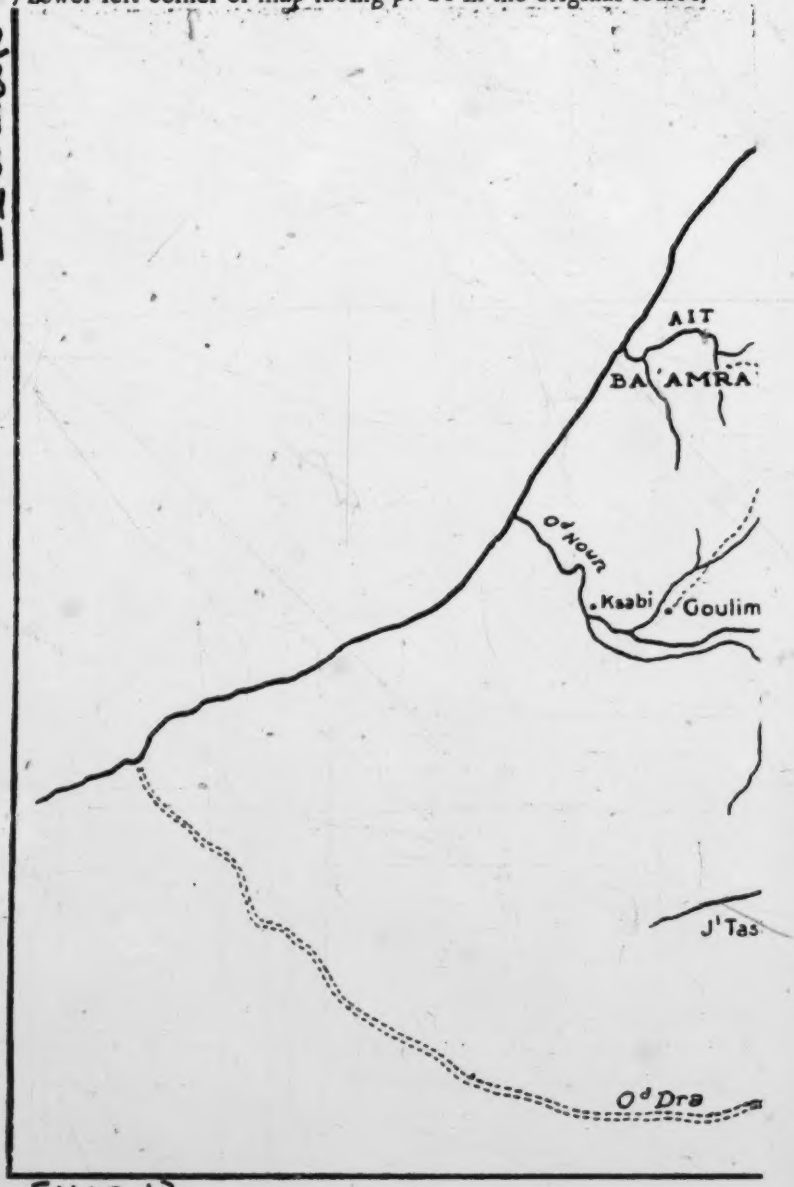
102
103
131
133
•619
491

[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

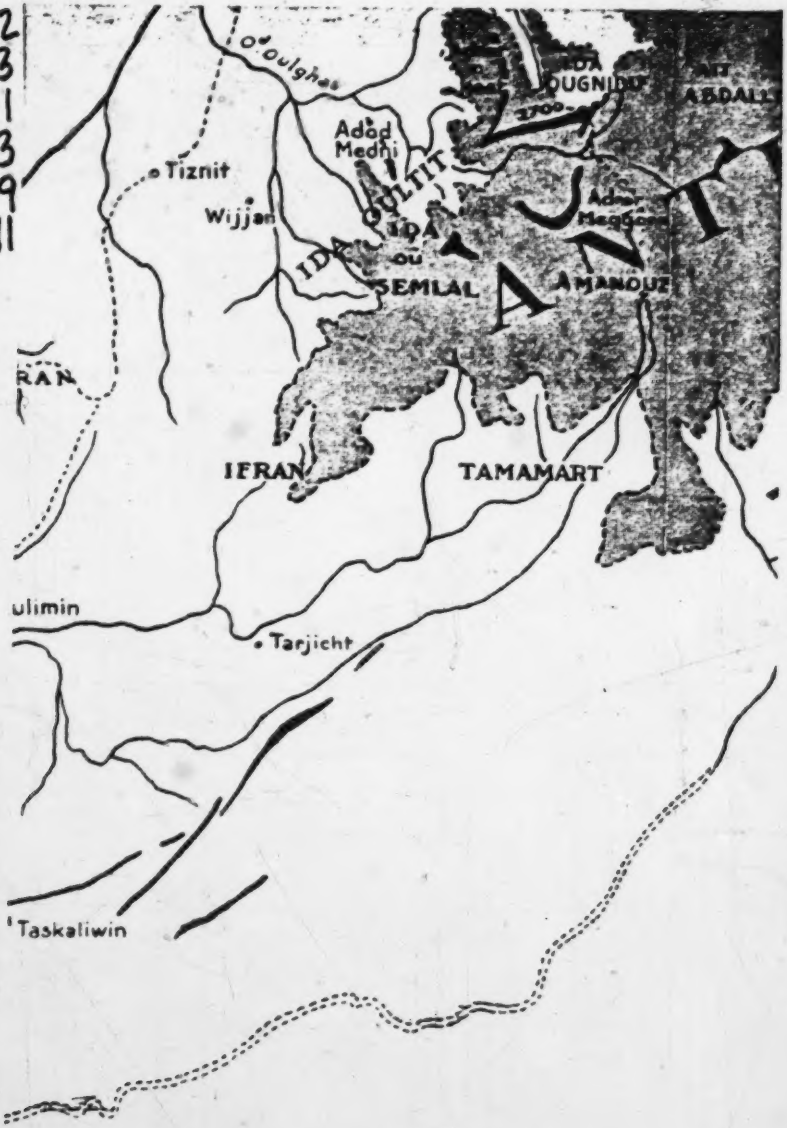


[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

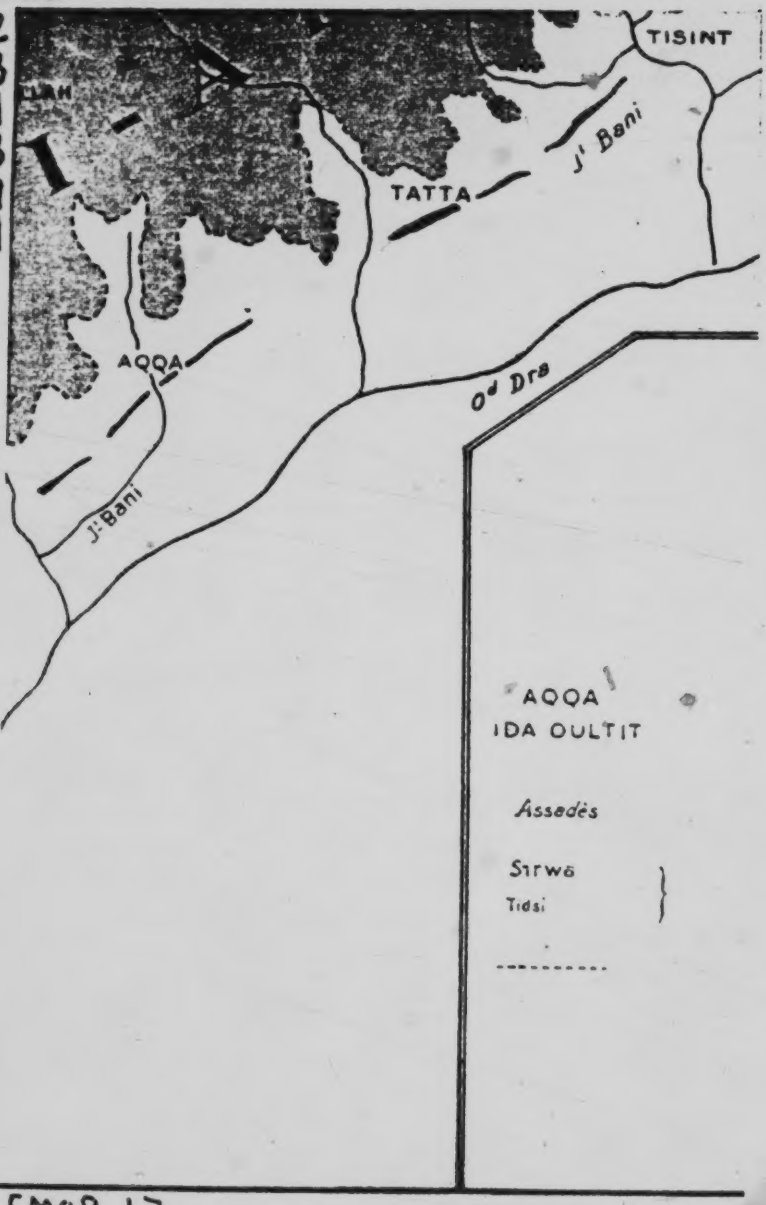


[Map 1]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
619
491

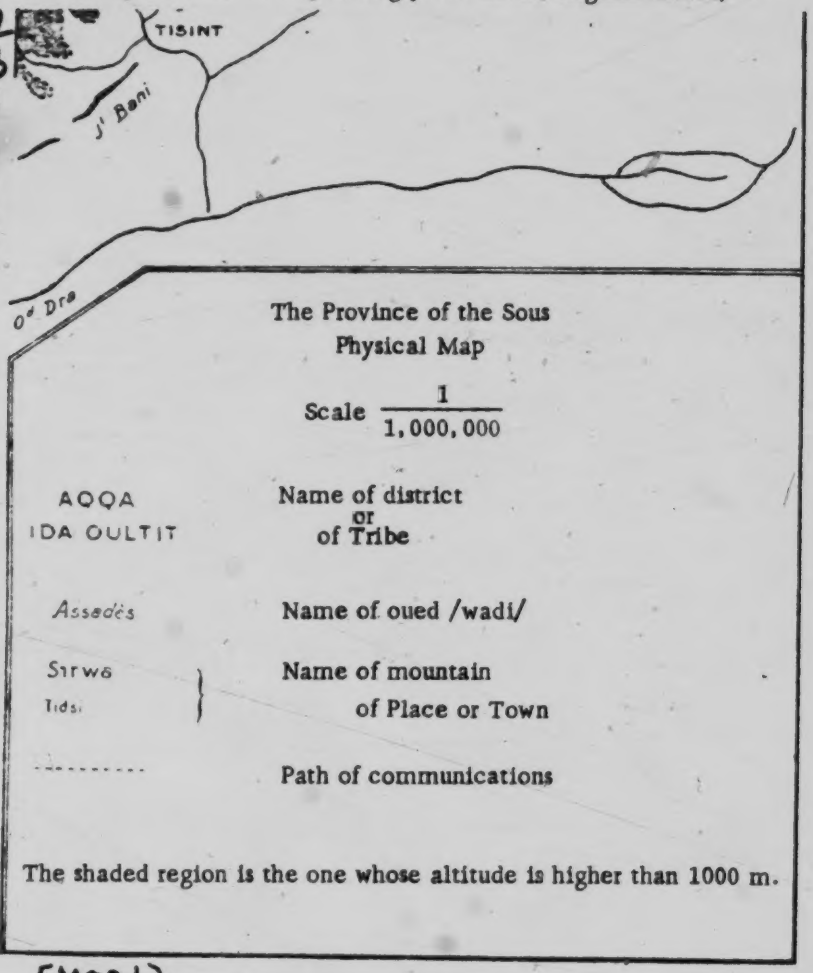


[Map 17]

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
103
131
133
•619
491



[Map 1]

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
•619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
• 619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
+631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
+634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
•[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^c^id Ou ^c^Abd en
[778] Na^c^im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
•[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/58 cont./

*175 In spite of this progress of sherifism, the Sous then was doubtless not entirely peaceful or orthodox, people indulged in furious /59/ combats even into the mosques; the use of fermented beverages was constant, and it was even said that in the mountains, in a region near the one inhabited at present by the Ida ou Izimmer, the tribes secretly worshiped a ram, probable vestige of a Libyc cult (1).

•[619]

1. The fraction of the Ida Ou Izimmer -- in Berbère /Berber/, the sons of the ram -- in our day is part of the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the North of Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque /"Some Notes on the Libyc Ammon"/ (Mélanges R. Basset /R. Basset Miscellany/, Paris, 1923).

[113]

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the rigorists sometimes hurled anathema on the Atlas of the Masmouda and that people repeated the hadith by which the Prophet announced that on the day of the resurrection all this region would be "led into hell with all its inhabitants just as the bride is led to her husband" (2).

[113]

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. I, p. 563.

At least the Moroccan South seems to us at this epoch, before the disorders caused by the conquests of the Almoravides, to be a prosperous region, well cultivated and peopled with towns. There were, to the north of the Atlas, on both sides of the mountain of the Kik, Neffis, the town with the gardens, and Aghmat, the Idrisite capital, which had been governed previously by Berbère /Berber/ magistrates changed each year; on the South versant, Igli and Taroudant, at the intersection of the mountain routes, Tamedelt in the Anti-Atlas, Massat in the plain and on the Noun /Nun/, the oases of Noul Lemta and Ifri. The coast was actively

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our
*631 companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without
619 hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Ait Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try
619 to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted
[361] by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access,
[131] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./

*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
•619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
[361] around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
[131] some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
[178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/130 cont./

*631 attachment proved by incessant revolts. Then, in the course of
.619 their "siba," one would see the councils of notables reappear, known by the name of "ineflas" /sic/ or "Aït Arbaᶜin," who resuscitated the old Berbère /Berber/ organization and, when necessary, united some of the Ida Ou Tanan with their free neighbors. Moreover, sometimes during the great periods of anarchy, [178] such as were produced upon the death of the Sultans and the appearance of pretenders in the various provinces of the Empire, control by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was so /131/ incomplete that in the course of the "siba" one would see the ancient traditions flower again at a single stroke over immense areas. In vain the presence of Arab groups dispersed among the Haha and in the Sous plain disturbed the Berbère /Berber/ peopling; in spite of the government extended from the plains by sheiks subject to the kaids for centuries, in the South the rebel movement won over the Ksima and Mesgina and extended by degrees across the Chtouka plain up to the boundary of the Anti-Atlas, which the sherifian policy had never actually approached. During this period of liberty, each tribe re-established its political council and restored, imitating it in its own way, the organization of the fractions of the Ida Ou Tanan; thus, until the arrival of the Sultan's harka, throughout this coastal region, the independent Berbérie /Barbary/ of the plain of the South was restored.

The tribes of the Tichka have still more originality than the Ida Ou Tanan. Never in the course of history, as we have seen, did the former Makhzen /makhzan/ really penetrate into this difficult region. From the minor kings of the Seksawa, who indeed seem to have personified the resistance to the Almohade and Mérinide dominations in the thirteenth century, up to the sheiks and preachers who, under the Saadians, revived on the contrary the memory of the Mahdi of Tinmellel in order to fight better against the power of the Sultans, an effort of obstinate resistance has kept the populations of the high valleys in isolation.

The spectacle that would await us, if we could leave our high observation-post for an instant to visit the territory of one of these tribes farthest away from the plains held by the Makhzen

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
•619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
•619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ʿAbdallāh, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/137 cont./

114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" ap-
*634 peared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
642 authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, dis-
619 tricts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic re-
gime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some, [184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/138 cont./

114 *63 *634 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

*631 *634 VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the [619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the [178] Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases [621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant 175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the *631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi 792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
• [619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
[578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fic-
*631 tion of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

2: Montagne

101
102
131
133
631
619
648

MW11 Shluh MW11

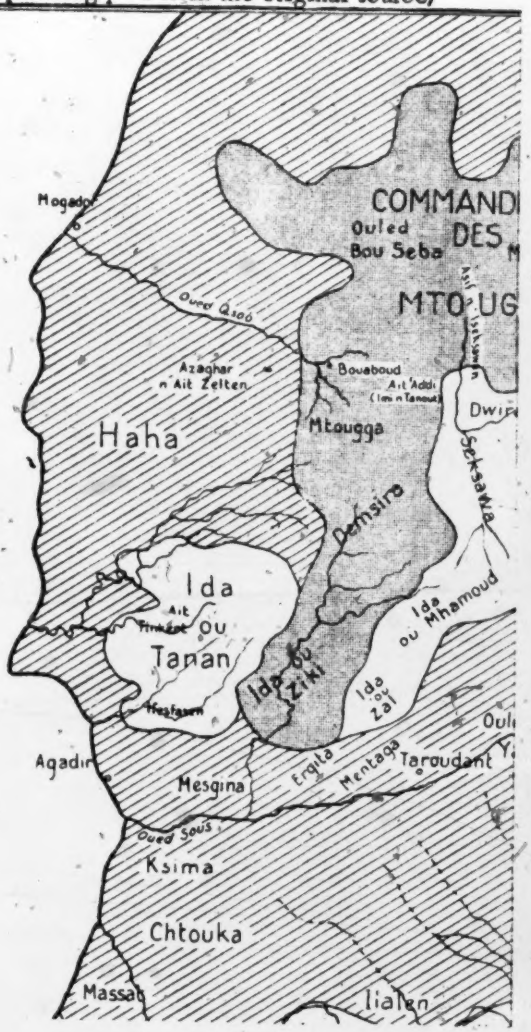
P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

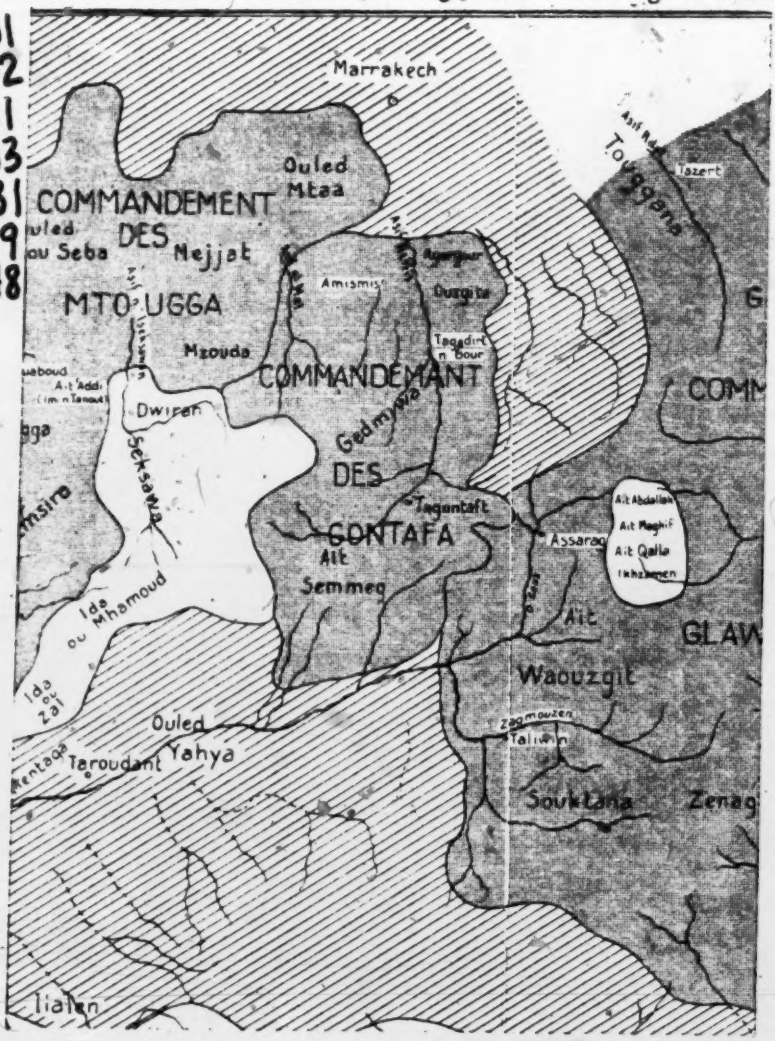
101
102
131
133
*631
•619
648



2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

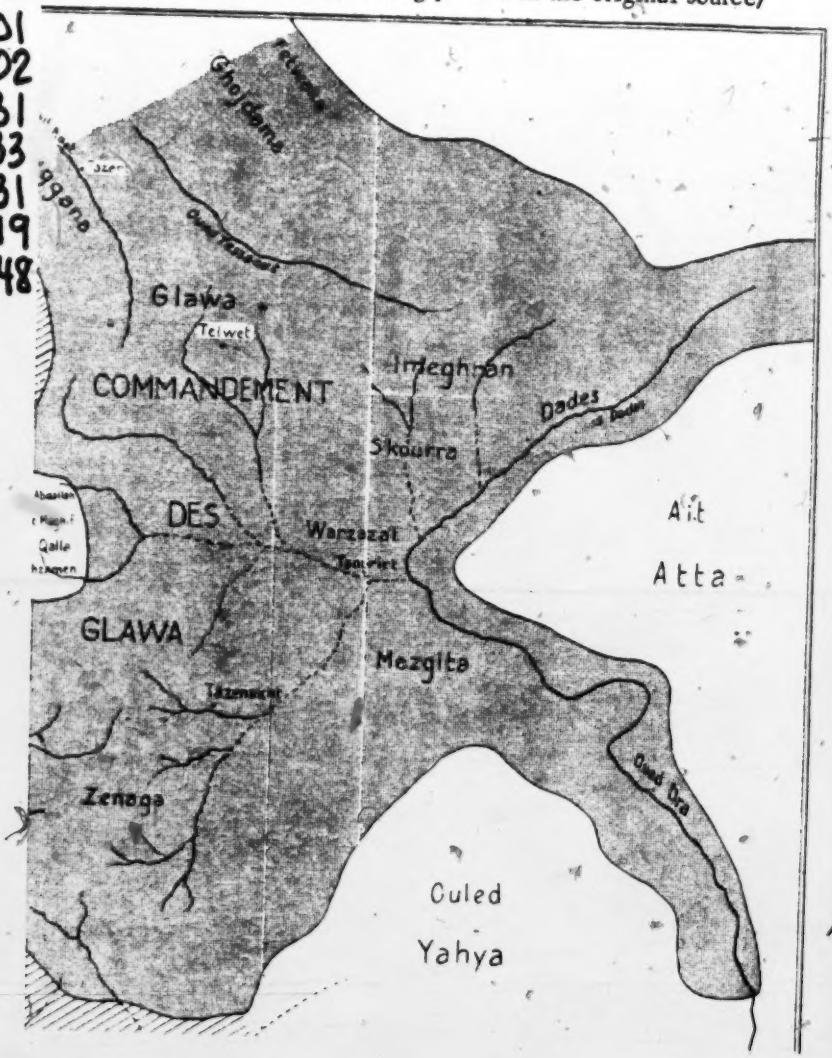
101
102
131
133
*631
•619
648



2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
•619
648



2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

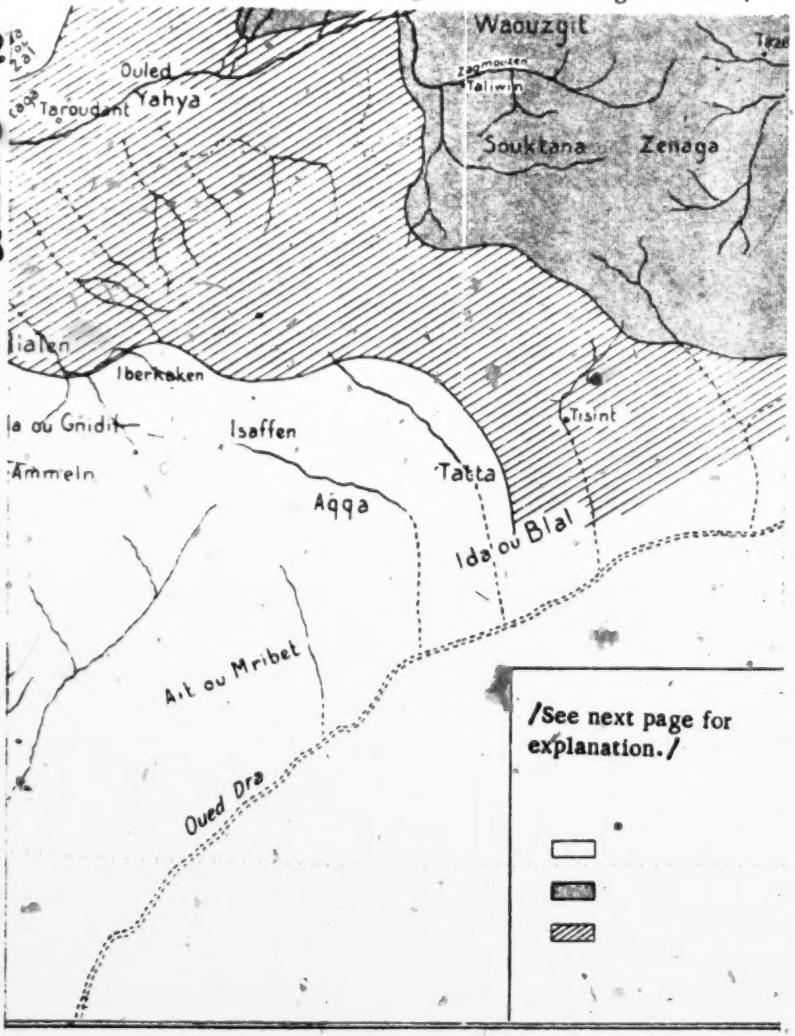
/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
•619
648

2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

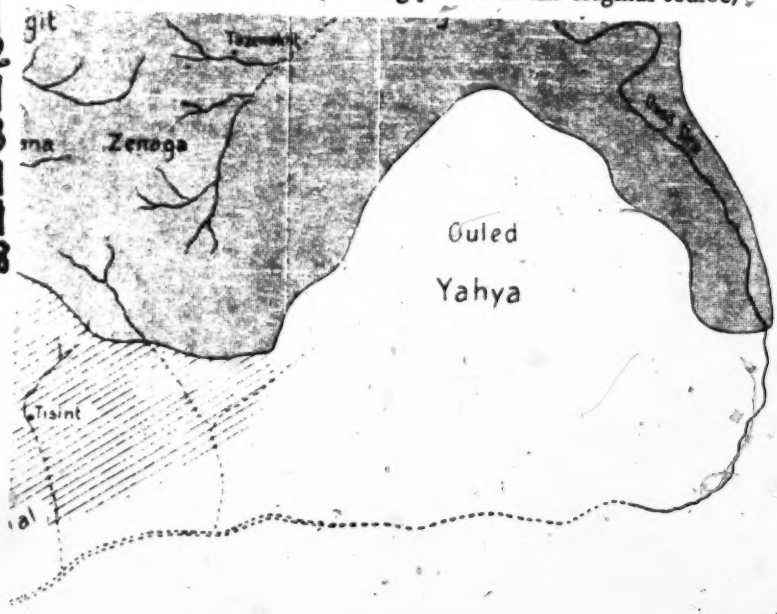
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
•619
648



The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,000,000

- Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.
- Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi
- Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

62 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1).
128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
•619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Aflfen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
609 of a neighboring fraction.

A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
632 four "mouda^c" that gather together in all the population of about
*634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
•619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (A'lt Lhasen, A'lt ^cAbdallah, A'lt Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the A'lt Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 [619] [131] *634 184 174 178 The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634
184
174
178
[113]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631
•619
174
178

More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631
619
*[634]
[174]
[131]
[162]
[184]

The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

*631 /155 cont./
•619 of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2).
184
[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

*631 One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif
619 of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same
184 state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

*634 In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the
184 plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

/156 cont./

*634 184 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages defended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few cantons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the [619] Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of [619] the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of di- [133] vision in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 184 131 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^{c}," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

/158 cont./

*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group suc-
131 ceeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
728 valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
•619 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
[173] as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/158 cont./

*634 Chaᶜib, the Aït Breher of the Demsira. There are some that
•619 /159/ are still smaller, like the Aït Dris of the tribe of the Ida
184 Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid of the Seksawa. Finally, the Aït Mehand of the Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun of the Demsira, by their dimensions are no more than "moudaᶜ," but their institutions already give them most of the characteristics of true "taqbilt" (1).

*631
*634
619
184

1. By exception, in certain tribes of the Dir one finds territorial divisions smaller than the taqbilt as we have described it here. This is the case for the Aït Semmeg, divided into about 15 minuscule units whose territory scarcely exceeds that of a "moudaᶜ." Likewise the Mzouda are divided into ten "mia," each of which has only about 100 hearths. On the other hand, in certain regions peopled recently, such as the south of the Haha (tribes of the Aït ᶜAissi and of the Ida ou Bouzia), it happens that the tribe may be divided into several "khoms" whose villages are so entangled that it is no longer possible to trace their boundaries. Finally, an "afous" of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Id Mansour, has a territory divided into three parts separated from one another. These exceptions affect only an infinitesimal part of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and we can with good reason ignore them in an over-all description of the social structure.

*634 Thanks to the limited extent of its territory and the concern that its inhabitants manifest in defending the frontiers, the canton
*631 is a small state with great vitality. On the other hand, we shall
619 observe that the larger organisms -- the tribe and the confederation -- in the same region are much more difficult to define and

/159 cont./

*631 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape
•619 all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe
*[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three
[184] and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

•619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum-
*634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given
174 /160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the A'lt Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

/160 cont./

619 174 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 *634 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. [616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

619 171

1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

/160 cont./

619
171

/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

[113]

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the A'lt Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

619
174

But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

/161 cont./
•619 174 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).

2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 616 619 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- Another element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

/162 cont./

*634 616 619 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly balanced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^c" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 616 184 *634 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Ait Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

•619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
*634 "khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saʿid Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aït Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aït Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

/164 cont./

•619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which
the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being
careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the op-
posed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such
loose associations of small elementary states would have suc-
ceeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had
not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more
intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer
memory of a common history, must have contributed to form
these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons,
the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating,
without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of
the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no
easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thou-
sand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states
that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity
of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to
natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain
and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa estab-
lished in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the
Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's
bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of ele-
mentary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

/165 cont./

*631 typical example; made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
•619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
175 distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence, attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
619 of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The diverse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
•619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After
[728] a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

/166 cont./

*631
*634
• 619
175
131
[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aït /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631
619
175

But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*631 •619 175 [178] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

*631 /168 cont./
[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619 [796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

102
131
133
*631
•619
*634

/169 cont./

*631 ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe
•619 fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of
[796] the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the
[692] general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations, the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc
*631 made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives
*634 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone
619 capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has sufficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the "taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated blows (1).

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

*631
*634
619

/169 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ one would have seen a new confederation rise, which could have taken the name of Ait Haddiyous and whose aspect would doubtless not have differed much from the group of the Ida Ou Tanan.

XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- /170/ It is easy for us to see at present the relative importance of the various social groups whose presence we observe in the Sous.

The confederations appear to us as true states only by exception or in short periods of their existence; they most often have no activity other than that of the weaker units that compose them. The tribes, too, for the most part, are only inert masses of separate cantons. It seems that the most important groups are customarily only geographic and historic cadres, within which the life of the smaller units that form them is organized to their liking, according to the particular convenience of each of them.

In a word, it is a small state of a few square kilometers that, in the eyes of the montagnard, is the true fatherland. Tribe, confederation have limits too vast for the play of his passions and ambitions. The profitable organization of a great command, the attraction of distant expeditions into the rich conquered plains of the North or the irrigated valleys of the South, the strength of the spirit of holy war or the love of independence, sometimes threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/, are necessary for the mind of the Berbère /Berber/ to rise for a moment to the idea of associations more extensive than those of the 20 families of his native country. He still keeps in his heart, in these grand circumstances, one feeling stronger than all the others: the love of his "taqbilt" of origin, defined by its territory, its institutions, its alliances, and its internal hatreds. If there should occur a weakening of the bond that has united the mountain cantons for a time, the bloc breaks up anew, and each one again finds, without surprise as well as without regret, the narrow and familiar cadre of his valley.

[829]

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
•[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Ait Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
•619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 /193 cont./
619
131

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "A'lt Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that
619 the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and
131 of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and
648 that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
194 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

*634 616 578 174 619

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

175 *634 619

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
• 619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Ait Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Ait Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Ait Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Ait Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Ait Fademt and Ait Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
•619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
•619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

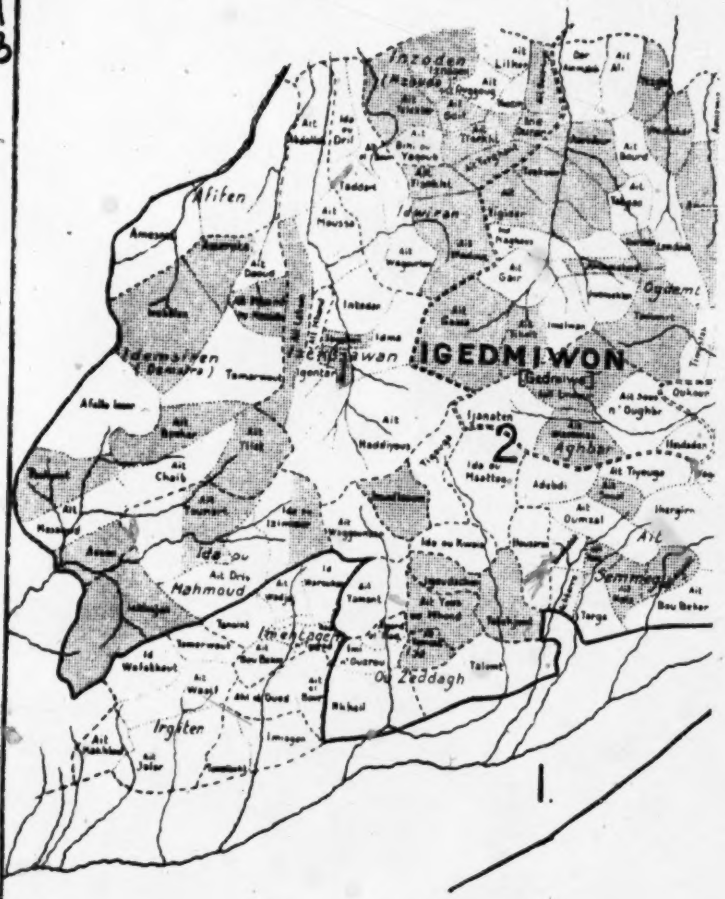
174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
•619
131
133



Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shlub MW11

102
616
.619
131
133

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

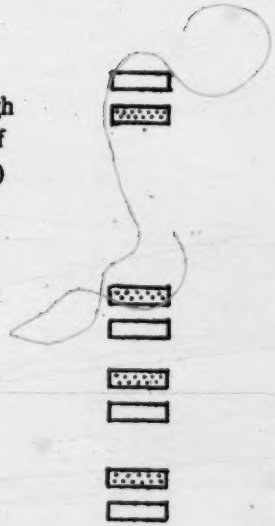
Zone 1. Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs

Zone 2. Region of the leffs of the western Atlas
- Ait Atman (Asif Nefis)
- Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis)
- Indghertit Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa)
- Ait Fademt Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)
- Ait Zolit Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)

Zone 3. Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua
- Inemzel . . . . . .
- Ait Iraten . . . . . .

Zone 4. Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas
- Isouktan . . . . . .
- Igezzoulen . . . . . .

Zone 5. Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)
- Ait Atman . . . . . .
- Ait Tintlet. . . . . .



2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
•619
131
133

Imeshiwen
(Mesfiwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait
Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ourika)
Ighighain
Ogdamt
Onein
Ait
Sammagh
Ait Tadrart
Ait Slimon
Id Willoun
Ait Waggas
Imadiden
Tinfat
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Hamid
Ounain
Ighghadiyen
Imghartiyn
Ait Abdellah
Ait Qaila
Ait Tamadlaw
Ait Bounda
Ait Tiagi n Mizlaniel
Ait Ou Hamdan
Ait Haghlir
Ait Ouladjoun
Ait Ighriten
Ait Abdelwirt
Ait Yahya
Ait Hamed
Ait Tassemt
Ait Ou Yahia
Ait Ou Brahim
Ait Fenzar
Azrar
Isazan
Aglinan
Ait Dair
Ait Ou Ghar
Ait Ou Bekar
Ait Tiyouga
Ait Ou Dughar
Ait Ou Ikhlef
Ait Ou Ghrad
Ait Ou Ghar
Ait Ou Tamgounsi
Ait Ou Qasni
Ait Ou Masri
Ait Ou Wamoussi
Ait Ou Ghalt
Ait Ou Ras
Ait Ou Waghsan
Ait Ou Tamdoun
Ait Ou Ikhlef
Ait Ou Ghrad
Ait Ou Ghar
Ait Ou Ghar
Ait Ou Ghar

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
619
131
133

/201 cont./

616 114 *634 [113]

with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Ct Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 616 619

We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential aspects.

Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

101 616 619 The "Aoggwa" (1)

1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the A'lt Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the A'lt Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 619 184 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the A'lt Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and A'lt Amer. In going around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the 616 619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

616 /footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen,
619 and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan"
[101] to indicate the leff.
*[634] In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616 XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The im-
184 portance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of
[792] the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one
[578] still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

616 In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of
619 Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of
578 the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at
184 the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was con-
[538] stant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inex-
616 haustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, be-
619 sides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

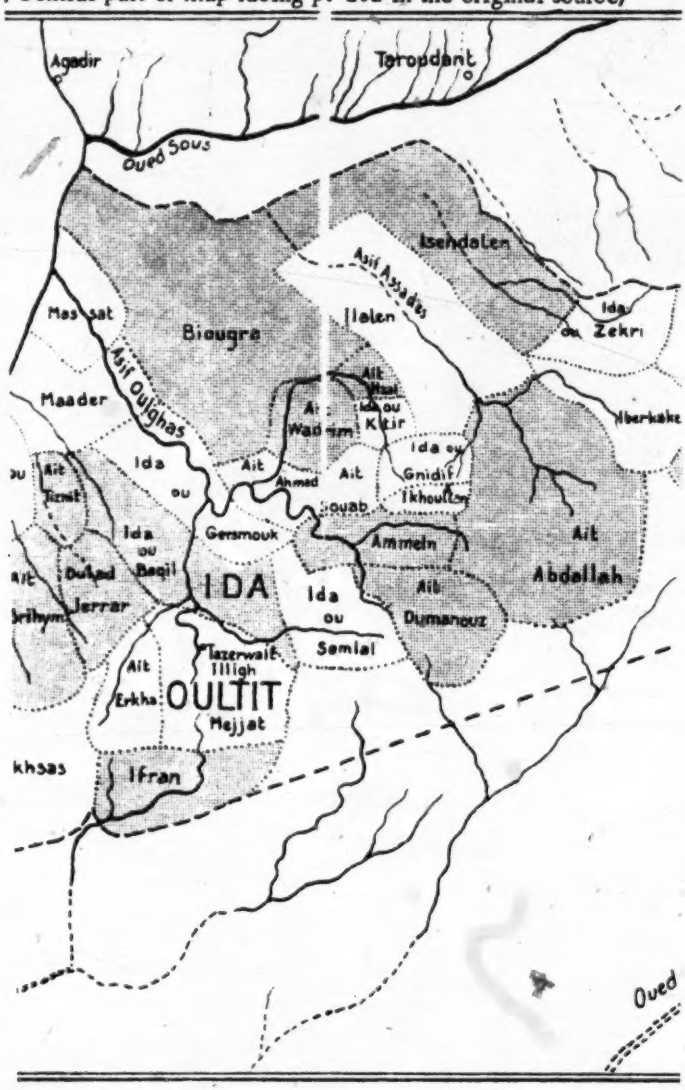
2: Montagne--268 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

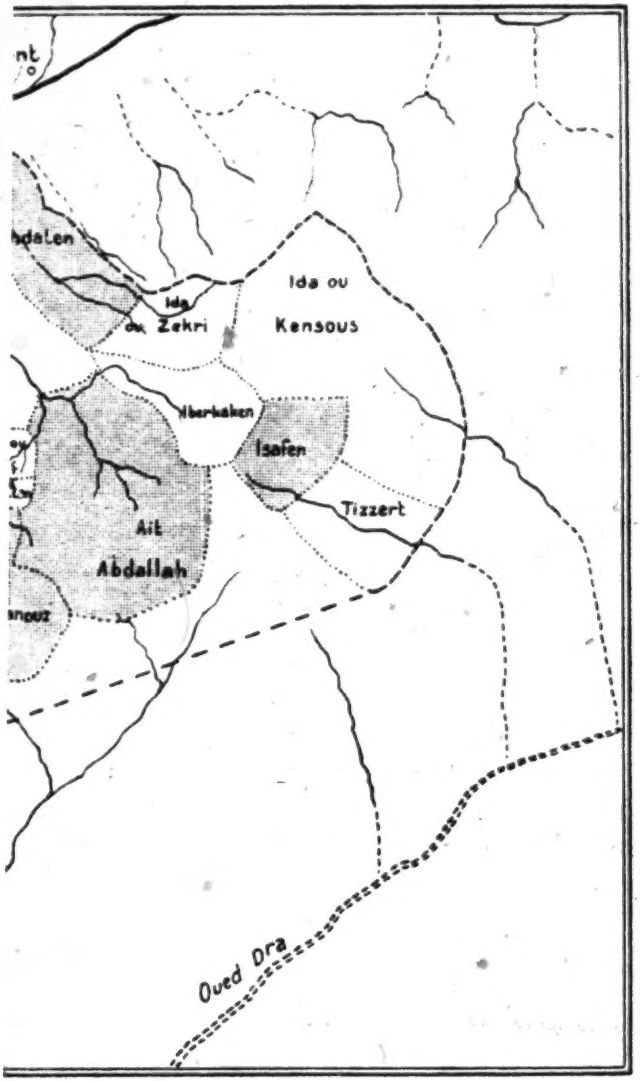
102
131
133
616
619



2: Montagne--270 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619



/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
619 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[193] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
-619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

• 619

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/221 cont./
*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is un-
[178] known. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the
western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the rep-
[174] resentatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per
fraction, were designated this way (3).

• [619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the
802 western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their move-
174 ment, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south ver-
184 sant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

*634 184 /222 cont./

replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1)

[113]

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2),

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

[184] *[631] •[619]

[113]

> 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
* [631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
• [619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Ait ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

*634 /228 cont./
184 /footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is
[178] the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the
*634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to
•619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the
184 other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou
[692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 1. In these tribal councils the conditions under
619 which the customary law is applied in case of
692 murder let the laxity of the social institutions
184 be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for ex-
682 ample, the inflas friends of the murderer give
671 back to his family the part of the fine that comes
[613] to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus
619 grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a cer-
692 tain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of
619 the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confedera-
692 tion of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun and the
184 Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a
178 minutely observed ceremonial. Among the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten A'lt Arba^{c}in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named delib-
[625] erate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1),

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of A'lt Arba^{c}in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the A'lt Arba^{c}in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^{c}a" of the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^{c}a" goes first of all among the A'lt Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the A'lt Ou^{c}azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables
[695] and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are sum-
[681] moned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot

*634 /230 cont./
•619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[578] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center
[361]

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
182 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still
• 619 larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
• [619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
• [619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
* [634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda[c]" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
[182] Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
926

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains, in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

• [619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
*634 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by
619 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
178 middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
*634 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
619 a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
*634 bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
[554] that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/291 cont./

*634 642 notable charged with representing his brothers. The tribal council even deliberates sometimes in public; but the decision has been prepared in the amghar's house and the tribe conforms to it exactly. The distribution of the profits of justice, of which the notables collect no more than a very small part, shows that all authority is concentrated in the hands of Bou Naga.

*634 *631 [642] But even in this case the concern for preserving the appearance of an assembly, whose presence itself is obligatory when the entire confederation reunites with Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli or at the souq /sook/ el Arbaᶜ of Imouzzer, suffices to show how, in spite of everything, personal power here remains limited by the recollection of the fundamental institutions of the country of the Ida Ou Tanan. If, by a marvel of continuity, the minor amghars of the Aït Tinkert have been able, thanks to family alliances, to the existence of a very powerful clan, to succeed in obtaining and keeping the command of the whole tribe for a century, they have at any rate remained locked within the natural cadre /292/ that this third of the great confederation formed. Even so, they are still subordinate to what the independent Berbères /Berbers/ call jokingly the "Makhzen of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli." Thus, in [619] [671] spite of their power, they remain, like the leff-chief amghars of the Seksawa, subject to the laws of the tribes (1).

1. For some years, the progress of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has manifested itself among the Ida Ou Tanan by a new development of personal power, thanks to the encouragement and external support given to the boldest clan chiefs. ᶜAli Ou Naser, amghar of the Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi ᶜAchao of Isk n Tghazout, and other party chiefs have subjugated by force the chiefs of the neighboring "afous." The artificial character of this movement has undoubtedly further accentuated the latent antagonism between the regime of the Aït arbaᶜin and that of the independent amghars.

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important [178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting *631 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order *634 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If 619 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction 616 of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last 616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain 121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the 648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that 133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/340 cont./

175 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the
*631 Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c,
648 Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa,
Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the
• 619 region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal, Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

*[634]

1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of ^cAbd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remaining at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/ formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*634 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
178 and the governed increases more and more, and one would
imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to
bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that
power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so
much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of to-
day came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
•619 the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
178 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still
be observed in the more distant territories that have been succes-
sively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various com-
mands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and be-
cause this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu
in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the
great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be
called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get
entangled with the government of the Empire through their
intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the
rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the
tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[175] In the short period during which the large commands were
constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the
efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over
the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs,
sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original
territory.

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
•619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ʿOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes. Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the establishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 *634 •619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^cho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^cAbdallah Ou Bihi,

/353 cont./

175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nflfa and placed under the authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
726 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

/371 cont./

*631 648 co-operation of the Howara or of the Arab fractions integrated into the Berbère /Berber/ confederation of the Chtouka, and bring the intervention of the Arab tribes into the quarrels of the Berbère tribes of the mountains.

We have mentioned elsewhere the role played by the Arab kaids of the tribes settled to the east of Marrakech in governing the tribes of the South: Rehamna and Segharna were often, until the reign of Moulay el Hasan, in charge of ensuring, on behalf of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the collection of the taxes and carrying out the police circuits on the Saharan versant of the Atlas and in the Dadès and the Haut-Dra (2).

2. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Book III, Ch. III.

648 •619 On the whole, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes proved to be more obstinate about entering the sultan's service in a body. True, we have seen them give all their support to the Saadian shorfa in the Sous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in their capacity as "moujahidin," enemies of the Portuguese, that these shorfa could appeal to the independent tribes of the Anti-Atlas. As soon as their power had taken on the air of royalty and they began to follow the constant rules of the Makhzen in their government, the Berbère /Berber/ contingents of the Anti-Atlas scattered, and the Saadians, doubtless against their will, had to call on the turbulent Arab tribes of the plain of the Haouz. In the same way the Masmouda ranged themselves for a time at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the maraboutic domination of Abou Zakaria, grandson of Sidi Saïd Ou ᶜAbd en Naïm, but also abandoned him when he tried to take supreme power in Marrakech.

Among the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the South only the Haha seem to have contributed, especially during the nineteenth century, toward extending and strengthening the sultan's

/371 cont./

648 domination in the Sous plain and over the Dir of the Anti-Atlas
.619 (3).

3. It may be that the Skoura, the Mesgita, and the Aït Seddrat, totally or partially Arabized at present, however, formerly played in the Haut-Dra a role analogous to that of the Haha. These tribes are considered in the country as having had former relations with the Makhzen /makhzan/.

648 /372/ Finally, in most of its military expeditions the Makhzen used at all times, in addition to the "gich" and "ʿabid," numerous contingents raised on the spot while passing through the subject tribes. This occasional military service, known in the country by the name of "naiba," was rendered especially by the Haha and the populations of the plains.

000 The organization of sherifian troops on the march has often been described; it is known that a representative of the sultan, generally chosen from among his relatives, is the supreme chief of the "mehalla" and is assisted by a kaid who holds all military authority.

When the sultan himself leads the column, he carries in his train, on the backs of mules, the gold ingots that constitute his treasury, as well as his archives and his most valuable possessions. He might indeed fear that a revolt would strip him of them if he left them behind in one of the towns of his Empire (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 274; Cour, Établissement des Chorfa /Establishment of the Shorfa/, pp. 5 and 92.

III. "The tax circuits." -- The principal use of the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to permit proceeding at any time to collect the tax. It is certainly by that function that the central

648
*631
651

/377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648
•619
177
*634
*631

V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda ᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

648
619
177
*634
*631

/377 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last; in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

/378 cont./

648 /footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a
619 day's march away in the mountains.
177 Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives
* [634] berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.
* [631]

[113] Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial,
[651] consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] 2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Mo-
[113] rocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named be-
cause it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told
[623] how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed
[632] was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

/378 cont./

648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

619
177
[184]
[113]

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*63 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new frac-
[616] tioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
•619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[343] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*63 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
•619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*63 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
•619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
*631 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
712 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
*619 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the con-
661 fusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse them-
*631 selves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
648 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
661 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity
661 contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin, while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the
602 master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

/385 cont./

648 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded
619 as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the
669 tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign un-
[175] til the strongest or cleverest has won. The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the
648 Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigor-
669 ously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
178 only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the boundaries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
•619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
578 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stakè is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
•619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*63 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
171 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154). 634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16). 619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

•621
631
619
186

Jebala MX2

[For information on the territorial organization and structure of the western Jebala, including data on the village, the "Khoms" and the tribe, see 2: Montagne, MW11 Shluh, category 116, pp. 221-224.]

632
634
621
623

Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," Hesp., 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his Rih'la, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly 485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of 794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a 621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a madinâ. He will savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room 000 and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(171) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361 The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," Imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaïs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'âh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word imud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt
613 splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into sub-groups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 173 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread 619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is • 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the [613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101] [312] [142] [181]

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch. a. Wakrim.	Idma, came from Tasselli. Iseqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It A is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
	a. Daud.	a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221
233
241
[634]

This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the
613 Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchû^{c}.

[Imt'ddan]

/210 cont./

613
• 621

Original ikhs-s	Present "minor ikhs-s"	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'. a. Uchikar. a. Warrh'u. a. Batirat. a. Mulid. a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit. Tagunit. Tamt'ddit. Tagunit. Tamt'ddit. Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku. a. H'imi. a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tagunit. Tagunit. Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray. a. Uâzzi. a. Jamid. a. Uturit.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt. Tamt'ddit. Tinwalin. Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli. a. Sâid. a. Ufarnu. a. Uqurru.	Tamzgurt. Tamzgurt. Tagunit. Tagunit.
a. Lchger.	a. Ubaqqa. a. Uburnarth.	Tagunit. Tagunit.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in
[613] an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

•621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

•621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the west-
*63 ern Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
[619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
[178] Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
• [621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

•621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

•621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1).
128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

•621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif, seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/150 cont./

121 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of
128 the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

•621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/151 cont./

621 613 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert" (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a [103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 632 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

114 613 621 632 113

3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^c" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 632 [346] [343] [623]

and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^ca," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^c."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^c" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^c" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^c" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

621 632 423 [609]

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rba^c," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^c" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^ccho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 • 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778]
[787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

632. /220 cont./
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact repre- [613] sented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each ham- [621] let may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various [556] families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

•621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/234 cont./

•621 632 *634 796 535 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each time for several days, and in which first place is given to nocturnal dances (2).

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 53 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attractive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs 184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much • [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./
343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 [562] Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard receives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

[465] [562]

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[312]

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at present to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

[727]

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

[465]

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
[358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.

Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jij*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
192
171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jaris*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qaḍis*...

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other native *ijājgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijājgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfīqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfīqin* of their own...

In the Wuryāghli sense of being a "whole family", the internal solidaity of the *thārfīqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijājgha* of a *thārfīqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfīqth* of a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfīqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence... (Hart, 1954, pp. 60-62).

613 Among the Shluh the minor lineage is of equal importance, and
[171] many of the features described for the Riffians also hold true.
613 However, the complex and almost haphazard connection between
• 621 a minor lineage and a village, or part of a village, is particularly prominent. An *ikhs* may constitute part of a hamlet or village, together with other such units; it may constitute an entire village by itself; or parts of it may be distributed through several villages, sharing these with other lineages. No set pattern apparently exists, and there is no close relationship between this pattern and the political or administrative units. This situation is reflected by great confusion in the sources – a confusion which can be best be avoided by carefully differentiating between units defined primarily by kinship (though also by geographical proximity in the higher levels), and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure dés oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lnud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*farīqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

... In the minds of the tribepeople the *fariqath* is ultimately a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *fariqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *fariqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqin* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton [i.e., commune] together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque (*thamzida n khuṭbath*) to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqih*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements... (Hart, 1954, p. 66).

621 613 It should be noted that in some small tribes, communes are absent, all local social and political functions being assumed by the minor lineages and the village organizations (Berque, 1955, p. 65).

The commune or *ikhs* of the Beraber may at times be equivalent to a major lineage, with all of its components tracing descent from a common ancestor; usually, however, some of the lineages are unrelated to others, and the unit is held together more by sense of geographical proximity and common destiny than by relationship. The sense of unity is symbolized by the use of the term "brother" between the male members. The autonomy of the individual lineages is so strong, however, that these may join another commune, or even another tribe, if they so desire. The commune affirms its existence, and expects loyalty from its members, only in time of common danger or crisis (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 152-153; Querleux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The commune seems to have a greater significance, even if symbolic, among the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata:

... L'originalité de la "ferqa" se trouve toutefois mise en relief par l'existence, à l'intérieur de chacune de ces fractions, d'un "ighss" qui revêt entre tous les autres la qualité d'"Ait A'ouwâm". Semblables aux "inflâs" [notables] du Soûs, les "Ait A'ouwâm" incarnent dans les graves occasions l'honneur de la fraction toute entière dont ils ont pour tâche

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222). 623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224). 621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village
621 customarily has its own representative council composed of repre-
623 sentatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is
635 equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus
634 the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relation-
563 ship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If
• [621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the al-
628 liance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur;
571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic
628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see
571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most
171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

[For further information on the moqaddem as the president of a village council see Category 623; as the president of a canton council see Category 634; as the head of a community of marabouts see Category 792; and as the caretaker of a mosque see Category 794.]

[For further information on the moqaddem as the president of a village council, see Category 622; as the president of a canton council, see Category 634; as the head of a community of marabouts, see Category 792; and as the caretaker of a mosque, see Category 794.]

[For information on the heads of the tribal and district councils who are frequently referred to in the literature as "chiefs", see categories 619, 634, and see also 635.]

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

643
622

[For information on the "great chiefs" or caids of the Atlas, see category 631.]

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 493

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/88 cont./

*175 Marrakech, the Heskoura and the Tadla, rather than on the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113]

1. Marmol, Afrique /Africa/, Perrot d'Ablancourt trans., Paris, 1667, Vol. II, pp. 41-63.

The upper valley of the Dra was divided between two lords of the family of the "Mezwar" (2),

[192]
[622]

2. The term "mezwar" designates, in the towns of Morocco, the representative of the shorfa /shurfa/ settled in the city. This Berbère /Berber/ word derived from the root zwr, to precede (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229), also has the sense of president of an assemblage of notables, of "moqaddem"; at the time of the Almohades, a "mezwar" was at the head of each of the fractions of the confederation of the Gedmiwa (cf. above, p. 80).

ruling the districts of "Tenveves" and "Tensita" and separated from each other by a deep enmity. In the fury of their struggles, the Mezwar went so far as to call on the Christians settled at Santa Cruz (Agadir), and the whole Sous valley, already traversed by the Arabs, was agitated by their quarrel. Moreover, their power and liberality were famous, and Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ received a most generous welcome in their dwellings. One of them, who had thought he would do well to present magnificent gifts to the king of Fez, had them carried by an ambassador whose pronunciation and style, doubtless not very classic because of /89/ Berbère /Berber/ influences, were, in the opinion of the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

613
621
184

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613 these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621 prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346] granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343] that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [764] forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423] they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313] unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [623] functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

646
623

Shluh MW11

[Information on councils at the district or tribal levels will be found in categories 634, 619, and see also 635.]

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source. / An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^C^anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

613 178

594 671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here, either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 6 [171] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of [illegible] law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamîᶜ umur as-sufahâ' wa jamîᶜ il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ᶜabbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Âbdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

632
634
621
623

Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

/151 cont./

114
613
621
632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" pos-
621 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

623 Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
627 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
681 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
[625] most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
[619] moqaddem. This is the case in several small
tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/220 cont./

632
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. - The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jema'ت" of the [632] "mouda'" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact repre- [613] sented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each ham- [621] let may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various [556] families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (A'lt Ou'Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the A'lt Arba'in" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "A'lt Arba'in" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/378 cont./

648 619 177 * [634] * [631] [113] [651]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] [113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623] [632]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

613 621 184

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613 these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621 prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346] granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343] that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [764] forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423] they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313] unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [623] [622] functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222). 623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224). 621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village
621 customarily has its own representative council composed of repre-
623 sentatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is
635 equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus
634 the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el 'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils commonly meet at district or tribal market places. 623 634 366 368 635

b. *Function*

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive, 623 635 634

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

• 623 635 634 legislative, and judicial functions. The council concerns itself with the maintainance of internal equilibrium between individuals by dispensing and enforcing the customary law, modifying it if necessary; maintains relations with outside groups, and conducts wars against them; administers the communal institutions (mosque, saints' tombs, mosque school, communal granary and cemetery, and irrigation system); distributes water according to the local pattern of water rights; administers and distributes communal lands both for purposes of agriculture and grazing; fixes the schedule for agricultural operations or nomadic or transhumant migration; and in some cases also manages the local market (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-109, 112-114; Deverdun, 1942, p. 307; Doutté, 1905; Hart, 1954, pp. 65-66; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33; Laoust, 1934, pp. 140-146; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 14-15).

The *jemaa* generally carries out its functions by appointing or electing executors of various sorts and delegating power and authority to these individuals. The most important of these is the president of the council itself, known as an *amghar* or *sheikh* if head of a district or tribal council, and otherwise as a *moqaddem*. Other functionaries include the administrator of communal labor (particularly on irrigation projects), the administrator or distributor of water, the communal policeman, the religious teacher, and specialists in the administration of customary law (known as *anezzarfou*, pl., *inezzourfa*), though the council reserves the power to revise and modify this legal code (Berque, 1955, pp. 107, 112; Hart, 1954, p. 65; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 14).

671 c. *Customary Law*

Traditionally, all disputes among the Berbers, both of a civil or criminal nature, were settled through reference to traditional customary law (*azrif*), which was largely uncodified and showed slight variations from tribe to tribe. Although replaced among the plains populations by the Moslem *Shari'a*, Berber customary law is still functional in civil cases throughout the Middle and High Atlas (1957), partly through French intervention on its behalf (Coudino, 1942, p. 431; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 230-231).

The local and communal aspects of the *azrif* are known variously

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 554 634 635 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*), *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished [687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting 634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or 635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest 554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate 635
completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally 554
in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the schedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority [701] to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; [72] together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibilities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, [623] • as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, ooo qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-

/107 cont./

312 séguias contrived at mid-flank of the left bank will then have their full use. And not only the Talh'archt, whose intake, however, dominates Tuz'z'umt. It is indeed still higher, at Imi n-tghli, by way of the Targa n-berdun, that the people downstream are obliged to make the water pass. At Imi n-tghli, in fact, the utilizers observe -- a phenomenon doubtlessly related to the cessation of the primary soils -- a sudden loss, which no longer permits entrusting the waters to their natural bed. Thus it is only thanks to a series of works of art that, in the case of drought, far away in the Ud Bessebâ^c plain, the fellah of the Sa^cîdat or of the Ud Sawla can benefit from the rains falling on the distant Idma or in the more distant Taddert. And it happens only by making them cross, by the precious gift, the territory of several tribes. Veritable geographic concert! An organization of the space, of a space studded with rival centers, masters the difficulties caused by the long-term management of the waters. But that insofar as a certain atmosphere exists. Now, this is not always the case, even among contributors. The Idma of Taselli
312 depend for their séguia on the a. H'adduyws, who control its in-
578 take. Hence continuous conflicts. Even between Idma, the enormous séguia of the Amerdul, which the stream takes twelve hours to travel, has no longer been the object of any attack on the part of the people of Tasa since an agreement at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But its distribution still causes numerous conflicts between the villages of Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, and Wanchkrir. On the whole, however, the system has held.

624 The administration necessitates complicated and sometimes
312 extremely delicate surveillance. It is a functionary who performs it, the amazzal, plur. imazzalen, or "runner" (cf. ar. /Arabic/ jerrây). The fulfillment of such a role requires initiative and integrity, but it especially requires that a collective order, made of unwritten laws, work. The personage who assumes it is in general subject to the unanimous designation of his fellow citizens and can stay, even though upheld by the temporal authority, only with their confidence. A very old order, with

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1),

[171] 1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Bessebâ^c for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/168 cont./

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
[624] guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a
476 general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and
829 here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

"The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right
[624] to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

"The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to
[613] them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the ana-
476 lytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort
[613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

[Bul^{c}wân]

/213 cont./

241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâid.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5
[624] ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 178 [624] distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits 794 184 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Âbdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

/377 cont./

175 634 554 681 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 [693] In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as 624 has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct and that of the moqaddem. [689] The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much 634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases 45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or [554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu- [651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] [104] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

624
644
463
357

Shluh MW11

[For information on the servants, retainers and other personnel of the casbahs of the "great chiefs," see categories 631, 712, and 634.]

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778]
[787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

[619]

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), [177]
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-*
zalen, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lîzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
moqaddem. This is the case in several small
619 tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 184 178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arba^{c}in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named deliberate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1),

[625]

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arba^{c}in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arba^{c}in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^{c}a" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^{c}a" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are summoned, heard, condemned to be fined, and they pay on the spot

[695] [681]

/249 cont./
423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
486
651

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place,
[554] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing
[625] policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/250 cont./

443 Bouzia in the Haha tribe, the "Had" of the A'it Mzal in the Anti-Atlas, or still more often at the foot of the mountains, such as, for example, the markets of Amismiz and of Tisgin of the
443 Gedmiwa. Sometimes surrounded by a contiguous wall, these
366 markets possess several hundred shops formed out of alveoli of earth and dry stone, covered with branches, divided into quarters or "rahba." One finds in their enclosure cafés, which are often unpleasant places, sometimes permanent storehouses for storing commodities, always a mosque in which people go to
443 swear an oath if some dispute arises. These markets, frequented by all the tribes of the vicinity, sometimes at two days' distance, often gather together several thousand Berbères /Berbers/. It then becomes necessary to watch particularly to protect the transactions by special regulations.

443 It is a great disgrace for the inhabitants of a country not to be able to repress energetically the thefts that might be com-
625 mitted in their souq /sook/ or on the roads leading to it; so all
685 the little codes of customary law of the tribes of the South of Morocco are devoted to long paragraphs enumerating the considerable fines that punish the thieves and route cutters who would try to practice their trade at the market or its outskirts. Incessant surveillance is exercised by the tribal authorities, so that the guilty may be immediately apprehended and condemned. There is reason to fear, as a matter of fact, that there may break out at the market an altercation whose appearance could be the signal for a panic. Sometimes similar incidents are created on purpose by the thieves in order to "break up" the souq and to enable them, by means of the disorder, to pillage valuable merchandise.

For all these reasons, it is rare that an assembly of notables suffices to make the "horma," the good name of the market, respected. /251/ Certain tribes nevertheless succeed in protecting their souqs, and then reap large profits from them (1).

1. Cf. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 128-134: the development of the market of Tinghir (Todgha) permits leasing the rights

443 /251 cont./
-625 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers
685 and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge
443 all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often,
634 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitu-
554 tions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of im-
692 posing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty
685 and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas
*634 succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on
792 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the
784 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Ait Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-
[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Ait Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
• [625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the A'lt Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "A'lt Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "A'lt Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the A'lt Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
•625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
[625] his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[602] changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
616 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
578 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./

343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
712 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five cham-
621 bers there.
423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
.625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[084] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
[312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925,
[669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres-
[727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the [625] entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as [625] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. [465] He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in [685] return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main- [358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be- [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

3: Dupas--15 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
712

Fig. 13. -- Agadir of Ikis.

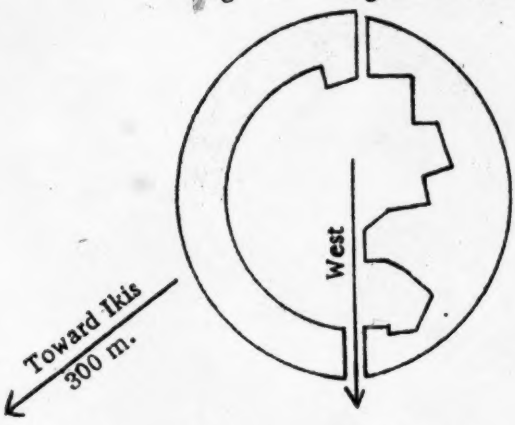


Fig. 14. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.

343
712
.625

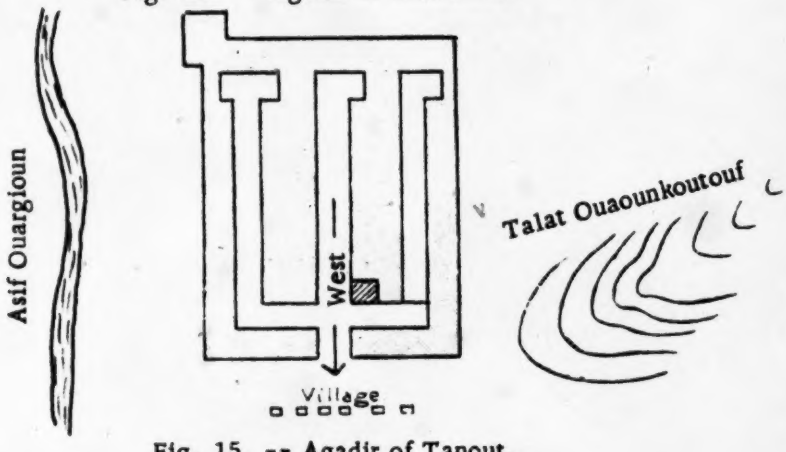
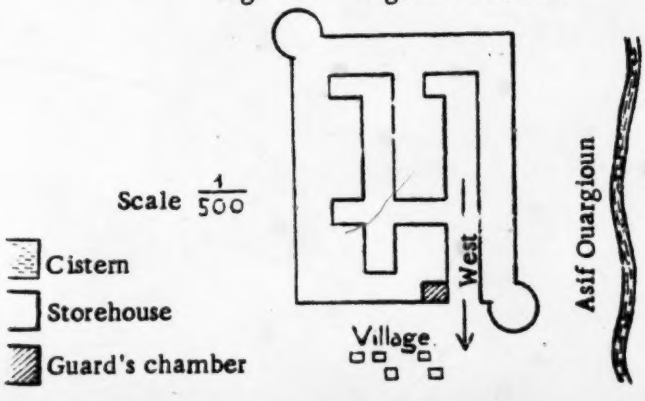


Fig. 15. -- Agadir of Tanout.



3: Dupas--17 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
712
.625

Fig. 19. -- Agadir of Tizzirt.

Fig. 22. -- Agadir of Amassa.

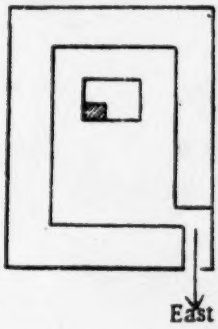


Fig. 20. -- Agadir of Annoums.

Fig. 23. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella.

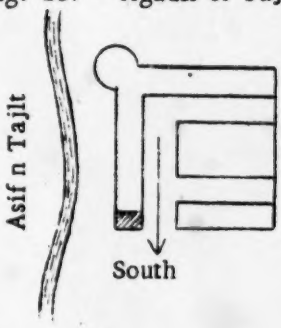


Fig. 21. -- Agadir of Tamjlojt.

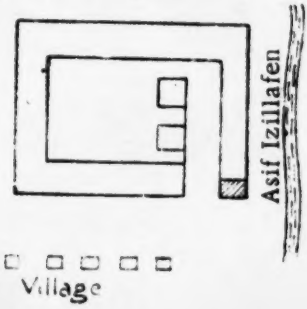


Fig. 24. -- Agadir of Meggount.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

/155 cont./
312 the rotation by ikhs-s (explanation given at Lalla Aziza, where
423 this method has functioned for several years), or to an excess of
[613] litigations and privative claims, or even to the gigantism of the system.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ The second motive operated in 1949 in the village
[627] of Ad'erd'ur, which, in order to cut short a threatening dispute, distributed the water of the Tzemzgart. For the whole ensemble of the network of the Amerdul, a claim of this sort: it has not yet won. The order of the ancestors still holds good here.

The third motive results from the case of the a. Lh'sen.

These conquerors of one of the affluents of the middle valley have preserved a vitality which, by a nice correspondence, is also connected to the relative conservation of their soil, to the consistency of the timbering on the sides, and to the abundance of water. They have 14 séguias, beyond the one that Wanz'id', the highest of their villages, draws from a source peculiar to it. Despite the lengthwise stretch of this whole system, the basis for the
[613] distribution is not topographical. Being a matter of an important grouping, the ikhs-s here are grouped into two subgroups, ait Mençur and ait Ddaud, each of the two having each year, alternating with the other one, the privilege of starting. Within the two subgroups, it is the "sluice by sluice" system that functions. The lands of each of the two are entangled the whole length of the valley, from Buteghradin up to Tabratjut, to the confines of the a. Abdella. But this gentilitial system works only on the first four days of the week (starting from Sunday, a day reputed to be favorable in /156/ this taqbilt). The rest of the week, definite portions of the valley receive water: three of them are distinguished. Finally, the distant Tabratjut possesses, with other villages upstream, a special séguia, departing from the place called Ukhriben.

In sum, here there is a combination of the gentilitial system and of the system based on the continuity of several great soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture: expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/. The irrigation calendar, which one has tried to represent below, will give an idea of the complexity and at the same time the harmony of the system.

/261 cont./

627 171

/footnote 1 continued/ can exist for a very long time, or even rise again under the influence of archaizing conditions (cf. the role of the oath in the constitution and defense of the medieval manse). In the Roman procedure, the sacramentum in rem would also be, according to the original interpretation by H. Lévy-Bruhl, "Sur la laïcisation du droit à Rome /On the laicization of the law in Rome/," Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité, 1951, pp. 83 sq., "a test to which one can presume that by reason of the redoubtable forces that it unleashes a party would lend himself only if he considers himself quite sure of his right..." But is this not again a rationalist interpretation?

627 773 And, on the other hand, the religious accent that the myth confers upon the oath indeed risks being only an explanatory addition, quite like the formality of the oath itself. What could count in the archaic stage that appears under there is undoubtedly the gesture of touching the chain which "hangs from the sky": it properly establishes communication with the sacred.

627 Another remarkable thing, it is not to a matter in litigation that the myth's preferences go. It is to a sort of settlement brought about by the parties themselves, and the essential of which resides in the efficacy of an attitude. Technique of sudden releasing, "golden" technique, technique of "the golden age": that is what the instinctive option, the nostalgia, still discernible under the Seksawa's procedural extremism and the passion for the judiciary joust, come to. Nevertheless this archaizing is also accompanied by a critical reflection. Such ambiguity is not surprising.

Be that as it may, to the course familiar to this study, and which consists in approaching the institution only by its most concrete holds, corresponds something in the very opinion of the subject: this primacy given to the techniques of direct settlement and a fortiori to the purest among them, that of settlement without debate.

/262/ The Rite of the Stone On the Boundary

423 578 Boundary disputes between riverains are all the more frequent here because the modicity of the parcels makes one utilize as separation of the lands only the "lane" of grass saved sparingly between two tillages, or even stones put likewise on the fallow land and whose dotted line symbolically marks the passage from one right to another. The agricultural ground of the villages is thus constituted by tiny patches, sometimes reduced to one or two squares of irrigation: by them, as has been seen, each family is represented in each of the toponymic quarters whose ensemble forms the ground. Any one of these parcels is therefore defined less by the topography than by its fitting in between four others. From one to another, no interruption. Only just a difference of vegetation due to inequality of manure. It is necessary to hold the stalks apart in order to see a small, raised stone, awuttu, base of an ideal line sectioning the quarter perpendicularly to its axis. Here then is a peasant society without actual limitation of the lands. One conjectures that such a stage defies judiciary law. 423 •627 578 The problems that it poses in fact are those of a criticism of legitimacy, based on the contestation of civil status rather than concrete problems of emplacement. The former are never even with the plane of litigation. This is because they are amenable, not to a procedural course, but, if I may venture to say it, to an immediate law.

A sacramental operation resolves them. An "oath," as one says, or rather a gesture explained by a formula. To whom is it administered? Here, naturally, there is no qualification as plaintiff or defendant (1),

1. Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, op. laud., p. 95: "There is neither plaintiff, nor defendant."

in spite of the influences released by the judiciary mores, and indirectly by a procedural automatism inspired by the cadis. Someone is summoned to justify the limit reached by his plowshare or his hoe. Unless it should be the claimant himself who offers to

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[154] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/263 cont./

423 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of
627 the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that,
578 by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

[114]

2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3).

[114]

3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
[171] absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" included, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

/264 cont./

42 627 In the very widespread formula of the resolutory sales, improperly called rrahn, or, in the acts, thunyâ, and which correspond to a very ancient landed-property mode of this milieu, the debtor, who is also the owner of the land, has available a means [692] of interrupting automatically the right of the lessee. This is /265/ to deposit an "obole" /obolus/, tauqit, tamuzunt (1),

1. And moreover istiman and l^C arbûn. Evidently the idea of deposit itself has a very complex past and meaning. Still without any idea of systematic comparison, and, if one wishes, only for "curiosity," let us say that certain aspects of this tamuzunt of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are not free from suggesting the formality of the aes "whose restitution brings about liberation of the land" (H. Lévy-Bruhl, Quelques problèmes de très ancien droit romain /Some problems of very ancient Roman law/, p. 144).

in the hands of some sort of auctoritas: today a common magistrate, formerly such-and-such a fqih, potable or "marabout." In the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa the process is even more direct. When it is a question of orchards, the obole will be deposited on the pile of olives in the very course of the gathering: this puts an end to the usufruct of the lessee. Rationalist reinterpretations have naturally assimilated this procedure to a settlement by "deposit," l^C arbûn. But this latter notion is itself complex. What one notices most concretely in the operation described here is that the gesture causes a break in the parties' respective situation concerning the field. As for the partimonial bond, the owner's legitimacy has never ceased. But it cut itself off from "legitimate occupation" (verb âmmer). The latter now reintegrates the initial right, an expression that we find again word for word in a writing from the eighteenth century. Henceforth, the lessee is usurping. More

/265 cont./

42 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper:
627 itrama, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the tamuzunt can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2):

[171]

2. Similarly in old Kabyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," R. al., 1930, p. 247.

if it is after uktuber (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individuals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the rrahn or from assault are certainly numerous in the
[578] Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the istirᶜâ' or "act of reserves" (3).

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 369.

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[629] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

/326 cont./

693
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwāh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/371 cont./

627 681 (171)

/footnote 1 continued/ observations and those of C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

The dîâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrasting with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value other than a didactic one?

627 681 121

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

681 627

In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known; never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/372 cont./

627 681 of the "marabouts"), are solicited. The term of azwag signifies both the "banished" and the "suppliant," double aspect, passive and active, of the notion.

682 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Some twenty years ago one of our officers wrote: "Today, when a murder has been committed, the tribe orders some of its members to go to burn the gutters and other pieces of wood that project from the dwelling of the murderer. This act signifies to the guilty one that he must immediately leave the territory of the tribe. It is later announced: "There is no God but Allah, and Moh'ammed is his Prophet. Hear, O people of the tribe, so-and-so must leave as azwag, and if he is seen among us he must not be pardoned." "In Seksawa, pecuniary reparation is accomplished during the time of exile, whereas elsewhere it is paid on the day of return. This day the murderer, accompanied by the jemâa, presents himself to the parents of the victim, must be the first to greet them deferentially and turn out of their way, while lowering his head."

This notation undoubtedly is in large part the interpretations of an informant. But even as such, how instructive it is that the "supplication" aspect and magical procedures of exclusion come to complicate an operation of public law! We shall not resolve this disparity; it is not the only one that the milieu manifests.

However that may be, the dîâ then paid to the parents was 100 reals and a bovine. In addition, the jemâa collected the provisions for a meal: one sheep, semolina, salted butter, sugar. Let us recognize, moreover, that the old acts almost never anticipated a case of murder, doubtlessly out of fear of bad augury. They were satisfied to decree the punishment incurred by the gesture, that /373/ is, by the intention: two degrees, as will be seen, depending on whether the weapon was brandished or utilized. This is a relatively refined technique. What has left traces, outside of codifications, a veritable literary genre and so abundant that it is surprising that a theory of retaliation has been able to exist in the modern exegesis, are veritable legal papers.

/187 cont./

*634 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the
616 time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacifica-
• 627 tion. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assist-
616 ance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations
571 whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through in-
[574] dividual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
moqaddem. This is the case in several small
619 tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried 571
daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying 754
that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner 695
of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in [627]
civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term 571
ameqqon ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* 563
("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./
634 pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with
[142] the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of
[181] water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the sig-
184 nificant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by
101 the immigrant Dukkâla (1).
619

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert,
[628] living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Besseba^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Besseba^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171] 1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Bessebâc for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke, some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a.-H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
428 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châib.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Amnayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaâli.
11. Imiri y-ig*rramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-*g*adir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

/269 cont./

776 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or
792 peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting
728 case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur.
[681] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the
[628] originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast
776 groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/269 cont./

773
776

/footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

(628) But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ^{c}â, of the saint of Z'inît'.

776
794

The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumu^{c}a of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Abdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamî^c umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^c il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^cabbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[233] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
[438] grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
• 628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
[487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/124 cont./

*631 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and
159 the son of Ma el ᶜAlnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco organized in a uniform manner into great commands according to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --
*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids, which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/ limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions, whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the populations that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble
• [628] their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, in
[721] order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even
[152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Aït Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "A'lt Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
•628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[591] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/232 cont./

*634 648 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional [431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

[571] [782]

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït
Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not
murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place conse-
crated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants,
everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the
Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the
Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the
violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the
advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies:
"tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual
mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the
more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small
groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands
that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory
and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atmah" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/306 cont./

343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 554 634 635 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*), *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished [687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting 634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or 635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest 554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relation-
563 ship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If
[621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pastureland (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the al-
• 628 liance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur;
571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic
628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see
571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most
171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314, Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171
lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628
teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171] [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

631
634

Shluh MW11

[For information on the amazzal (water administrators) and the imchchurd'a (guardians), see Category 624.]

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talaint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

● 631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [774] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great [428] personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Âbdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor interveneS: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

175 631 648

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'âh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

[661]

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./

175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
651 central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Besseba^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Besseba^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
178 /207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
175 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs and, like Bul^cwān downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counterdemand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban,...

133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor
[312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

● 631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail
423 this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation com-
178 munities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork
613 mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. [613] Within the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. [631] It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifin, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. [616] It has justly been noted that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

631

[For general information on the territorial organization of the Shluh, including specific data on the confederations and the "great chiefs" or caids, see Category 116, pp. 48-49, 64-65, 153-188, 190-192, 199-201, 204-205, 211-221, 239-240, 248-249, 259, 299-300, 350, 354-355, 368, 371, 380, 385-387, 396-405, 409-424, 428-473, 480-481, 487-516, and 520-531.]

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
189 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/63 cont./ The large confederations of
*175 the Moroccan South as a matter of fact in our day still have the
• [631] custom of assembling their contingents and throwing them into
[726] combat in a succession exactly determined and known to all; doubtless it was already like that at the time of Ibn Toumert. From that time on it sufficed to utilize the secret penchant of these egalitarian montagnards for ceremonial, their taste for the theatrical spectacle, to bend them to a rigorous discipline. In the heart of the Atlas, in a verdant basin of the Nefis surrounded by the wooded crests of the Wichedden, the snowy mass of the Wanoukrim, the red mountains of the Tizi n Imiri, the Tinmellel camp then saw unfold innumerable defiles of the tribes destined to fix the tradition and found the institutions of the new kingdom. The order of succession was regulated by the services rendered for the sacred cause of the Mahdi; the first who came forward were the Hargha, brothers of his father; then the Tinmellel, brothers of his mother; then came the Hintata first to assemble, the Gedmiwa; finally the Genfisa, a little lukewarm and sometimes coming into the community against their will. The place of each notable and of each fraction was noted with care on registers kept by the comrades closest to the master. Thus the control of the army of the Mahdi and the titles of nobility of those who were to become the Almohade sheiks were established at the same time.

During the first years, for combat and the dividing up of the booty, the "Tamyiz" was the fundamental institution of the small State of the /64/ Masmouda. A test of the solidity of that hierarchy was soon made in a striking manner. After the death of the Mahdi, kept secret for three years, when the council of Ten had accepted as leader the foreigner ᶜAbd el Moumen, the tribes defiling before the new caliph in the prescribed order recognized him as their master, putting at his service an organized force that was going to enable him to bring about in twenty years the conquest of the Occident (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 137 and sqq.

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

101
102
131
133
631
619
648

P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/165 cont./

*631 typical example; made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
175 distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence, attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

•631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
619 of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The diverse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
.631

II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
616 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghala, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/260 cont./

343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute nat-
726 ural centers of resistance against the domination of the great
[631] chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nine-
[175] teenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
178 years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact,
726 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdaliah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
•631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
726 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
616 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jij*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594
596
613
621
631
192
171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

... mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

635 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which
631 in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the
669 representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of
175 the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	173 [166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella, 634 632 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

613 166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs'	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
	a. Daud.	a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. n Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

632
634
621
623

Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

*632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/37 cont./

•632 162 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amismiz [361] [443] /Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/38 cont./

000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou Lʿajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of several distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

361
632

/39 cont./

361 political units opposed to one another (1).
632

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike.
184 When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive
712 aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there
184 exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The
[578] internal fractionizing and the political divi-
[619] sions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

/125 cont./

*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Teïwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the casbahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

*631 712 [632] [343] [251] [651] [697]

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
•632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
•632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1),

128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
•632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/151 cont./

621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name
[103] of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n A'lt lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

114 3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place.
613 Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this
621 group ("Organisation sociale et domestique
632
113

/151 cont./

114
613
621
•632
[113]

/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 632 [346] [343] [623] and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

621 632 423 [609]

/153 cont./

*634 166 609 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers" of a neighboring fraction.

-632 *634 A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or four "mouda^c" that gather together in all the population of about 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous

*634 131 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 619 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defending it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ^cAbdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the

*634 166 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/185 cont./

174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
• [632] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^c." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^c." The "mouda^c" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

1. It may happen that the organization of the
"moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/220 cont./

•632
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings [623] together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact repre- [613] sented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each ham- [621] let may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various [556] families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/233 cont./

*634 578 726 628 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange *634 578 628 727 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are always spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough, [181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 591 578 182 796 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir," •632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or *634 796 535

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
•632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs 184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes • [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/378 cont./

648 619 177 * [634] * [631]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[113] [651]

[171] [113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623] [632]

631
634

Shluh MW11

[For information on the amazzal (water administrators) and the imchchurd'a (guardians), see Category 624.]

/30 cont./

341
184

/footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the lōh'h', made by framing and "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bulᶜwān, for example, (634) proudly dominated by the house of an amghar /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342
184

It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a (634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former amghar Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, agrur, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments lbyut, tinwalin; above, facultatively, the tameçrit, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the asqqif, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaïs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'ah'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

1: Berque--56 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 39 in the original source./

102
634
131

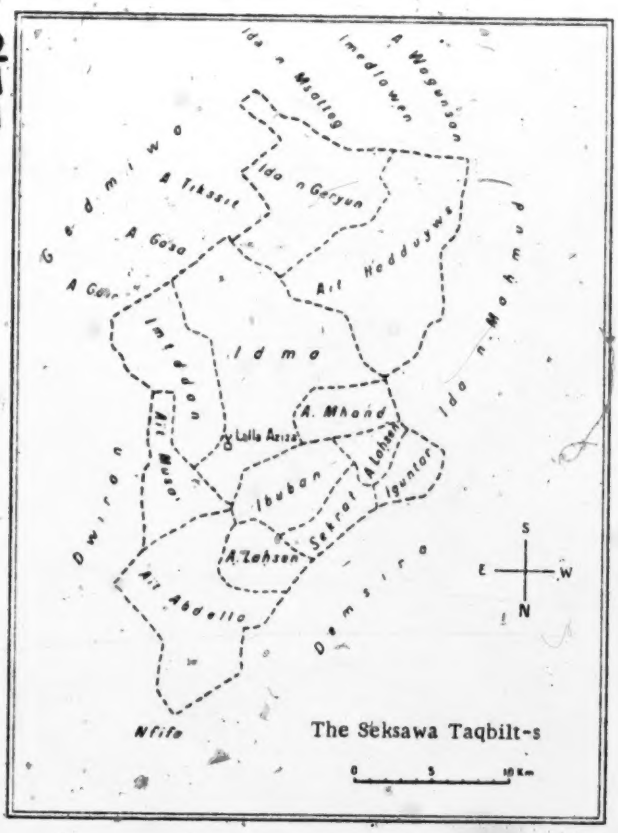


Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

/40 cont./

551 that it does not have several Bihi u Ali, several Addi u Belli. The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations, 613 all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in con- 551 trast to the Arab country, the ikhs always has its designation. This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness and its solidity contrast with the banality of the praenomen, pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that the surname, laqab, so common in Arab country, is very rare here.

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected. [634] All that one can affirm is that the name of the ikhs avoids all ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other than the political unit, the taqbilt. Therefore, from the first step of this inquiry, the force of the ikhs manifests itself. And, simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture, comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent performance, at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organization of the patres or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impression asserts itself that, if the ikhs is a cadre essential for an understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its fundamental structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its continuity in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og.
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Ali, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Ali, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Ali.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131
634
613
[217]
[127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101
634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133
101
634
[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Abdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. 166 619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-634 619 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 619 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

[Idma]

/46 cont./

remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded. It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili, at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu. It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there. A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Ijgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there, to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[24] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

/51 cont./ The
133 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
101 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
634 "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[487] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[176] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 10 634 [172] [361] old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt, picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida, prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one penetrates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, obstructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moresz from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

133 172 634 [103] [195]

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 184 101 634 361 101 634 619

The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

[776] [778]

133 101 634

The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talâint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[139] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal site, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the 634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to 175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a 726 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied 619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
[241] on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets, risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wan. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taazzuzt, Tassebait, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^{c}wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
•634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
[137] The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Âbdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburlin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[792] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadirr there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
[167] see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)
175

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/60 cont./

174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only
174 thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the
175 realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an
619 unhoped-for richness.

634 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins.
128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ-
613 ent ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi-
173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
[101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

• 634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/63 cont./

166 /footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1903, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamès, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 829 [634] [521] They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
634
632
613
621
173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction [167] turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil- [175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 173 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread 619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Abdella, whose history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost [178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of [613] which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
634
621
613
173
166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^{c}). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
634

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[101]
[312]
[142]
[181]

[Ibubanen]

619 634 /67 cont./
[142] [181] pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have
[173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 184 101 619 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present
[648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619 2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173] A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Abdella, is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

634 632 613 166 173 619

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-'Agadir.	Sidi Amer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'aq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Amer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaan.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lasri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Anono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'ajj H'fid', a famous

174
487
619

/74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1),

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

57 634 619

On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619

The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174 175 634

Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

Here now are two documents from annals.

175 [619]

The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal. The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits. After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original source/:

175 539 619

"their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 726 619

The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs follows.

At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâfd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[176] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It is divided as follows:

619
634
632
613
621
173
103

Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
	a. Daud.	a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Bessebâ^c is found in a. Âbdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Bessebâ^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Bessebâ^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebâ^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 princ had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Âbdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Âbdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/111 cont./
246 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
●634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
675 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	Tasa. Fensu.	Amerdul. Aziwal.	March-July. --	Custom of the talddrar.
Iguntar. a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur. Anchkrir. Tasselli. The ensemble.	Tasila. Inraren Z'dinin. Tameksut. Afuzar.	-- -- -- --	

221
233
241
[634]

This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called
648 transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A [634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyan from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by [571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^cqil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were [171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political
221 structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of
233 flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to
171 the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations,
233 plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the
571 whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm
634 basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing
648 the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the
619 Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present
634 division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
[571] Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[137] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
241 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
796 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
619 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
634 source./
184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chîb. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the ir-
[525] rigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried
[782] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood
[787] runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-
[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general
[784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period re-
puted to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as
[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the
linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo: jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.

[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

• 634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these

241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that

796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a. Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
634 the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
[184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[954] Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/154 cont//

312 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in
613 space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time
423 and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ᶜaçr to ᶜaçr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Abdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekch-
[634] chut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merry-making that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/176 cont./

000 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Once there was a child who went out each day. And the first object that he looked at, he became this object; the sprouts of the fields, in April and May, became a part of him, the sprouts of winter grain and those of the bright yellow maize ..." (1).

1. Walt Whitman.

But, beyond the field, there is the mountain. The grandeur of the cadre discourages all mediocrity. The narrowness of the canton forces man to adventure. But let us not go on imagining these contrasted feelings. Later, perhaps, people from here will write a literature of escape, the very one that the barbarian scholar and the emigrant worker now live in their fashion...

/177/ IV. Some Analyses of Grounds

A) Montagnard classicism: the ait Mh'nd

312 [634] /All of Chapter IV is in small type in the original source./ The a. Mh'nd, with Iguntar, Wanz'id', and Iwulla, are one of the cantons backed up to the abrupt barrier which, to the S., separates the Seksawa world from the Sous. From the escarpment gush perennial waters, though subject to estival diminution. Those of the a. Mh'nd, the most abundant, form a torrent that never dries up, which descends, under the walnut trees, toward Ad'erd'ur, the zaouia of Ammern, and ends up by rejoining the main valley at Tabratjut. Its opening is sometimes difficult, thus below the former village of the a. Irz'z'i, whose name, close to the root rz', "to be broken," has given rise to an etymological pun inspired by the ruiniform aspect of the rock at this place; the a. Irz'z'i, in a struggle with the Idma, are said to have had their village shattered by a miraculous collapse. Farther upstream, almost immediately below the sources, a basin spreads out: this is

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt dur-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

133 (361) [613]

General Characteristics of the Population

634 613 312 (173) It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
	a. Umghar.			One day.
a. Zbayr.	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'oggʷa expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

(613) Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The 634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes 613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure 173 669

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
[177] fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is
133 the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis.
[361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a
312 principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A
613 first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But,
423 although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of
619 ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 619 613 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs [162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 423 242 312 [126] This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

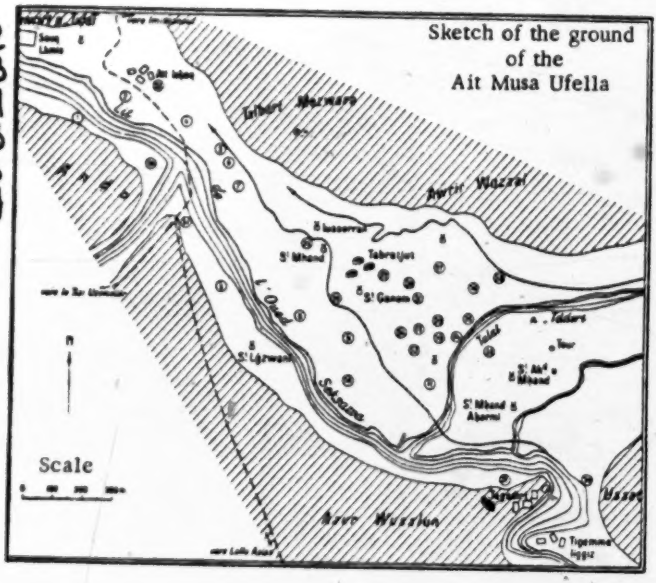


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./

634 613 423 property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s, 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 613 [128] /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51% confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

114
121

/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du IIIe Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000

/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'ah'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-Ibûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-lbûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-lbûr, including the "people [634] of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-lbûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of [634] a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately 423 coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, [172] called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

[443] 4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[171] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchâ^c of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
[613] a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[592] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different

619 634 585 [184] 619 634 671 [186] [184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
823 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the com-
782 munal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way, [784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron in-
[634] herited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeîhat el-Muridîn of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûnî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is necessary (634) in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract. [241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [634] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1). [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

634
619
776
794

/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	2
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1
Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to
782 Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation
[634] starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 Sidi ᶜAmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜAmer, has
[778] his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
[634] that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ᶜAmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that
[776] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
794 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
428 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜAmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
794 inal source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4
[634] villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Chaîb, 4; a. Ekhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/323 cont./
691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source. / An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/." R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 692 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ 175 634 69 There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and [794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous [681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 69 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710, and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/364 cont./

794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all 794 428 these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

671 An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'âchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfâa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634 The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1).

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in [671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428

On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic 681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that 592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, Imud'â, does not correspond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit [621] [634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in [613] an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yalᶜanû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ //The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^ca..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [779] ^corf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

/375 cont./

634 554 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân. On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between (613) ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 634 554 (648) There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been considerable. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple 634 554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/376 cont./

634 repairs of the séquias, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality
554 offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166 Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose pre-
[681] valence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the moqaddem": so much fine, man idda°a bichibha wa ta^c arrad'a illâ bi-muchawarat il-muqaddam. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed.

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the moqaddem is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the moqaddem can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the jemâa is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the moqaddem or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the jemâa, illa bi-muchâwarat il-jamâ^c a".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the com[illegible]he looked for in the application of punishment gives way [illegible] discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^{c}a and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[794] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
[693] which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/378 cont./

451
634
652

Credit	Nature of the operation	Debit	Nature of the operation
	A) In cash		
12 m 4 o	Remitted by the taqbilt.	60 o, 1/2 mu	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Amount of the present of condolences made by the jemâa of the Idaw Mçat't'og and the Idaw Kais.	3 uj	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
		57 o	"Bled Lebda," Idaw Mçat't'og and Idaw Kais.
9 o	Amount of a present of condolences.	45 o	Price of sheep remitted to Lah'sen b. Ah'med and Moh'ammed b. Messâud of Tamarwut, that is, 30 o + 15 o.
9 o	Price of a sheep slaughtered for the jemâa and reimbursed to the moqaddem.		
9 o 1 mu	Amount of the condolences of the Mentaga.	4 uj	Partial reimbursement to Lah'sen u Ah'med. This sum represents part of the debts that the taqbilt owes.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the granddaughter of the a. Buzid of Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the daughter of Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed of Agersif at the time of his return to the mosque of Asif Leh'lu.
Total: 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		Total: 16 m, 8 o, 1.5 mu, 7 uj.	

/379/

B) Fiduciary operations

451
634
652

4 o	Price of a sheep.	20 o	Price of sheep of dhbîh'a and sum remitted to the women.
3 o	—		
7 o	—		
5 uj	Loan to an old man.		
5 uj	Loan to an old man.	60 o, 1 mu	Gift given to Sidi H'asan, one of the sons of the a. Ben Nâçer.
11 mu, 2 fl	Price of sheepskins.		
10 o	Loan to Âbdallah u Març	6 o, 1/2 mu	Gift given to the Ulad Sidi Muh'.
		3 o	Sum spent by the moqaddem (?).
		9 o	Sum remitted to Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, that is, the price of three sheep.
		6 o	Sum remitted to Lah'sen Kâbûs as reimbursement.
		30 o	Gift to the marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ᶜAyâd of the Sous.
		4 o, 1/2 mu	Sum remitted by Âbdellah b. Ah'med u Març to Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
Total: 24 o, 10 uj, 11 mu, 2 fl		Total: 138 o, 2 mu	

Recapitulation of the credit: 18 m, 9 o, etc.
Recapitulation of the debit : 30 m, 6 o, etc.
Balance: — 11 m, 7 o, etc.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

/418 cont./
çoff, leff (1).

103
182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634]
[619]

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171
103

An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/420 cont./

000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ᶜaçabiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1);

> 1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

619 634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of [613] the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, them- [423] selves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a [177] makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/422 cont./

619 634 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. [613] Within the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. [631] It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. [616] It has justly been noted that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

619
634

/422 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not the only anomaly of these names, of which a philological study -- perhaps impossible, it is true -- has not yet been done.

/423/ This coming and going between expansions and particularizations is observed even in our day. To each change of dimension corresponds a change of register. More profoundly than the debate between the jemâa and the caid, democracy and personal power, a debate that often accompanies it, this variation of social rhythms connected to the geographical dimensions of the group is revelatory of the life of these societies. The political game here is only superficial. Or rather the politics of the great chiefs of the Atlas succeeded only by a constant adaptation to these differences of level. It is thus that in his khoms of origin, the Idaw Talilt, the great Âbdelmalek Mtuggi is only an amghar, the first among his peers. At the echelon of the Mtugga, he is a patriarchal centralizer. At the echelon of the ensemble of dependent tribes, a cunning and authoritarian exploiter. His appetites must nevertheless reckon with the local transactional necessities of the minor amghar-s, his vassals at the echelon of the Moroccan South, and almost the entire country, courtier or rebel, he even rises to international intrigue. But the political weight that he throws about in a word amounts to the fidelity of his own jemâa.

A life like that of Âbdelmalek has run over the clavier of Maghrebi morphologies from top to bottom. It infinitely goes beyond our cadre. Only the attentive examination of the cases at hand would be able, for such and such a political unit, to cast the accent on one or the other of these movements as having the most influence upon its contexture. For there has been movement, and, throughout the course of history, dilation or contraction of the local cadres. The essential perhaps consequently lies in the correspondences exceeding the narrow limits. And if the present chapter has attempted to set up, in all its value as explicative criterion, the cantonal taqbilt, the precariousness and, on the

/423 cont./

619 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodo-
●634 logical import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/ III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616
121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121
171
616
114

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

/426 cont./

616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghŏrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifern, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

/427 cont./

616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2),

2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

/428 cont./
616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
121 one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

/436 cont./

000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds.
[171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together
182 the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This
[695] proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small
634 taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions
578 without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects,
[613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

619 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the
634 Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the taqbil obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship, initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling
[616] of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal?
000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

/437 cont./

000 "tribe," the ᶜarch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ᶜarch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ᶜarch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an [619] aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the [634] Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

M1 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

/439 cont./

000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

/440/ Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

/442 cont./

Recourse To the External and
To the Transcendent

619 634 182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

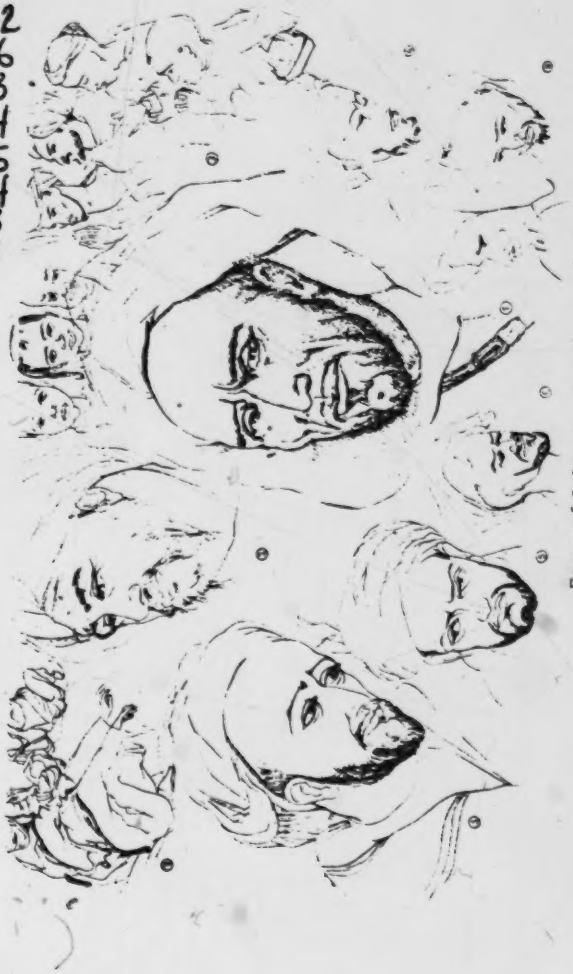
1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142
291
302
516
533
534
535
554
613
634



Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

(Cl. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

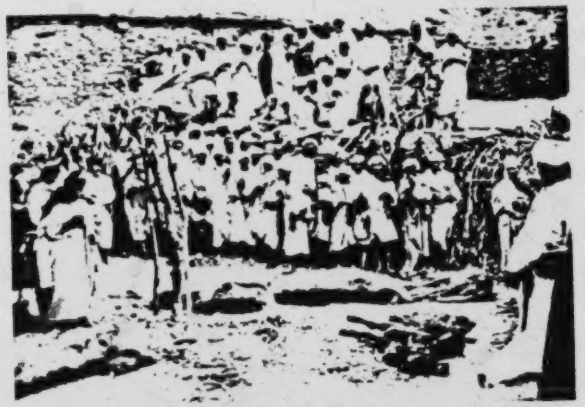
133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796



Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (cl. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(cl. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

632
634
621
623

Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas' agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

634

[For general information on the political structure of the Shluh canton (taqbilt), including specific data on the district councils and heads of the "state" -- the amghar and moquaddem -- see Category 116, pp. 17, 48-49, 154, 160-162, 166-174, 177-182, 190-192, 196-221, 236-249, 253-260, 265, 267, 271, 292-293, 296-317, 330-332, 337-343, 350, 353, 357-386, 394-435, 439-441, 445, 449-465, 468-470, 490-492, 499, 502-516, 521-522, 530, and 534.]

/251 cont./

443 625 685 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, 443 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitu- •634 tions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of im- 554 posing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty 692 and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The 685 existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas *634 succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on 792 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the 784 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more- [778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agâdir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, 634 customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages [619] because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") [192] used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and [114] Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or 634 three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics:

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor, is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great [166] internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe 634 (589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor 613 lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe 166 (559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154). 634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16). 619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222). 623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224). 621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village
621 customarily has its own representative council composed of repre-
623 sentatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is
635 equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus
634 the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el 'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils commonly meet at district or tribal market places. 623 634 366 368 635

b. *Function*

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive, 623 635 634

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

623 legislative, and judicial functions. The council concerns itself with
635 the maintainance of internal equilibrium between individuals by
634 dispensing and enforcing the customary law, modifying it if necessary; maintains relations with outside groups, and conducts wars against them; administers the communal institutions (mosque, saints' tombs, mosque school, communal granary and cemetery, and irrigation system); distributes water according to the local pattern of water rights; administers and distributes communal lands both for purposes of agriculture and grazing; fixes the schedule for agricultural operations or nomadic or transhumant migration; and in some cases also manages the local market (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-109, 112-114; Deverdun, 1942, p. 307; Doutté, 1905; Hart, 1954, pp. 65-66; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33; Laoust, 1934, pp. 140-146; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 14-15).

The *jemaa* generally carries out its functions by appointing or electing executors of various sorts and delegating power and authority to these individuals. The most important of these is the president of the council itself, known as an *amghar* or *sheikh* if head of a district or tribal council, and otherwise as a *moqaddem*. Other functionaries include the administrator of communal labor (particularly on irrigation projects), the administrator or distributor of water, the communal policeman, the religious teacher, and specialists in the administration of customary law (known as *anezzarfou*, pl., *inezzourfa*), though the council reserves the power to revise and modify this legal code (Berque, 1955, pp. 107, 112; Hart, 1954, p. 65; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 14).

671 c. *Customary Law*

Traditionally, all disputes among the Berbers, both of a civil or criminal nature, were settled through reference to traditional customary law (*azrif*), which was largely uncodified and showed slight variations from tribe to tribe. Although replaced among the plains populations by the Moslem *Shari'a*, Berber customary law is still functional in civil cases throughout the Middle and High Atlas (1957), partly through French intervention on its behalf (Coudino, 1942, p. 431; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 230-231).

The local and communal aspects of the *azrif* are known variously

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
• 634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups [701]
it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of office, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171
lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628
teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

102
571
616
• 634
635

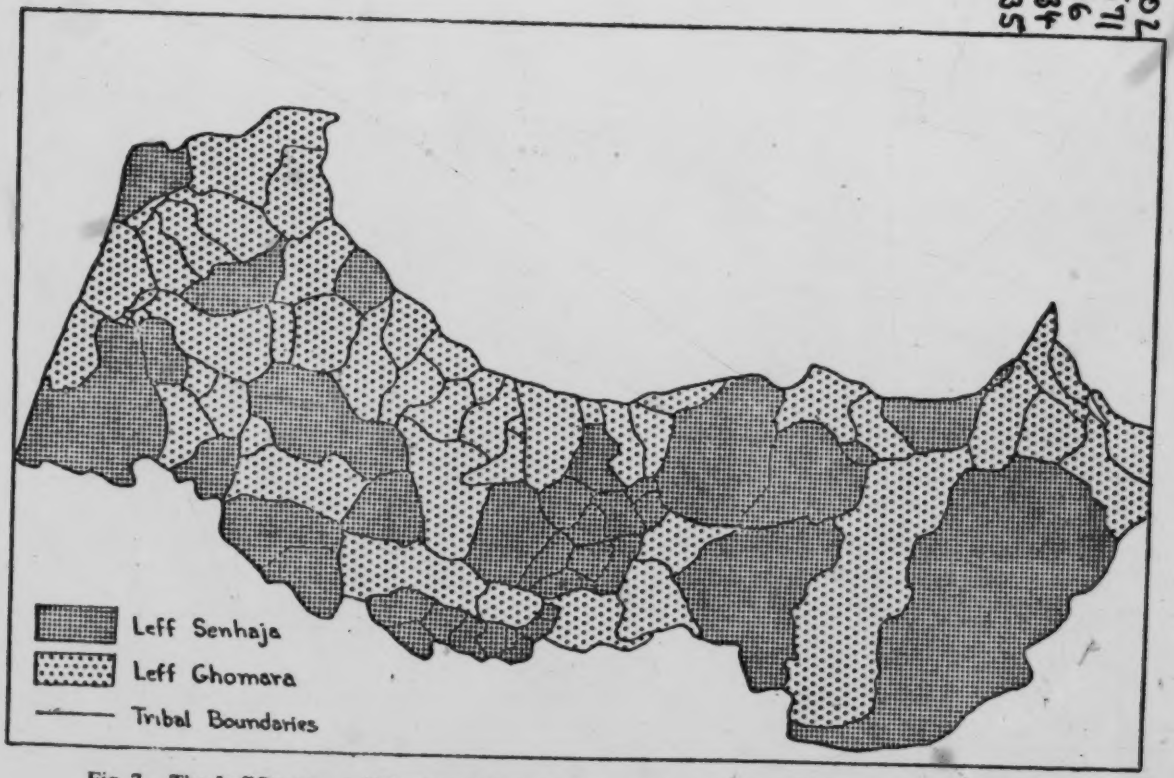


Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however. 613 621 114 596 613 621 634 635

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, 623
Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of 634
superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are 635
designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic [171]
ejjemaa. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer [192]
to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest 621
groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* 623
inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "not- [554]
able" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired autho- [561]
rity, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 000
96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 621 623 635 634 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village customarily has its own representative council composed of representatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el 'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils commonly meet at district or tribal market places. 623 634 366 368 635

b. *Function*

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive, 623 635 634

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

623 legislative, and judicial functions. The council concerns itself with
635 the maintainance of internal equilibrium between individuals by
634 dispensing and enforcing the customary law, modifying it if necessary; maintains relations with outside groups, and conducts wars against them; administers the communal institutions (mosque, saints' tombs, mosque school, communal granary and cemetery, and irrigation system); distributes water according to the local pattern of water rights; administers and distributes communal lands both for purposes of agriculture and grazing; fixes the schedule for agricultural operations or nomadic or transhumant migration, and in some cases also manages the local market (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-109, 112-114; Deverdun, 1942, p. 307; Doutté, 1905; Hart, 1954, pp. 65-66; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33; Laoust, 1934, pp. 140-146; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 14-15).

The *jemaa* generally carries out its functions by appointing or electing executors of various sorts and delegating power and authority to these individuals. The most important of these is the president of the council itself, known as an *amghar* or *sheikh* if head of a district or tribal council, and otherwise as a *moqaddem*. Other functionaries include the administrator of communal labor (particularly on irrigation projects), the administrator or distributor of water, the communal policeman, the religious teacher, and specialists in the administration of customary law (known as *anezzarfou*, pl., *inezzourfa*), though the council reserves the power to revise and modify this legal code (Berque, 1955, pp. 107, 112; Hart, 1954, p. 65; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 14).

671 c. *Customary Law*

Traditionally, all disputes among the Berbers, both of a civil or criminal nature, were settled through reference to traditional customary law (*azrif*), which was largely uncodified and showed slight variations from tribe to tribe. Although replaced among the plains populations by the Moslem *Shari'a*, Berber customary law is still functional in civil cases throughout the Middle and High Atlas (1957), partly through French intervention on its behalf (Coudino, 1942, p. 431; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 230-231).

The local and communal aspects of the *azrif* are known variously

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [6] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n* [191] *l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups [701]
it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of office, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate 635 •
completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally 554
in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the sehedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority [701] to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; [72] together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibilities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, [623] as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, ooo
qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

635 631 669 175 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture- 171
lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they charac- 628
teristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

102
571
616
634
635

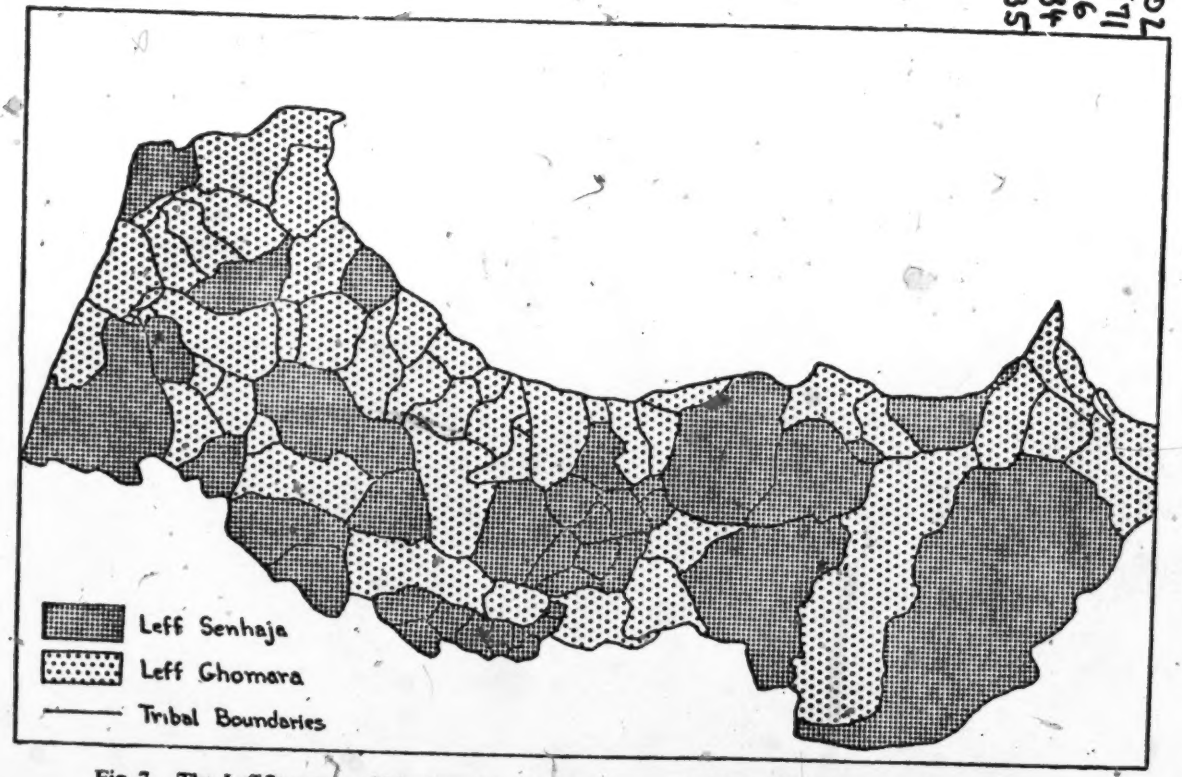


Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171] [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [591] [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

609 /245 cont./
574
[344]
[485]

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert. Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners. Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

*[634]
[162]
609
57
556
563
[672]
[464]
609
641
563

When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

609
166
*634
563

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

[For information on Shluh confederations (and super-confederations), made up of a number of neighboring tribes, see category 631.]

/41 cont./

342 184 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir; or in the mountains, in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political [642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth [789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open [414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse. [592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

/137 cont./

114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" ap-
*634 peared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
-642 authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, dis-
619 tricts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic re-
gime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /188/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some,
[184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/141 cont./

*631 648 Nevertheless, between these two opposed political regimes, -- the government of the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies and the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- intermediate forms were often born in the least accessible parts of the country in the mountains, the very ones that could, thanks to their distance, escape the too-brutal consequences of the furious struggle between two naturally hostile forces. One then saw emerge the minor chiefs who tried to assemble all the forces of the country remaining free, in order to pit them one last time against the feared domination of the Makhzen. Nearly always, it is true, these champions of independence betrayed the cause that they claimed to serve. Having become masters of tribes, they were able, at the favorable moment, to hurry along an evolution henceforth inevitable and made themselves agents of the central power.

*631 We can indicate the successive stages of the political evolution from then on.

[642] In all the regions screened by distance or difficulty of communications from the direct action of the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the democratic or oligarchic republican organization is here, as in all North Africa, the form of government spontaneously chosen by the Berbère /Berber/ communites; still the power of tradition is not so great that one does not see appear sometimes, by means of struggles of families, a still precarious and ephemeral personal power.

*634 When circumstances are favorable, the "amghar" who has succeeded in elevating himself above the notables of his small canton manages to consolidate what de Foucauld happily called "a despotic power." Most often it is by means of war that the chief thus rising increases his power, just as it is by the assassination of his rivals that he founded it. He soon succeeds in constituting in the middle of republican tribes a veritable little state that he governs as he pleases. Two roads then present themselves [648] to the victorious amghar; he can remain /142/ the champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence and extend further, by an adroit protectorate, his influence over the neighboring republics;

/142 cont./

*634 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transforma-
*631 tion. The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intel-
177 ligence of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions, the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/ world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied,
*634 less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the
*631 oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all made up in an identical way, the representation of the families
177 is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the com-
642 mand, is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment of personal power. Likewise, when the little states of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for the new master. These frequent differences between the small local constitutions have great importance; it is through them that is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality, of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover, of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*631 It remains no less certain that the great political-regime
178 transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary,
177 succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makh-
642 zan/. It is the existence of these general movements that justifies, in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 /143 cont./
*642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Sraïr, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
121 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
648 dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs, dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until /145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
*631 of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the internal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
• [642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[578] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./

*631 121 [178] shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of centuries, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Morocco underwent several times. In a still more general way, the *631 121 171 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spectacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 121 178 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see •642 in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover, *634 thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

*631 [174] /168 cont./
conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619

[796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

000 /267/

Book III
The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

/Page 268 is blank./

/269/

First Chapter
The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of 642 the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At *634 other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the 198

/269 cont./

•642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/281 cont./

175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the Aït arbaᶜin come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
•642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the Aït arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "mouda" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and Aït Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/281 cont./

*634 .642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
•642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/290 cont./

*634 [616] actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts necessary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When [178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaʿin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up [726] the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true, [642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 642 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/291 cont./

*634 .642 notable charged with representing his brothers. The tribal council even deliberates sometimes in public; but the decision has been prepared in the amghar's house and the tribe conforms to it exactly. The distribution of the profits of justice, of which the notables collect no more than a very small part, shows that all authority is concentrated in the hands of Bou Naga.

*634 *631 [642] But even in this case the concern for preserving the appearance of an assembly, whose presence itself is obligatory when the entire confederation reunites with Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli or at the souq /sook/ el Arbaᶜ of Imouzzer, suffices to show how, in spite of everything, personal power here remains limited by the recollection of the fundamental institutions of the country of the Ida Ou Tanan. If, by a marvel of continuity, the minor amghars of the Aït Tinkert have been able, thanks to family alliances, to the existence of a very powerful clan, to succeed in obtaining and keeping the command of the whole tribe for a century, they have at any rate remained locked within the natural cadre /292/ that this third of the great confederation formed. Even so, they are still subordinate to what the independent Berbères /Berbers/ call jokingly the "Makhzen of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli." Thus, in [619] spite of their power, they remain, like the leff-chief amghars of [671] the Seksawa, subject to the laws of the tribes (1).

1. For some years, the progress of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has manifested itself among the Ida Ou Tanan by a new development of personal power, thanks to the encouragement and external support given to the boldest clan chiefs. ᶜAli Ou Naser, amghar of the Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi ᶜAchao of Isk n Tghazout, and other party chiefs have subjugated by force the chiefs of the neighboring "afous." The artificial character of this movement has undoubtedly further accentuated the latent antagonism between the regime of the Aït arbaᶜin and that of the independent amghars.

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 -642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nineteenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[642] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[175] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of
[669]

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
175 mation of the tribes.
*642
669 The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
178 only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/393/

000

Conclusion
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

121 171 I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- In the various regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, as we have seen in the course of this long study, the same social institutions rule the Masmouda, sequestered in the depths of the remote valleys of the Deren, the inhabitants of the market towns and hamlets that rise on the parched plateaus of the Anti-Atlas, the Jbala and the Riffians in their harsh mountains with peaks crowned with cedars, as well as the Kabyles of Algeria whose villages occupy the summits of the Djurjura like eagles' nests.

In all these regions, separated from one another by immense spaces, men live while obeying the same laws in spite of their diversity of origin and notwithstanding the variety of the conditions of material existence. That they have kept their millenary traditions they owe to the isolation of their territories. The present-day evidence of their institutions has a historic value; they give us the picture of what the Maghreb might have been if the Arab invasions in the East and the formation of the great Empires in the West had not ruined the minuscule states in which the Berbères /Berbers/ like to conceal their activity.

121 * 634 571 171 •[642] Two primordial tendencies determine the political life of the Berbères /Berbers/: in the first place they feel repugnance toward the constitution of a state of some size, they spontaneously organize themselves everywhere into small units whose dimensions do not exceed those of a mere /394/ canton and which are the veritable fatherland for the sedentary peoples; in the second place, by a kind of instinctive genius, the Berbères /Berbers/ form systems of balanced alliances that permit the small autonomous

/394 cont./

121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
121 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
171 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
*634 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the bound-
•642 aries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
121 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
171 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
619 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
*634 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form
578 are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
121 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
171 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*631 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part
*634

643
622

[For information on the "great chiefs" or caids of the Atlas, see category 631.]

643

Shluh MW11

[For information on the "great chiefs" or caids, see category 631.]

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains. [643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping [619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
*[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertain-
666 ment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the con-
527 clusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the
666 tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a can-
[643] didate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two
631 measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the
554 *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

624
644
463
357

Shluh MW11

[For information on the servants, retainers and other personnel of the casbahs of the "great chiefs," see categories 631, 712, and 634.]

646
623

Shluh MW11

[Information on councils at the district or tribal levels will be found in categories 634, 619, and see also 635.]

[Ibubanen]

619
634
[142]
[181]
[173]

/67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634
184
101
619

1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

[648]

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628]

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Idma]

619
173
175
[428]
[731]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

[648]

173
619

His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u Ba'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, 175 except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this 631 order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of 648 Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'âh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. [661] After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./

175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Abdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
651 central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Abdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sqq; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 ●648 221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzûyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible [423] vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that [427] they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/104 cont./

174 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter
648 of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological
221 hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Besseba^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the sys-
[312] tem of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Besseba^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Abdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions
221 is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-
121 mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(631) and the Ud Besseba^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Besseba^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qthra and the Ud Besseba^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Besseba^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171] 1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Bessebâ^c for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Bessebâ[c], Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Bessebâ^c confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^cAbdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Bessebâ^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Bessebâ^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178] [427] [494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-lbûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
171

1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
[312] whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171] 2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
[571] Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[137] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) . . .

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

823 "cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
312 not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construction of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

/149 cont./

312 [648] in the Todgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as perhaps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the distribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know [171] that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical utilization and above all of collective organization what they gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis, being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize successes and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily reach.

/150/ Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert, each being connected to it by its particular "intake," açder or ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary intakes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distribution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open, directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur. ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irrigable by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according [804] to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a certain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211]

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant,
[628] but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

619
[423]
[657] /217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
● 648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat.	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat .	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals . .	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
176 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 (114)

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/375 cont./

634 Fe[illegible]y," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân.
554 On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of
[613] Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
[648] were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been consider-
634 able. The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/433 cont./

000 Present-day Morocco presents a privileged example of these
[648] variations: not so from the Seksawa, since it is a matter of their old allies, the Sofyân (1).

1. Note that the name Sofyân is that of a çoff in the Gourara, cf. E.-F. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, 1910, p. 153.

They have been relegated, as is known, to the hills with heavy soils, ending in a swampy estuary, of the Gharb. They divide this territory with another Arab tribe, the Beni Mâlek. Madly tangled division! In the present terminology, no "fraction" that includes both the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek. And the "douar" itself often makes up the two appurtenances (2).

2. Direct inquiry and Michaux-Bellaire, Le Gharb /The Rharb/, 1913, pp. 325 sq.

On the map, the posting of the latter in two hues figures a check pattern, something absolutely similar to what has elsewhere been called the "chessboard of the leff-s." Only here the genetic fiction has acted fully. One does not refer to parties or leagues, but to two tribes. There the difficulties begin. Only the Sofyân have a history (3).

3. Well known by G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, 1913, cf. index.

Nothing tells us about Beni Mâlek before the maraboutic crisis of the sixteenth century. They were then courageous champions and knew, with al-ᶜAyyâchî, their time of preponderance. But no one knows where they are from or where they come from (4).

4. Nevertheless ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. Zaydân, Ith'âf, 1929, t. I, p. 171, placed them already

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.

[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
133 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
361 Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
[226] cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who
648 were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the
[439] feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took
648 place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long
133 waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the
177 beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mus-
182 sulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province
361 of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/35 cont./

*175 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have
167 thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in
174 regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, set-
101 tled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït ᶜAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohe-
*175 sion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan
.648 South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do
[101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
• 648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*63 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/122 cont./

*631 159 Moreover, his influence is exerted well beyond the boundaries of his fief. Thanks to his cleverness, to his deep knowledge of all the intrigues, he makes himself heard by all the independent minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the region of the high summits. His friendships suffice for him to make security prevail on the trails of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Atlas. Finally, by means of his alliances with the Arabs of the plain of the North, old Mtouggi maintains valuable relations with the other Ma^c^qil tribes remaining in the Sous and the Sahara. Wary, prudent, even crafty, master in the art of intrigue, he is adept at double dealing, but resolute also when it is necessary, /123/ most often pitiless; his name is feared and respected in all the tribes of the western Atlas.

*631 •648 On the rough coast of the Ocean, the old confederation of the Haha, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for centuries, closely controlled at present by our "bureaux" /offices/, it, too, formerly knew the organization of the great commands. At the time of our conquest, two powerful lords were fiercely contesting for power there: Mohammed Anflous was governing the tribes of the North, and ^c^Abd er-Rahman Gellouli those of the South. Won over to France for a time, these two enemy chiefs became reconciled in order to betray us; defeated and put to flight by our troops, they had to make way for minor kaids without true strength, who at present hold all their authority from the investiture of the Sultan.

*631 159 These two great kaids of the Haha, who disappeared at the time of our arrival in the Moroccan South, had themselves shared the political legacy of the great chief that El Hajj ^c^Abdallah ou Bihi was. The lowliest shepherd still knows his name and successes, and the poets have not ceased to sing his glory. Originating from the Ait Zelten, ^c^Abdallah ou Bihi had, as we said, led all his tribes in the name of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to the conquest of the Anti-Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 142.

/127 cont./
*631 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
*634 to be very violent" (1).
[72]
[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

/129 cont./

*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
[361] some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their in-
[131] dependence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have re-
tained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it
forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the
will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
[178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected
from external influences in the most mountainous region; they
have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables,
who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to
rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice through-
out the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to
settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for
at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of
"amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal
to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit
foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South
is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves
as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten,
sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority
is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
• [648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, ad-
ministered through our good offices, whose trails today advance
as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They
seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless
this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest
old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the
South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independ-
ence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend
them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the
Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït
Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the in-
*631 fluence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*634 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the Aït ʿAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the tra-
[178] ditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaʿin" and the "moqaddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648]

1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
[669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of resistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

121 /140 cont./

128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent.
[726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was
*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-
•648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/141 cont./

*631 648 Nevertheless, between these two opposed political regimes, -- the government of the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies and the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- intermediate forms were often born in the least accessible parts of the country in the mountains, the very ones that could, thanks to their distance, escape the too-brutal consequences of the furious struggle between two naturally hostile forces. One then saw emerge the minor chiefs who tried to assemble all the forces of the country remaining free, in order to pit them one last time against the feared domination of the Makhzen. Nearly always, it is true, these champions of independence betrayed the cause that they claimed to serve. Having become masters of tribes, they were able, at the favorable moment, to hurry along an evolution henceforth inevitable and made themselves agents of the central power.

*631 We can indicate the successive stages of the political evolution from then on.

[642] In all the regions screened by distance or difficulty of communications from the direct action of the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the democratic or oligarchic republican organization is here, as in all North Africa, the form of government spontaneously chosen by the Berbère /Berber/ communites; still the power of tradition is not so great that one does not see appear sometimes, by means of struggles of families, a still precarious and ephemeral personal power.

*634 When circumstances are favorable, the "amghar" who has succeeded in elevating himself above the notables of his small canton manages to consolidate what de Foucauld happily called "a despotic power." Most often it is by means of war that the chief thus rising increases his power, just as it is by the assassination of his rivals that he founded it. He soon succeeds in constituting in the middle of republican tribes a veritable little state that he governs as he pleases. Two roads then present themselves [648] to the victorious amghar; he can remain /142/ the champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence and extend further, by an adroit protectorate, his influence over the neighboring republics;

/142 cont./

*634 .648 sometimes, on the other hand, circumstances counsel him, through prudence or ambition, to put his force at the service of the Sultan and to make himself the agent of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

In this last case, having become a kaid in his turn, the Berbère /Berber/ chief meets with the other chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/, who have set out from the foot of the mountains or important cols for the conquest of independent or autonomous tribes. Allies or enemies, there they are, henceforth involved in the same intrigues, whatever their origin might be; they argue in the 'Azaghar over possession of the rich tribes and vie at the "Dar el Makhzen" in order to obtain the favor of the Sultan and his court. Later they will grow still more important and try to direct sherifian policy for their profit.

*634 177 But at the same time, mixing with the Arab kaids of the plains, the Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains, sons of the independent amghars of the high valleys, will hasten to forget the recent usages of their tribes that they had kept and will apply themselves in every detail to living and thinking as is done in the cities by the high personages whose friendship they seek or whose position they covet. Thus they will enter still more completely into the tradition of the Empire. As a natural consequence of this spirit of imitation, the exercise of their power tends to become similar to that of the chiefs of regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for several centuries; the more so as the final ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions has already made the mountain tribes of the Masmouda, formerly so attached to their customs, almost identical in appearance to those of the Gharb /Rharb/ or of the Atlantic plains: disorganized mass of ruined cultivators, bent over their lands, who know their masters only in order to pay the tax to them, and whose sole hope is that of the next rebellion upon the death of the Sultan.

*[631] Doubtless the evolution whose broad features we are indicating here does not proceed everywhere according to the same regular progression; rapid conquests or, on the contrary, obstinate

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
121 land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
*631 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
• 648 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the middle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all the former cadrés are broken; having arrived at this degree of submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs, dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until /145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
*631 of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the internal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[578] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

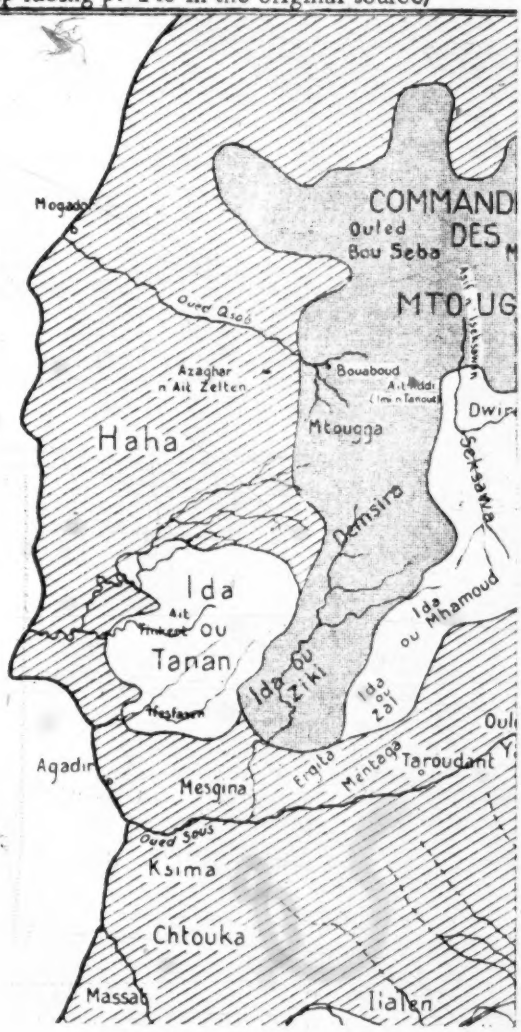
101
102
131
133
631
619
648

P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

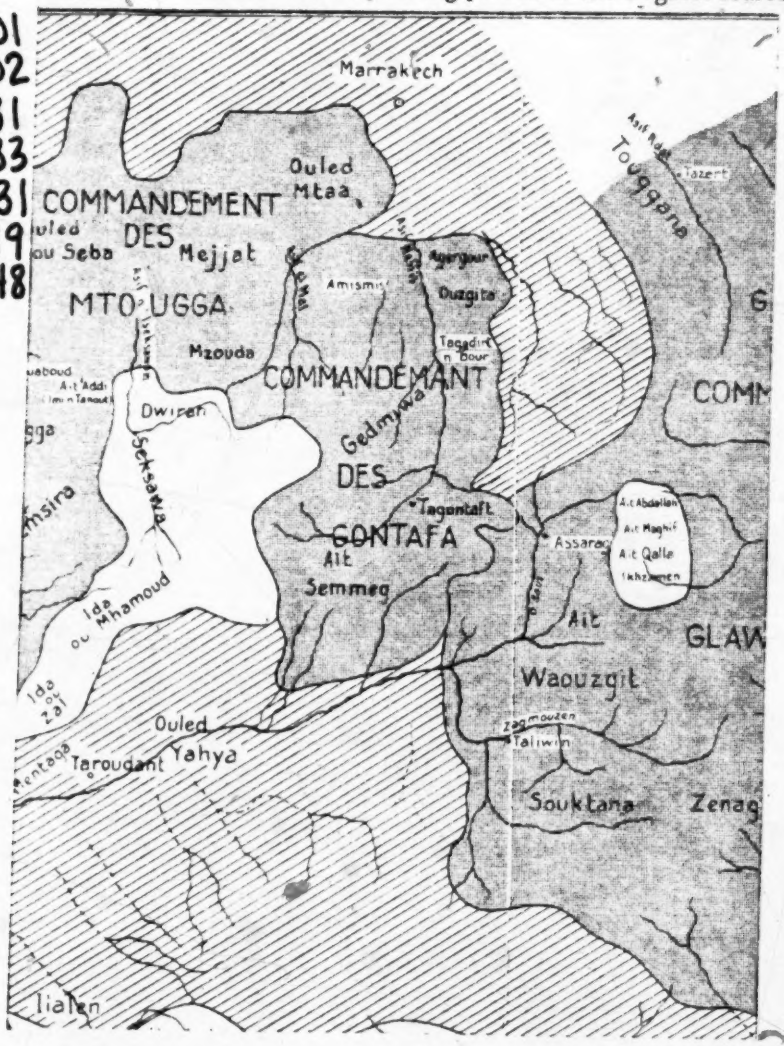
101
102
131
133
*631
619
• 648



2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

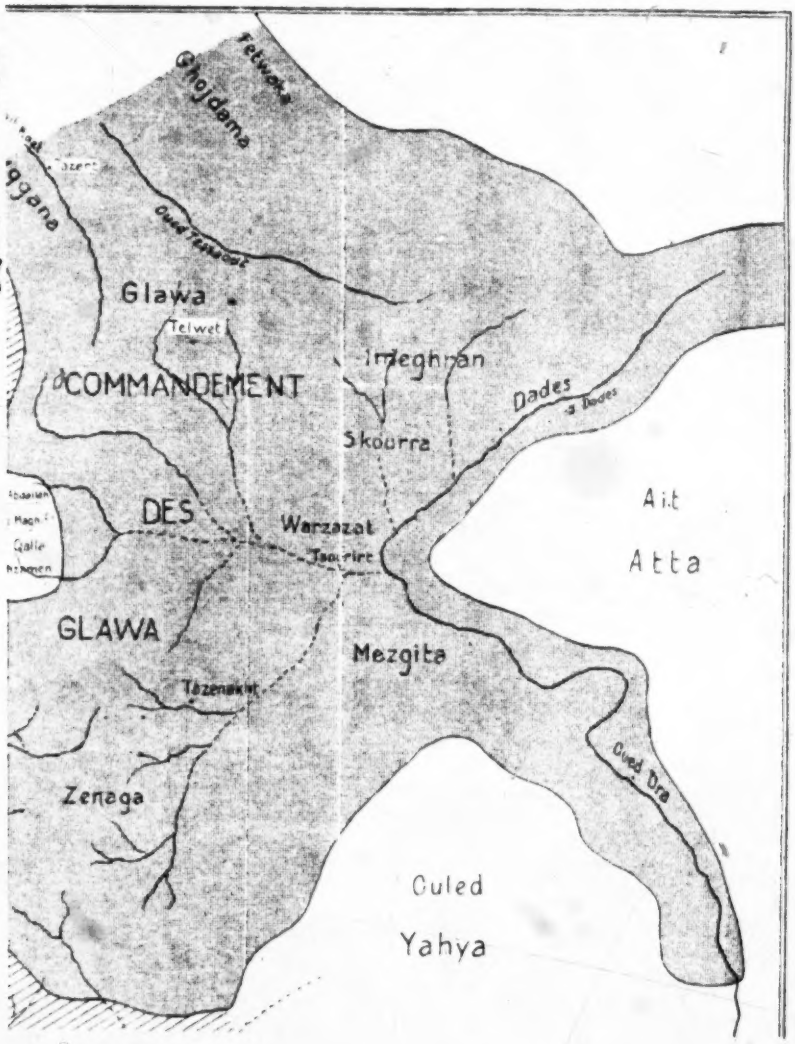
101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

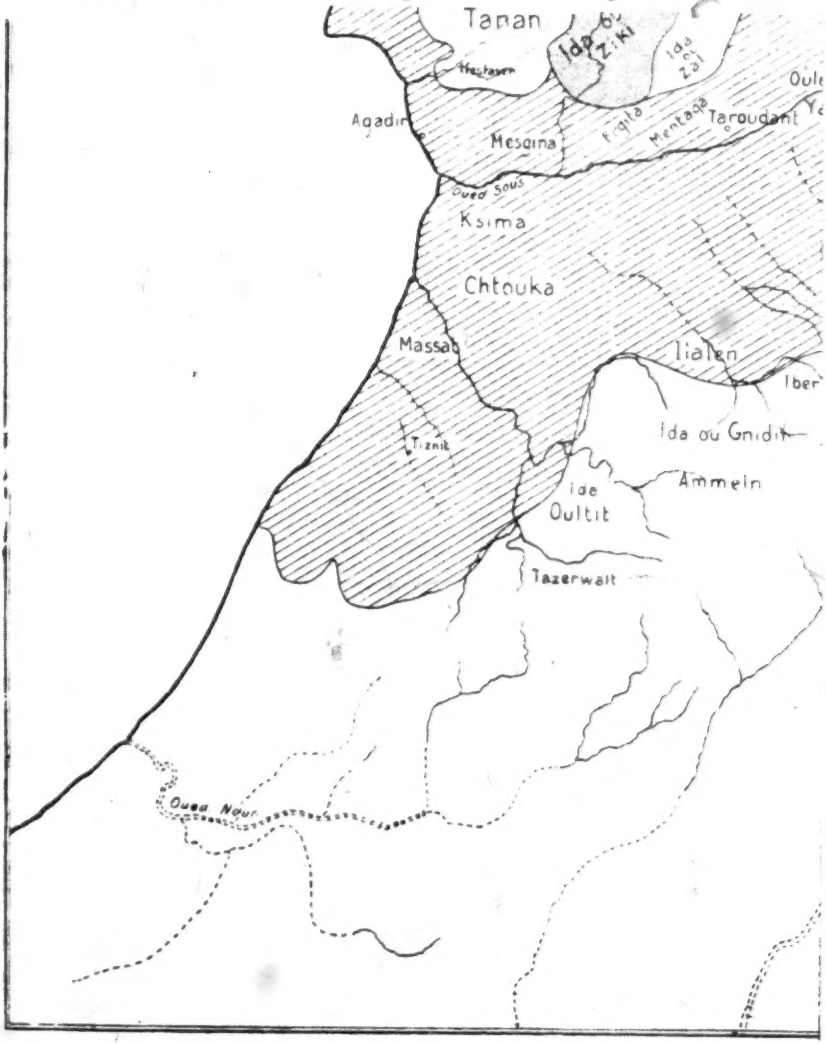
101
102
131
133
*631
619
•648



2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

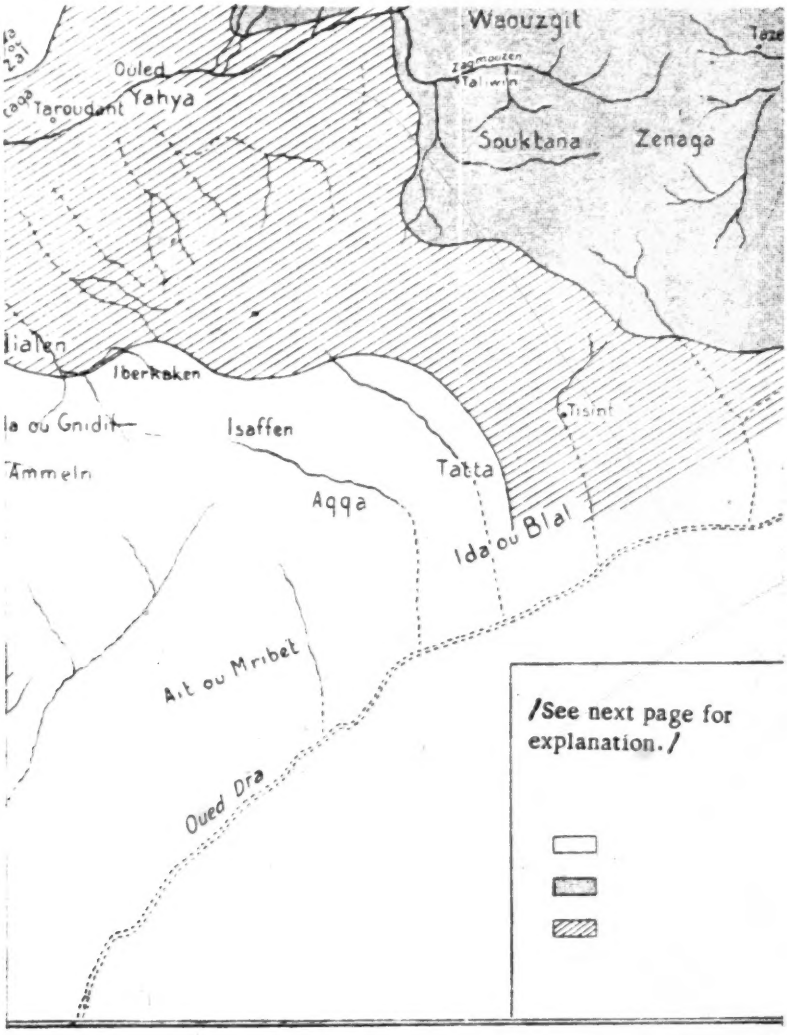
/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
619
●648



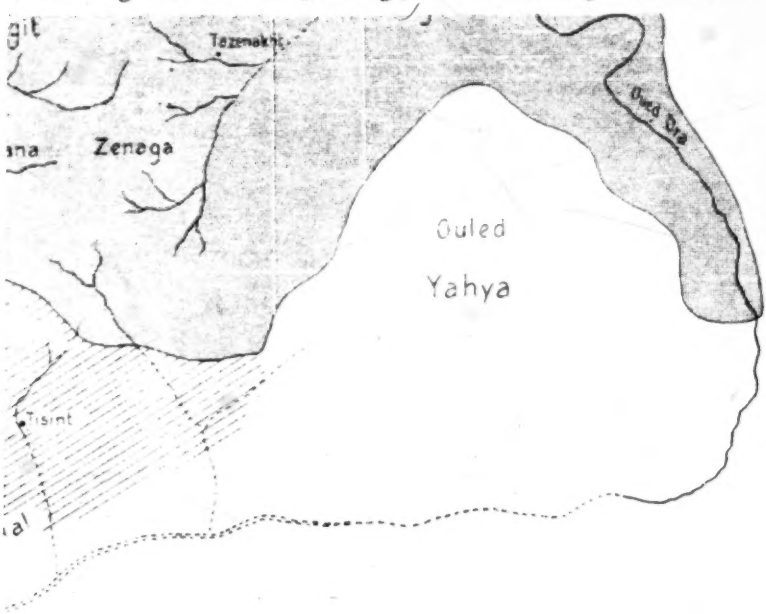
/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

101
102
131
133
*631
619
648



The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

*631 /168 cont./
[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through
• [648] the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger
[792] the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas,
[642] a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains
*631 and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal
619 rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the
[796] patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives
[692] in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

616 /193 cont./
619
131

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Aït Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that
619 the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and
131 of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and
648 that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619
648
[131]
long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposition of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
619 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
• 648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[173] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 619 648 175 [173] of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him contingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 578 174 [184] XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances. In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 174 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Ma'qil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
*634 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
616 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
701 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one.
726 Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
• [648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

/232 cont./

*634 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with
•648 the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids
[651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional
[431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the
578 small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas
726 is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord
628 and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Ait ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Ait ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/." Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/262 cont./

121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2),

2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
178 cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still know who the Aït Arba^{c}in were, who at each siba revived the former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas," the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
• [648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate and by the economic transformation that has been taking place for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life. The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when /263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

/286 cont./

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
*634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
• [648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
[712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries, and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the "Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/287 cont./

175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
-648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
*634 Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs, intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

[177] But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20 years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
*634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15 years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913, the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors, by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him, ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 619 [648] /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradition attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different

*634 619 178 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz, who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 619 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime, a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal families, then more important personages who form a kind of senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to

*634 619 578 [613] whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal ambitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase. When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in importance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere, one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions

[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his
*634 authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of the "A'lt Iraten" in order to conquer the "A'lt Atman" of the val-
*634 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
616 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).
726

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n A'lt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "A'lt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "Aït
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
•648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.
*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "Aït Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "Aït Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "Aït Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the Aït Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "Aït Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "Aït Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "Aït Iraten" and "Aït Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

•648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/304 cont./

175 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
159 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
*634 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*648 of kaid.

*631 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
726 kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
•648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /mahzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
159
554
[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

[178]

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
*631 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the
159

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
• [648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the
[776] summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general confusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwomsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his
[648] heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters *631 of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, domi- [616] nated the cantons of both leffs. In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, [648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
•648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/317 cont./

*634 remains constrained to enter the service of the great kaid nearby
*631 or of the caliphates of the Sultan; this was done by El Hajj Hafid
*648 of the Idma and by the heads of the family of the Aït Bacha of Taberbourt, in the tribe of the Aït /318/ Semmeg, who went into the service of the Gontafi; and the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont, who rallied to the pasha of Taroudant, to the Mtouggi, and to the Gontafi (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 371.

*634 For the amghar to succeed in freeing himself and fully using
616 his liberty, he must, on the contrary, succeed in dominating at the same time the two leffs of the mountains, whether he incorporates the enemy cantons into his command by main strength or whether his independent attitude toward the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the parts of the country remaining mistresses of their fate makes him the defender of liberty. Moreover, he often attains this goal only imperfectly, whatever may be the energy or cleverness displayed. Sometimes the amghar stays bound, in spite of his efforts, to his first alliances; his domination is exercised successfully, thanks to his strength, on the fractions of the adverse leff, but it lacks solidity and disappears as soon as he weakens; soon no more than his own leff, diminished by defeats or political mistakes, remains to him; such was the situation of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, at Adasil of the Ind Maghous, and of his successors named kaids by the Sultan. But other chiefs, such as El Hajj Moulid of the Aït Haddiyous, develop easily in the midst of political divisions for which they become the arbitrators. Nevertheless their resources still remain insufficient to permit them to escape all the traditional rules. The strongest, like Si Mokhtar Seksawi and the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, are the ones who take over the fractions of the enemy leff, after having killed the hostile amghars and confiscating their property; they put the inhabitants to flight and build their houses in these lands of conquest, which become what we have sometimes called their "fiefs." By these means they acquire possession of

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened [648] from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./

*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
.648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does
not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance,
he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi
cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids
without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
178 ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the
forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his
power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
*631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
*[634] dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/325 cont./

*634 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see
•648 the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his
178 tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III
The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa), -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one
*631 could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the en-
128 deavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued
*631 in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./

121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
128 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
175 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs. Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.

175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the
•[648] vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment; they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

/328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but
• [648] uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
175 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*631 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
*634 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
159 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
616 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an
726 amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

The favor of the
175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
•[648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader, charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
*631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
[648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Actually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ʿAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
175 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
(1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
*631 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
578 of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha.

/333 cont./

175 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the
*631 Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el
726 Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar
*631 Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as
648 well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the
*631 kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of
*631 the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi,
648 Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

/334 cont./

175 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on
*631 guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is
.648 resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1):

> 1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

121 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the
*631 Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
*631 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
•648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*634 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
726 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
648 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
726 "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
•[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/337 cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
•648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
[912] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
*631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
578 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi, chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Marrakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of collecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his elevated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marrakech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz. His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/.

/339 cont./

175 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself
*631 the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the
726 minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

175 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of
*631 the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez
648 during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani,
726 followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

175 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/
*631 the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have
648 had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/340 cont./

175 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the
*631 Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c,
•648 Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa,
619 Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal, Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

*[634]

1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of ^cAbd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
•648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remaining at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/ formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
•648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
•[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
175 mation of the tribes.
642
669 The masters of the casbahs would actually no. be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
•648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their-

/357 cont./

178 616 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends. Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

[578] * [634] * [631] • [648] Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rivalries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

* 631 * 634 XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the Atlas really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

* 631 178

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 174 171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated [648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

*631 175 .648

/363 cont./

*631 175 .648 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

/365/

600

Chapter IV
Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 178 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/365 cont./

121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
•648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/370 cont./

000 In the history of the South the most important Arab groups who intervened in the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ are the Oulad Mot^{c}a under the Saadians, dispersed, however, by Ahmed el Mansour, at present neighbors of the Gedmiwa; the Menabha, settled both to the west of Marrakech and to the east of Taroudant; the Chebbanat, instruments of the fall of the last of the Saadians and deported in various directions; finally the Chararda, made up of various elements, Zirara, Chebbanat, Oulad Dlim, Tekna, Ida ou Blal, whose last uprisings near Marrakech disturbed the reigns of Moulay Sliman and Moulay ^{c}Abd er Rahman (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. X, p. 86.

These "gich" tribes, forming a kind of military colony distributed around Marrakech, were exempt from the tax and owned their lands by permanent or precarious title. Moreover, they received monthly subsidies, but in all circumstances had to furnish contingents raised by a simple notice from the sultan's representative, who was settled in the casbah of the capital of the South with the title of pasha. Organized into "thousands," "hundreds," or smaller fractions, commanded by military kaids, they took part in all the expeditions necessitated by the re-establishment of order and the recovering of taxes. These Arabs' ties of alliance with their Ma^{c}qil brothers of the Sahara were not without importance for governing the country. Besides, since the sultans repeatedly chose wives among these Arab tribes, their descendants could in numerous circumstances find useful support among their uncles of the desert. The sultan Moulay /371/ ^{c}Abdallah, driven from power several times by rebelling blacks, proved the benefit of this alliance, consistent with the most ancient principles of the Semitic tradition (1).

1. Georges Marçais, Arabes en Berbérie /Arabs in Barbary/, p. 706.

*631 -648 In the same way, the chiefs of the Atlas, among the Haha and the Mtougga, could sometimes, thanks to family unions, call on the

/371 cont./

*631 co-operation of the Howara or of the Arab fractions integrated in-
648 to the Berbère /Berber/ confederation of the Chtouka, and bring the intervention of the Arab tribes into the quarrels of the Berbère tribes of the mountains.

We have mentioned elsewhere the role played by the Arab kaids of the tribes settled to the east of Marrakech in governing the tribes of the South: Rehamna and Segharna were often, until the reign of Moulay el Hasan, in charge of ensuring, on behalf of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the collection of the taxes and carrying out the police circuits on the Saharan versant of the Atlas and in the Dadès and the Haut-Dra (2).

2. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Book III, Ch. III.

648 On the whole, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes proved to be more
619 obstinate about entering the sultan's service in a body. True, we have seen them give all their support to the Saadian shorfa in the Sous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in their capacity as "moujahidin," enemies of the Portuguese, that these shorfa could appeal to the independent tribes of the Anti-Atlas. As soon as their power had taken on the air of royalty and they began to follow the constant rules of the Makhzen in their government, the Berbère /Berber/ contingents of the Anti-Atlas scattered, and the Saadians, doubtless against their will, had to call on the turbulent Arab tribes of the plain of the Haouz. In the same way the Masmouda ranged themselves for a time at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the maraboutic domination of Abou Zakaria, grandson of Sidi Saïd Ou ʿAbd en Naïm, but also abandoned him when he tried to take supreme power in Marrakech.

Among the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the South only the Haha seem to have contributed, especially during the nineteenth century, toward extending and strengthening the sultan's

/371 cont./

648 domination in the Sous plain and over the Dir of the Anti-Atlas
619 (3).

3. It may be that the Skoura, the Mesgita, and the Aït Seddrat, totally or partially Arabized at present, however, formerly played in the Haut-Dra a role analogous to that of the Haha. These tribes are considered in the country as having had former relations with the Makhzen /makhzan/.

648 /372/ Finally, in most of its military expeditions the Makhzen used at all times, in addition to the "gich" and "ʿabid," numerous contingents raised on the spot while passing through the subject tribes. This occasional military service, known in the country by the name of "naiba," was rendered especially by the Haha and the populations of the plains.

000 The organization of sherifian troops on the march has often been described; it is known that a representative of the sultan, generally chosen from among his relatives, is the supreme chief of the "mehalla" and is assisted by a kaid who holds all military authority.

When the sultan himself leads the column, he carries in his train, on the backs of mules, the gold ingots that constitute his treasury, as well as his archives and his most valuable possessions. He might indeed fear that a revolt would strip him of them if he left them behind in one of the towns of his Empire (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 274; Cour, Établissement des Chorfa /Establishment of the Shorfa/, pp. 5 and 92.

III. "The tax circuits." -- The principal use of the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to permit proceeding at any time to collect the tax. It is certainly by that function that the central

/373 cont./

000 Local resistance was overcome either by the effective occupation of villages, pillage, destruction of houses, search for silos, and the /374/ capture of flocks, or by exciting the zeal of the nearby tribes, enemies of the refractory groups and who were thus interested in the profitable collection of the taxes. In all circumstances, the taking of hostages facilitated the definitive settlement of disputes, and the passage of the "mehalla" to a neighboring tribe was obtained after submission and mutual concessions over the sums claimed and offered.

In the subjugated tribes we find settled in the vicinity of the houses of chiefs small groups of Jews who in an indirect manner contribute toward facilitating the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Mixed up in the recovering of the taxes, because they are always ready to advance, sometimes with the money of the kaid himself, the sums claimed from the peasants in the sultan's name, these Jews have played a role, obscure but sometimes important, in the internal life of the tribes. Grouped especially at the foot of the Atlas, at the point where at the same time political action is exercised and where economic transactions multiply, they are often the index of the recent penetration of the Makhzen (1).

1. Other Jews' quarters exist, sometimes in the high mountains in the Atlas (Tifnout, Glawa), but especially in the Anti-Atlas. It may be that there we find ourselves in the presence of the degenerate remains of ancient Judaized Berbère /Berber/ populations. Local traditions often show that these groups were much more numerous in the past and that conversions to Islam obtained by main strength made them disappear.

648 IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- It is easy to find in the detailed account of the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the South of Morocco in the course of the last century the

/374 cont./

•648 application of general principles of the policy with regard to the tribes, which have not ceased to be respected since the time of the Saadians.

The first of these practical rules is mistrust with regard to the Berbères /Berbers/ who inhabit the inaccessible districts: "Beware especially," said Ahmed el Mansour to his son, "of enrolling among the fusiliers the mountain people, who think only of eating well and getting rich; one should not take any at all, for, understand it well, by acting thus it is as if you wanted them not to pay you any more taxes, either now or later" (2).

2. Nezoht el Hadi, Houdas trans., p. 288.

Mohammed Echcheikh el Asghar also had this word sent to Mohammed Ben Echcherif at Sidjilmassa: "Never attack the Berbères /Berbers/ in their mountains; wait until you find an easier way to reach them" (3).

3. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

/375/ There remain then for subjugating the tribes the combatants raised in the plains of the Sous, the Dra, or the Azaghar of Marrakech. Most are Arabs whose loyalty is doubtful, and it is necessary, when they are false, to penetrate into their territory "with troops who loot everything and kill mercilessly"; but in spite of their inconstancy they still form the solidest rampart of the dynasty. "Bind to you," said a ruler," the heart of the Arabs, know what they are capable of, and then you will know confidently what you can expect from each tribe" (1).

1. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

The two poles of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous are the casbah of Marrakech and that of Taroudant. This latter town, however, too often threatened by uprisings and far out of the way from the middle of Berbère /Berber/ country,

/375 cont./

648 cannot be a point of support adequate for facilitating important undertakings. It appears as an active center only at long intervals, in periods of calm, and its importance is second by far to the capital of the Haouz. It is therefore above all in the activity of the pashas of the casbah of Marrakech, exercised over the tribes of the north of the Atlas, that it is possible to find the best examples of the politics of the Makhzen.

648 *631 Keeping the country in relative order, maintaining the tribes and their chiefs in a state of weakness, so that the collection of the tax may be as easy as possible, such is the essential preoccupation of these governors. They carefully watch the kaids named by the sultan in the tribes of the Dir, maintain their divisions, and set them against one another so that they cannot dangerously enlarge their command. They see to it that their casbahs are constructed in places easy to reach and fear letting sheiks too far away in the interior of the great chain take power (2).

2. Cf. above, Book III, Ch. II, p. 415.

If they sometimes act contrary to this rule, as Brahim el Grawi did with respect to the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, it is in order, it seems, to chop up commands that appear too large to them. In the reign of Sidi Mohammed, the Gedmiwa of the Dir are subject to three minor kaids. Upon the death of the great kaid of the Haha, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the confederation is immediately split up into three parts, and /376/ later Moulay el Hasan established there five chiefs closely watched by "oumana" (1).

1. Moulay el Hasan feared the development of the kaids' power in the tribes, after the example given by El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi.

"All the Sultan's efforts," says Erckmann, "lead toward substituting in the Berbère /Berber/ tribes the authority of the kaid for that of the jemaʿa, and in the Arab tribes toward replacing natural groupings by artificial groupings, in such

/376 cont./

• 648
*631

/footnote 1 continued/ a way as to increase the yield of the taxes and to triumph more easily over local resistances. For this purpose he substituted for the 18 major commands that formerly existed (for the whole Empire) a considerable number of small groups -- about 330 -- at the head of each of which is found a kaid. The new kaids are inconsequential personages who cannot dream of resisting the orders that they receive; the cohesion of the tribes is destroyed, and the taxes come in more easily. But unfortunately it happens that the country thus oppressed by a crowd of kaids and their confederates is marching toward certain ruin." Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122.

Finally, since in all circumstances the fiction of the Makhzen /makhzan/ must be safeguarded up to within the unsubdued high mountains, the title of kaid is even given to notables without true authority, who accept the risk of protecting the cause of the Makhzen by their own means in the high valleys. Such in the reign of Moulay el Hasan were Mohammed ou Mansour of the Seksawa, named among the Aït Haddiyous, and the ephemeral Bou L'achrat among the Ida Ou Tanan (2).

2. Cf. above.

Sherifian policy moreover knows how to utilize local circumstances admirably, and when commands are too split up, it progressively unites them. Then we see the sultan's representatives act with admirable patience: first of all, the authority of the most reliable amghars is confirmed, generally by giving them the title of kaid, then they are set against one another, while later losing no opportunity to get rid of the defeated ones and to

/376 cont./

• 648
*631

organize a single command (3).

3. Cf. "La Tribu de Massat /The Massat Tribe/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 392. With respect to the marabouts themselves, the sultan knows how to give proof of great cleverness and to utilize all their moral influence to strengthen his operations in the tribes. Moulay el Hasan's relations with the sherif of the Tazerwalt in the course of the second Sous expedition can be given as one of the best examples of the flexibility of a political operation entirely crowned with success. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Géranton, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, p. 192.

Often, in the regions controlled best by the Sultan, the kaids' authority is limited by that of the "oumana," for although the tribal chiefs merit the name of "honest servants" in sherifian literature, the sultans have never hesitated to set down very freely the thefts and exactions that most of them committed (4).

[131]

4. On the occasion of a famine, loans of money had been granted to the populations by Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben ʿAbdallah. Writing afterward to his people that he was giving up recovering his advances, this sovereign said, "I have not given you this money with the intention of reclaiming it from you. I have told you that it was a loan solely in order that it would not be secured by your sheiks and your notables for themselves, which they would have done if they had known that it was a gift on my part." "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 333.

648
*631
651

/377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648
619
177
*634
*631

V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda^{c}" or of "jema^{c}a," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

• 648
619
177
*634
*631

/377 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last; in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

/378 cont./

648 619 177 * [634] * [631] [113] [651]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] [113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623] [632]

/378 cont./

•648 619 177 [184] [113] modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 *63 619 177 [616] In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaʿa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen.--Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions, under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
• 648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[343] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*63 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
•648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, con-
tained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted store-
houses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, in-
tended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the ma-
terial aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*63 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
*631 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
712 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
175 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
159 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
*631 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
• 648 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power;
619 besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
159 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
*631 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
571 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
574 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
431 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
661 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse them-
*631 selves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
648 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
661 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
661 tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
602 while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

/384 cont./

*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court [662] to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

565 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

/385 cont./

648 619 669 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until the strongest or cleverest has won. The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

[175]

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 648 669 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/386 cont./

175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
*631 would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

175 Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
648 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
669 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
*631 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka
with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double
stages, sought refuge with Si ᶜAisa ben ᶜOmar, the powerful kaid
of the ᶜAbda, and from there reached their country in secret.
Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi,
succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the
other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most
venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands
taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the difficulties of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at grips with Bou Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long months of effort.

178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
669 and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
*631 notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
*634 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transformation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its "siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as formerly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

/387 cont./

178 of Aït Arbaᶜin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
*634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
669 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
178 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are re-
[616] peated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids re-appear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arbaᶜin are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
• 648 too burdensome a yoke.
669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït ᶜAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the
frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the
border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of con-
siderable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the
plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Ber-
bers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents
of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory,
no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secu-
lar agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of
the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on
in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The
warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of
Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones
of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences,
city habits unknown up to then.

177 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
648 the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
671 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conform-
able with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country,
which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ,
Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to elimi-
nate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the
holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/389 cont./

177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
• 648 the same time the part of the "chra^{c}" /shar^{c}/ grows unceasingly;
671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
177 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "iquh" of the tribes,
648 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
671 the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba^{c}in, falls into the hands of
* 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of
* 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that
[681] take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to
[693] the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifiàn Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
•648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
178 only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
*634 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
* 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
• [648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
128 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
* 631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*631 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
•648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
* 634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
• [648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
* 631 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
* 634 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
182 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way, they
554 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/
648 always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtuggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
•648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
616 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despot-
ism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw
back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded
by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the
montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with
green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great
annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the
merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas,
Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family
tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive
this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into
a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief
to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel
ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants
were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally
the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal
leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger [578] branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity [178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
*631 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
•648 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries be-
171 tween the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the
same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el
Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
*631 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
648 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less ser-
vile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their
lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that
of the representatives of the Sultan.

178 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
792 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
795 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
*631 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then
from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in
the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political
importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the
kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the
desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden
among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where
the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages
have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary popu-
lations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peace-
ful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.
*631 However that may be, the long influence of the religious leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
• 648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/412 cont./

*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
• 648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[578] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of
[669] the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of
primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are
inseparable from their very life.

The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to
[792] stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compli-
ance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared
first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to
defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the
senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and
abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new
leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
[712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops
are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
[423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
[166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the At-
las entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants,
the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive
exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security
of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established
without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on
the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one
sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

*631 /413 cont./
648 of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent popula-
17 tions, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty,
[135] calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut
*631 up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds
648 the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty,
17 while the more disturbed government of the independent republics
153 alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institu-
tions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have
fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only
guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions.
[669] The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited
signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against
intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of lib-
eration: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe
after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious ges-
ture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in
order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal
government of ancient times.

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20
years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified
the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the inde-
pendent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the
progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the
populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/
country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances,
signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no
longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our
establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts
were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent in-
stitutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic
action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor im-
plied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states,
united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

/414 cont./

648 laws -- above all, our habits of mind thus led us to establish complete identity between the far Maghreb and the Empire. In truth, this confusion was justified to a certain degree only for the region of the towns and plains, in the whole extent of the "bled el Makhzen"; consequently, as long as our efforts were exerted within the former boundaries in which the tribes had entirely forgotten their past institutions and had even yielded to the practices of the Mussulman monarchy, no doubt arose as to the value of our fiction. Even more, its accuracy could seem proven when a leader of genius had understood that by acquiring the political heritage of sherifian prestige, based on memories of the last military expeditions of the Sultans in the Sous and the Tafilelt, it would be easier to defeat the pretenders and the leaders of holy war, springing up from all sides on the frontiers of the subject country; it was permissible to believe for a time that the successes obtained with so much cleverness and effort justified the intentions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to set up a State without internal frontiers, in the bosom of which all the subjects were to live without local institutions, guided by the single law of Islam, under the authority of absolute chiefs, according to the example of the monarchies of the East.

/415/ Certainly it had not escaped the Résident Général of France in Morocco from our first contact with the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ that the Berbère pastoralists of central Morocco had customs different from those of the Arabs of the plains; in 1914, laws fortunately sanctioned the institutions and the law of these tribes; soon in these regions one even saw the kaids that we had imposed accept the judicial authority of the councils of notables, thus indicating the humble situation of the Makhzen in a country where the assemblies of family heads had remained all-powerful. Everywhere, even in the parts of the country where in the course of the conquest we met powerful temporal leaders -- like those of the Zayan -- the abuses of the sherifian government had up to then remained unknown; respect for the Berbère /Berber/ traditions was asserting itself with undeniable vitality.

/415 cont./

648 But also at the same time the Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ and Zénètes of central Morocco, who had stayed outside the Empire up to this time, were not ceasing to offer furious resistance to our advance; the harsh conquest of the Beni Warain in 1923, that of the Aït Seghrouchen and of the Marmoucha in 1926 were showing the obstinate will of the independent communities to defend their liberty; at the time that we are terminating this study, the large confederations of the Aït Sokhman, of the Aït Seri, Aït Yahya, Aït Yafelman, and Aït Moghrad, settled on the two versants of the Atlas, are assembling their forces, multiplying their attacks in the subject plains, and putting the confines of the "bled el Makhzen" in peril one last time; thus they are indicating their will to remain as long as possible outside the Empire, whose life moreover they are disturbing profoundly.

Among the sedentary peoples of the south of Morocco, with whose life we have tried to become acquainted, events that have taken place for five years, while we were proceeding with our investigations in the tribes, show plainly how much the nature of the institutions differs from those that the presence of the great kaids left us to imagine at the beginning; they enable us to understand the profound tendencies of this region whose existence had been changed by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and which was shutting itself up in a bleak passivity crossed by revolts.

Successively, the disappearance of the small states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi, the constant weakening of the prestige of the Glawa /416/ at the confines of the Sahara, the effort of the Berbères /Berbers/ remaining free at the limit of the commands to treat with France without intermediaries indeed made manifest the fragility of a political edifice whose feudal aspect had already been imprudently outlined by writers fond of exoticism. At the same time, the submission of the last dissident tribes of the western Atlas, in the region of the Tichka and of the Ida Ou Tanan, which we have so often studied in order to understand the nature of the traditional institutions of the Sous, gave us new proof of the effort of the montagnards to escape the grasp of the great chiefs whose domination they feared with good reason.

/416 cont./

•648 [178] In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ᶜAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 177 166 *634 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

/418 cont./

000 their enemies; everywhere they reconstitute this tribe and this canton within which is shut up all their life and their ideal.

The nostalgic song with which they then, at a distance, like to lull the sadness of their exile brings to us, as far as the cities of the North, the secret of their strength and weakness; in that phrase indefinitely repeated, which is the echo of the Berbère /Berber/ choruses in the mountains, their soul is exposed; it evokes the harsh life of the Atlas, which the poets know how to adorn with a smile, the charm of freedom, the simplicity of a narrow existence, imprisoned by immutable traditions, which stubbornly impose on men the same acts in the same places.

Having no fatherland other than their group of villages, no laws other /419/ than their customs, the Berbères /Berbers/ remain insensitive to the pride of belonging to the Empire. With [648] respect to that Makhzen, whose authority formerly brought them only ruin, they bear witness only to a conventional fidelity inspired by fear; it is from France that they await in silence, with a patience already uneasy at times, recognition of their simple aspirations of justice and a better life.

Perhaps it is not foolhardy to hope that a day will come when the mountain tribes, whose territory outlines large natural regions on the border of the former "bled el Makhzen," will be able, thanks to our support, to free themselves to a certain extent from the too-narrow bonds in which the sherifian tradition today encloses them. In those provinces far away from the towns, for which the history of the country suffices to trace the boundaries quite accurately, the Berbères /Berbers/ will become aware with more force, under an administrative regime adapted to their existence, of the very durable bonds that connect them to their soil.

Such a reform would answer the wish of the populations who manifest, by muffled appeals, their desire to escape the economic

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
[178] which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[348] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
343 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
712 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
178 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
621 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[p.44]

105
Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [591] [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [195]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

/92 cont./

175 631 648 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/ [693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 648 651 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to which many other influences contributed.

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
[693] which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436]
[104]

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/125 cont./

*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain 712 hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work [632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little [343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas- [251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects • [651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; fi- [697] nally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ᶜAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/133 cont./

175 *631 Moreover, at that time domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised in a form very different from that which we observe at present. At the foot of the great chain, on the Dir of the North versant, in all the large villages that form natural centers of exchange between mountain and plain, were settled minor kaids entirely subject to the Sultan. Horsemen coming from Marrakech used to bring on every occasion the orders of the "Pasha of the casbah" to the minor chiefs of Agergour of the Ouzgita, of Amismiz and Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, of the "Agadir" of the Mzouda, and of Bouaboud of the Mtougga. In the tribes 175 located higher in the mountains, each canton had its sheik chosen *631 from one of the old families of the villages and who represented *634 the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Narrowly limited in his privileges, this sheik or "amghar" was often reduced to coming to terms with the council of old men and notables in order to make it accept the demands transmitted in the name of the Sultan. But •[651] the demands of the kaid were so light -- an annual tribute in silver and the "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ of a mule on the major feast days -- that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely felt the weight of the foreign authority.

On the south versant of the Atlas, north of Taroudant, the penetration was still less advanced, the kaids were replaced by simple sheiks, who maintained /134/ friendly relations with the small republics of the Dir and the summits.

Actually, in all the South of Morocco, the sultan's absolute authority stopped at the plains. By imperceptible transitions, while penetrating into the Atlas, one found the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weaker and weaker and the oligarchic institutions more and more developed. On the Dir or in the large valleys the sheiks governed, assisted by a council of notables. Farther on, it was the representatives of all the families, the "Ait Arbaʿin," who deliberated under the command of an "amghar" (1).

1. "Amghar" (pl. imgharen) Berb.: temporal leader who commands a tribe or a tribal fraction. In this region the "amghar" owes his power to

/136 cont./

*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Ait arbaʿin" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the
175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At
*631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely
*634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Ait Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among
• [651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices
[127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the
[114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
.651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 681 652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 •[651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/232 cont./

*634 648 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651] [431] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have, ~~" it is~~ said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/247 cont./

466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the [177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a [651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes [651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid [681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened. 735 794 431 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har- [465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees [171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./

423 579 486 651 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ [571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet [578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still [203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, [554] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing [625] policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaʿa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without failing. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
[574] augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/284 cont./

*634 616 726 178 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among themselves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. • [651] Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit *634 616

*631 121 182 /321 cont./
trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them. It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

[651] [486] [485]

*634 *631 121 182 It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[667] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
• [651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
*634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/354 cont./

175 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*631 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
*634 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
726 enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
* 631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
*651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living. Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

648 *631 .651 /377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of E' Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648 619 177 *634 *631 V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda ᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

/378 cont./

648
619
177
* [634]
* [631]
[113]
• [651]

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171]
[113]

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

[623]
[632]

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
• [651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV). 611 602

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). 594 [192] [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons 596

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

/378 cont./

451
634
652

Credit	Nature of the operation	Debit	Nature of the operation
	A) In cash		
12 m 4 o	Remitted by the taqbilt.	60 o, 1/2 mu	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Amount of the present of condolences made by the jemâa of the Idaw Mçat't'og and the Idaw Kaïs.	3 uj	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
		57 o	"Bled Lebda," Idaw Mçat't'og and Idaw Kaïs.
9 o	Amount of a present of condolences.	45 o	Price of sheep remitted to Lah'sen b. Ah'med and Moh'ammed b. Messâud of Tamarwut, that is, 30 o + 15 o.
9 o	Price of a sheep slaughtered for the jemâa and reimbursed to the moqaddem.		
9 o 1 mu	Amount of the condolences of the Mentaga.	4 uj	Partial reimbursement to Lah'sen u Ah'med. This sum represents part of the debts that the taqbilt owes.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the granddaughter of the a. Buzid of Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the daughter of Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed of Agersif at the time of his return to the mosque of Asif Leh'lu.
Total: 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		Total: 16 m, 8 o, 1.5 mu, 7 uj.	

/379/ B) Fiduciary operations

451 4o	Price of a sheep.	20o	Price of sheep of dhbîh'a and sum remitted to the women.
634 3o	—		
652 7o	—		
5uj	Loan to an old man.		
5uj	Loan to an old man.	60o, 1mu	Gift given to Sidi H'asan, one of the sons of the a. Ben Nâçer.
11 mu, 2fl	Price of sheepskins.		
10o	Loan to Âbdallah u Març	6o, 1/2 mu	Gift given to the Ulad Sidi Muh'.
		3o	Sum spent by the moqaddem (?).
		9o	Sum remitted to Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, that is, the price of three sheep.
		6o	Sum remitted to Lah'sen Kâbûs as reimbursement.
		30o	Gift to the marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ᶜAyâd of the Sous.
		4o, 1/2 mu	Sum remitted by Âbdellah b. Ah'med u Març to Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
Total: 24o, 10uj, 11mu, 2fl		Total: 138o, 2mu	

Recapitulation of the credit: 18m, 9o, etc.
Recapitulation of the debit : 30m, 6o, etc.
Balance: — 11m, 7o, etc.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/134 cont./

175 *631 *634

/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

[178] [671] [652] [712] [343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631

The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 681 .652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 [651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
•652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
•[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[578] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center
[361]

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
-652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] [556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

[592] [652]

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

• [652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

[681] [651] [794] [735] [465]

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
•652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
•652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
•652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ounella, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and [693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] [343] [712] [652] [466] [653] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; [423] the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, [166] the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqad-
[671] dem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
• [653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] [343] [712] [652] [466] [653] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

[423] [766] Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/158 cont./

312
114

/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121
182

In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657]

121
182
114

1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[659] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

619
[423]
[65]

/217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals..	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great [428] personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Abdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

175 631 648

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'âh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

[661]

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

000 /267/

Book III
The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

/Page 268 is blank./

/269/

First Chapter
The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of 642 the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At *634 other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the 198

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
•661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
175 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief.
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
175 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/274 cont./
175 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).
*634

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
•661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
.661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
72 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
•661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the con-
•661 fusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
*631 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
648 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is
661 made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity
661 contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin, while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the
602 master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

557
*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
184 chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
*631 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*634 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
•662 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with handsome dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the service of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqcub in the Asif Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Bouaboud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the monopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/384 cont./

*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jema^c^a or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court [662] to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ^c^Abd el ^c^Aziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

565 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious human limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient 174 solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the aggressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its 634 support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/369/ IV. Communal Law

121 Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq, and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp.": 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

121 But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the
127 analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambiance. Hence the documentary value of these
[666] penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 [726] Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These [178] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the •[666] "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to * [634] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of [616] sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/223 cont./

*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is •[666] [613] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 692 554 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[431] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[574] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
• [666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups [701]
it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of offiice, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 666 527 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertainment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the conclusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 666 [643] To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a candidate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 631 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the [621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res- [613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or [182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 554 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}âr, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'ogg^{w}a expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us (613) observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The 634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes 613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure 173 669

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
[177] fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
*634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
• [669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the traditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
[178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaᶜin" and the "moqāddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atl[illegible] has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
•[669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of resistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas" weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop; the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft, and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious, without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
•[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Ait Arba'in" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/332 cont./

175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
*631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
*631 in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
726 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
[669] reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even succeeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal, supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally fortune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/335 cont./

175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
726 "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./

175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
*631 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
*634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the su-
726 premacy of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends toward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa
• [669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expeditions for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain fortress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his conquests (1902).

175 ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left vacant by the kaid in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the plain and the Dir revert to ᶜAbd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appropriates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids -- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid Saᶜid of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country. A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

175 V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
*631 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
726 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
648 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
•[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
[712] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
*631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
578 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
*631 action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
178 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
• [669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
•669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel," traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
*634 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
616 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
726 and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
175 mation of the tribes.
642
669 The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

*631 175 648

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domi-
*631 nation that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
178 Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
*631 of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
648 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
[554] kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
•[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

/385 cont./

648 619 669 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until the strongest or cleverest has won. The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

[175]

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 648 669 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/386 cont./

175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
• 669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
*[631] by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
175 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
648 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
669 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
*631 and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka
with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double
stages, sought refuge with Si ᶜAisa ben ᶜOmar, the powerful kaid
of the ᶜAbda, and from there reached their country in secret.
Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi,
succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the
other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most
venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands
taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the difficulties of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at grips with Bou Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long months of effort.

178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
669 and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
*631 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transfor-
*634 mation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its
"siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of
the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has
governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little
Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the
slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as formerly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

/387 cont./

178 of Aït Arba^c in and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
* 631 is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
* 634 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away, and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended. It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed, to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

* 631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
* 634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
669 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
178 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
[616] to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are repeated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arba^c in are abandoned and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.
•669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït ᶜAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/412 cont./

*[631] [648] [17] [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and [693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re- [343] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops [653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the cashahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [423] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the At- [166] las entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

*631 648 17 [735] /413 cont./
of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent populations, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty, calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty, while the more disturbed government of the independent republics alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institutions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions. The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal government of ancient times.

*631 648 17 153

[669]

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

635 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which
631 in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the
669 representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of
175 the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa, for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [719] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although [613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure," most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

[443] 4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the [619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and [634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder: taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism [121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal [671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the only ones.

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.
671 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671
[829] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[184] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête
[133] is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not be-
[695] long to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

779 671 /242 cont./
ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 175 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only 779 671 with each other. They have found before them, beneath them, more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and [171] competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

/243 cont./

671 171 the whole ensemble of local law of an inspiration outside of or prior to Islam, the French magistrates of Algeria consider as a body of customs the ensemble of local laws, of Islamic origin or not, in contrast to the Civil Code. Did not one of our sociologists some twenty years ago entitle a work, and not one of the least ones: Loi française et coutume indigène en Algérie /French law and native custom in Algeria/ (1)?

1. R. Maunier, 1932, a book moreover picturesque and intuitive.

A second qualification is to be made concerning the term of "Berbère" /Berber/. The ubiquity of this local law, more or less even, makes very difficult its qualification as Arab or Berbère. The fact is that its most coherent expression appears especially in Berbérophone sectors, forming by that also a figure of reserves or of archeological evidence. Sectors which have constituted, for the Arabs as well as for us, both the most expressive sign and the extreme case of an autochthonous genius. A quite superficial view.

779 171 For Mussulman orthodoxy, the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/, and, with all the more reason, of a Berbère law, is an intolerable scandal. W. Marçais has acted justly to observe the very particular malevolence with which the geographer al-Yâqût stigmatizes, in the note that his dictionary devotes to them, "the singularity and the excess" of this race, h'ida wa t'aych (2).

2. Yâqût, Mu^{c}jam (1224), Wustenfeld ed., 1870, in the art. barbar., t. I, pp. 540 sq. He is struck by some aberrant aspects: ah'wâl ^{c}ajîba wa içt'ilâh'ât gharîba. W. Marçais observed that the entire note is of an unusual violence.

The last word, still living in dialectal Arabic, recovers the an-
171 cient notion hybris, "immoderation." Now many Eastern Bedouins

/243 cont./

171 are governed by a customary law, which, among the sedentary Yemenites, for example, is stated even in codifications bearing the singular name of t'aghût (3).

3. Ettore Rossi, "Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen /The consuetudinary law of the Arab tribe of the Yemen/," Rivista degli Studi orientali, fasc. I-IV, 1938, describes a whole patriarchal and chivalrous society where interdictions protect the guest, the suppliant, the client, the refugee, the traveling companion, and up to the namesake. There are even some dissertations on the man^{c}, an idea related to the taboo. Some problems, such as that of the disinheriting of the woman, are posed simultaneously for this society and for those of North Africa, in relation to which it offers, moreover, a more archaic shading. The homogeneity of the problems and of the solution that is applied to them is nonetheless suggestive. After the description, already old, of P. Jaussen, E. Rossi's article constitutes a new and considerable contribution to the knowledge of an Arab customary law.

671 That way, even the juridical originality of the Moroccan moun-
779 tains, to take an extreme case, could only, in the eyes of the
171 orthodoxy, be absorbed in this theme of survivals or rural deviations, of this "eternal Bedouin," both nightmare and reason for being of the proselytism of the towns.

/244/ Certain traits of the Mussulman juridical technique must have contributed enormously to this unitary confusion (1).

1. On all this, see J. Berque, tr. of al-Wazzâni, Les Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a

/244 cont./

779
671
171

/footnote 1 continued/ du Mi^{c}yâr /The Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a of the Mi^{c}yâr/, 1940, pp 27 sq., and Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine /Essay on the Maghrebi juridical method/, 1944, pp. 33 sq.

First the concept of d'arûra, "necessity," and "law-making necessity," which allows absorbing, without derogation of principle, all resistant and aberrant facts, because one cannot master them, and without there being any question of penetrating their shell. Then, in the same sense, this Malekite opportunism imposing in the name of the "social good," maçlah'a, the acceptance of the illicit: but momentary, precarious and almost haughty. Finally the immoderate role of the presumptions in the penal and civil law has introduced, under the appellations of ^{c}orf and of ^{c}âda, "usage," a mass of local institutions, but, it goes without saying, without recognition of their character of internal obligation.

Consequently, the negation both instinctive and rational of the Berbère /Berber/ law by Islam is accompanied, in the juridical technique, by multiple means of absorbing it without admitting it. And not only without concession of legitimacy, but without an attempt at analysis. Consequently the Maghrebi reality has maintained the fiqh as an immense stock of facts without justification or depth.

For the strict orthodoxy, there is no problem of customary law.

000 Quite the contrary, the European exegesis, after long gropings in Algeria, and especially under the influence of institutional spontaneity, which it discovered in Kabylie /Kabylia/, then in Morocco, has let itself be dominated by a realism as unattackable, as long as it rests content with observation of the facts, as it is hazardous when it finds other inspirations. The joy of discovery has perhaps sometimes brought about a belief in a primitivism all the more malleable and assimilable as certain Mediterranean affinities "defended" it against the Orient: from there to the simplistic idea of division, there is only one step, which the system's detractors have not failed to make it cross.

/244 cont./

671 779 Let us proceed to the attitude of the user. Last, for this user is shy. He perseveres, certainly, but apologizes for it, or he does not even know himself. The two poles of this attitude are that he makes use of a superior system, which is Islam, fiqh included, and that concurrently he clings to a cantonal particularism, a sort of Proudhonian liberty which implies the preservation of his law.

It is only exceptionally that he rises to the discussion of /245/ principle. An account by the sheik an-Nâçirî (1)

> 1. An-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 42, l. 19 sq. The jurist is led to subtle distinctions on a community's degree of resistance to the law. "Question: a rural tribe resists legal norms, and replaces them with customary norms and penal tariffications enacted through deliberation. It bases its justice on that. Does it incur the qualification of infidel? Answer: No, but simply of rebel. Objection: but then what is meant by the word of God: 'He who does not act according to the Revelation is an infidel'? Answer: 'That applies only to a tribe considered in its individuals.'" (He means doubtlessly a tribe that has manifested a deliberate initiative in this direction. The anecdote of the ait Asawn in fact follows: those may be qualified as infidels.) One sees that the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists have sometimes been forced to approach the problem.

shows us a tribe of the Sous, the ait Asawn, symbolic in the name perhaps ("those of the escarpment"), who "bury" the Mussulman Law according to the classical mode of spell, and proclaiming the henceforth obligatory recourse to the "tables" of the ikchchud'en custom, that is, to local codifications. But that is only an extreme case.

/245 cont./

000 extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

671
779
171

2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qâdirî, justifying the ᶜAmal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qâdirî nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

(114)

3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marcy, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/245 cont./

671 779 171

In any case, this is what forms the originality of the Sous and the Mzab (4).

4. On this aspect of Mzabite law, L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâas du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâas of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 223.

But everywhere one finds this double character of Islamic option and cantonal conservatism. Whether it is transactional or, more rarely, insurrectional, the local law has always and everywhere reckoned with the fiqh, has set itself in comparison with the fiqh, indeed sometimes has pretended to be absorbed in it, or believed it.

/246/ Islam and Individual Belief

779

From the innermost subjectivity of the Chleuh /Shluh/, whose Islamic option is profound and ever bursting forth, to the most well-considered social affirmation -- this society wills itself Mussulman. In its great epochs it sought to be the Mussulman society. We find the Prophet everywhere. It is for this reason that it is so difficult to determine his part: it would not be if it were not total, or, more exactly, if it did not will itself, if it did not feel total. Such in fact must be the lot of a universalist faith. As a permanent appeal to the profession of the Unique, to the imitation of His noble witness, the Messenger of God, as a cultural and ethical system, it inspires and governs the soul of the person and that of the people: it has become an essential trait of the country. It would be a fine subtlety to distinguish in as specific a synthesis the part that, of an order properly institutional and of oriental color, has been, not rejected, but eluded by the societies of the Atlas, or adapted and assimilated by them. Nevertheless, in the realm of the law, one can circumscribe the indigenous legacy and the oriental contribution. Concerning the belief, the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting
778 along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Sâint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!

[162] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into
[613] some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to
128 the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers
778 from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample
778 dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'd-
[162] dan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timez-
346 gida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group,
671 one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/260 cont./

779 346 671 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, lfçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of sworn law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

627 171

1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/338 cont./

613 the occasion of plural oaths, it is the most closely drawn circle of agnates that is invited to confer on the litigant its balance /Fr.
613 appoint/. Conservative mechanisms, such as the chchfâa or the
423 habous /wakf/, are applied to maintain or re-establish a patrimonial immutability, less familial in the narrow sense than gentilitial, against any land alienation or leasing. The /339/ ancient act to which one party, the açl, will allege an exception, and which has the more worth as it becomes older, many times consists of a simple unilateral affirmation of the land rights of the ancestor. The genealogical tree, chchajara, and the successoral distribution, lmirath, archival documents manifesting the agnatic continuity, play a decisive role in the proceedings. An instinct for reconstitution stands in opposition to the dispersive force of inheritances and personal enterprise. Between rich cousin and poor cousins, it animates and obscurely justifies these takings and retakings that tradition and opinion liken less to usurpation than to escheat or a sort of permanent revenge between rightful co-claimants. This alone justifies and authorizes the existence of a gentilitial agrarian order.

613 All the effort of the jurisprudence, were it that of the great
671 cadis of the Sous, has been dedicated to serving rather than amending this situation. It is that the ikhs thrust itself, with all its attachments of public law, upon the private law. Conjugal foyers on the one side, city on the other are pendant, one might say, on the two sides of the ikhs. In it is their point of junction, on each side of which profoundly different social rhythms reign. On the one side kinship and alliance, justiciable to the memory of the living, and finding their practical application in each successoral dispute. This is the reign of the writing. On the other side, larger and larger classifications are drawn up in echelon from the ikhs to the smallest political unit, the taqbilt, and from there perhaps to the great legendary divisions of North Africa: Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. There the reign of unwritten law begins.

At the antipode of this gentilitial life, here is the individual person. Not only is it the single subject in the eyes of the law,

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mlād, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/348 cont./
613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

613 The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only
779 with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No
178 part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say,
671 in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil, istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaqa, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the ççadaqa.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./

178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

212 But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
671 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
178 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
[538] of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the permanence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s
178 and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

613 /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns
[623] the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a.
613 Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to
178 only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

594 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmos-
67 phere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence
67 with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on
[191] that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an
671 old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by
[428] the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the
671 child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator.
[881] Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from
421 the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
421 inal source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw
175 Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/352 cont./

613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaI. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423
[128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

/357 cont./ ~

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

/357 cont./

423 denying any value to possession, have been /358/ found in Imt'd-
671 dan and in Idma. I have given elsewhere (1)

1. "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 386 sq.

the text and the translation of the second of these documents, which it seems useful to reproduce, as much for its basic interest as for an illustration of the singular disposition of these groups to legislate.

175 /The following six paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
423 inal source./ Copy (1348) of an act of rabîᶜnabawî 1266 Heg.:
671 1870. Be it known by these presents that in the custom of the Idma country there can be no rights drawn from possession. The latter, even prolonged, does not constitute valid title.

It is only if the titulary of the possession establishes its origin: how the right to the property passed to him, and the proof of his entering into possession by sale, redemption, donation, inheritance, that his possession will be valid. The party arguing faulty sales, or redemption, will again claim his title, and the original right will return to its origin.

Consequently, possession legally requires from the one who argues for it a legitimation. But if the origin that it invokes was reduced to nothing, the possessor would be no more than a usurper in our country. If not, not.

That is what we hold in all certitude from our past ancestors, and what they have written in our acts anciently and successively.

Still today, whosoever does not produce his origin, his possession depends on the pillaging of the goods of orphans, and on the iniquity due to the fact that in an unruly country the weak one does not obtain his rights (2).

2. Fine trait of what a modern school would call a feeling "of alterity"!

/358 cont./

175 423 671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

/359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

425 This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^cAbdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in [671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428

On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

/364 cont./

794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all

794 428 these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

• 671 An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'âchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfâa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634 The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1),

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foun-
[695] dation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the
argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if
nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the coun-
try. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
[178] inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription
borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the con-
solidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be
found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons
where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that
would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recog-
nize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further
in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa
an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed
property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than
effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the
settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign"
of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different
from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
[173] suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition,
today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the
old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes
very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced.
It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
67 property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
[562] from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
[184] ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between
taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in
all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as
bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs
what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the
course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.

671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level-a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
212

/367 cont./

121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idmà on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yalᶜanû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [119] ^{c}orf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
• 671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institu-
[212] tion could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[794] jemâ^ca and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[681] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

/380 cont./

The Wording of the Rule

000 Made from harsh internal competitions, from inexpiable vendettas, the group nonetheless presents to the exterior a cohesion which is that of a fagot of thorns, inextricable and untouchable. And is it not significant that this image of a fagot was inspired in the Middle Ages by our first communes?

671 171 This thorny cohesion is sealed by a juridical act. It is these penal codifications called qânûn in Kabylia and inçaf among our Chleuhs /Shluh/, veritable commonplace of the Berbère /Berber/ institution. Revealed by Hanoteau and Letourneux, found, with what profusion! in the Moroccan South, producing in Algeria around 1930 a scandal of surprise of an indeed sympathetic naïveté, their history is already long (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Les institutions kabyles /Kabyle institutions/," R. E. I., 1932, pp. 138 sq., and "Les qânouns kabyles /The Kabyle qânouns/," in the work by Hanoteau and Letourneux, pp. 1 sq., 26 sq., ibid., 1933, remarkable historical critique of the documents provided by these two authors.

One can follow the chain from the edict, already mentioned, of Yah'yâ u Tâfûft (1510) up to the deliberation submitted to the prefect, in the cadre of our municipal law, by a Kabyle village in 1945.

671 212 It is probable that they represent one of the first uses of Arabic writing in the Sous. The synonymy of chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, ar. /Arabic/ alwâh', "tablets," "tables of the Law" (2),

2. The jurists of the Sous often speak of these "tables," alwâh', which corresponds to chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, "bits of wood,"

/380 cont./

671
212

/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[764]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakarn, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

/381 cont./

671 212 many dissertations to it (1).

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 212 779 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 685 671 779 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for robbery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of amputation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 683 671 779 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735, emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some

175 683 671 779 175 681 671 779 671 779 671 634 675 [126]

/381 cont./

considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malekite /Maliki/ empiricism can make of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/382 cont./

671

The Community As Organ of Juridical Creation

"Public law," we would say. To what extent is such an appellation legitimate? In fact, despite the development of the contract in this society, the statutory aspect of many individual relations on the one hand, their implication with collective factors on the other, finally the omnipresence of a communitarian life whose adjuvant force and the feeling of well-being and normalcy that it inspires have for ransom a very extended gamut of sanctions, continually entail the interference of the private and of the public, of the civil and of the penal.

Such an interference will go by itself into an "archaic" law, and the fact that one sets up here a question that elsewhere would be pure scruple, and in addition anachronistic, indicates to what extent the present investigation has believed it necessary to turn aside, apropos the /383/ Seksawa system, and Chleuh /Shluh/ system in general, from such commonly accepted ideas, those of the late Marcy, for example. The distinction of public law and private law is related moreover, especially perhaps in Seksawa, to aspects of expression and elaboration rather than to the nature of things. But aspects how strongly contrasted! Up to the contemporaneous period the jemâa has remained the penal judge. On the other hand, we see from the oldest period that an external magistery is called upon in order to recognize goods and persons. But, in addition, and on this very matter, the legislator is none other than the group.

[692]

671
779

This account has sufficiently marked all the traits of indivision, confusion, or junction between this communal law, as it is expressed or is conceived itself, and the fiqh. As in several departments of private law, it is in a sort of contractual excess that a surpassing of the model, thus a useful alibi, seems to have been sought. This law has outbid a law of citizens and merchants by the meticulous extreme of the cheap-Jack. With its being so close to magico-religious bases, to the communitarian vehemence of the group, it is not by an oath that, like our good towns of the

/383 cont./

671 [779] thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, unlimited in its applications. Two examples of it have already [421] been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another [586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution 671 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern. 794 In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

/384 cont./

67 [794] private and public law, but further to the administration of the sacred.

Let us remember the constant intervention of the group that is revealed at all levels in the religious, economic, juridical institutions of these societies. Let one judge what its initiative could have been in the periods of expansion.

/385/

Group Reaction
Individual Ethics

Attempt at Reconstitution

000

Thus, in this life, two elements confront each other. The one, patrimonial; the other, movable and acquisitive. One establishes an equilibrium on the structure of the group, itself linked to an agrarian order; the other provokes incessant competition fed by full monetary play and the expansion of contracts.

On the one hand, law of the soil and of origins; on the other, law of money and convention, in other words, also a law of individual work and adventure. Between the one and the other, a tension, which further results from certain aspects of the judiciary joust, but formerly must have been expressed more fully. For four centuries a least a contentious genre ruled, where the law is expressed by action and has writing at its disposal. But the group, let us take heed, maintains this justice outside its walls. It may conspire, indeed in spite of itself, with the montagnard order. It is too far removed from it in its spirit as well as in its methods. In the end, it will destroy it.

There was undoubtedly a time when states, or, better, juridical attitudes, counted more, linked to the structure of the city and guaranteed by immediate safeguards, some traces of which still remain. It is not that their relations excluded movement or the unforeseen, or froze the person in an immovable communitarian equilibrium. On the contrary, one might imagine that the economic modes did not often depend upon what we call equity. Temporary success by violence, seizure of pledges very broadly

/386 cont./

776 177 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Amer u H'ad-dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 779 182 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated [212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

671
779
182

/387 cont./

formation of large ensembles and broad styles, rather than the spontaneity of youth.

Among its traits, there are some archaic ones. And not only on the plane where one ordinarily looks for -- and finds -- the one of magic or of folklore, but on the plane of the law itself, a matter indeed more irrecusable. First of all, the notion of an agrarian order with ritual sanctions, with magico-religious defenses, survives in some techniques of immediate settlement, some attitudes generative of powers, of movements, or of juridical states. It is probably thus for what touches on the oldest economic foundations: relations for irrigation or pasturing, landowner equilibrium of the ikhs-s, exchanges with the communal sacred. More on the surface, an agonistic reality is expressed in the judicial joust (1)

1. J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 399 sq.

and in the very details of the procedural play. But only its expression is individual. It stems in fact from the same archaism upon which are founded the pacts of mystic patronage, seasonal feasts, and the ritual disputes for which they furnish the occasion: thus the auction for the sacrificial meats, still very recognizable under a cloak of notarial law.

But it is this elaboration that leads. A vigorous synthesis takes place at the communal echelon. It suppresses all the rest into incoherence and discontinuity. Collective tension has become /388/ dialectic of litigants. Relations with the sacred take the contractual path. The agrarian order is maintained only by resorting to contentious debate. Islamic schemas dominate the successoral material so much that the indigenous law no longer deviates from the fiqh, apparently at least, except in the quantity of subterfuges, ar. /Arabic/ h'iyal. All this law, which guarantees, through the duration, the permanence of the milieu, has

/388 cont./

671 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the
779 point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in
182 order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The
675 mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here.
421 The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus
182 personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkâl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawliya çah'îh'a wa'starkaba-hu fî sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fî mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarikt, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

• 671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
179 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

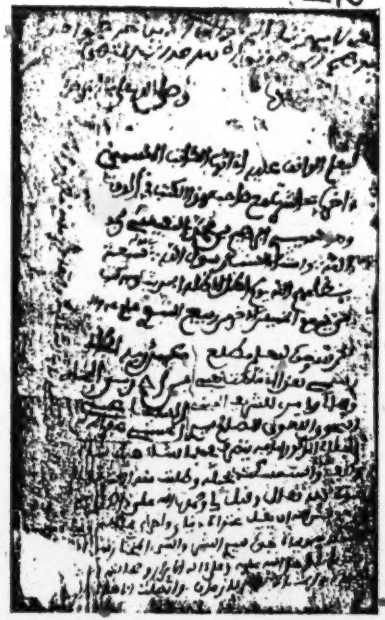
182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

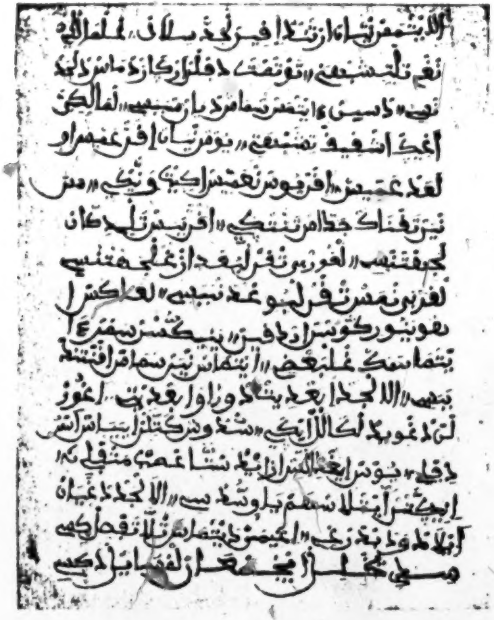
121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

Pl. XV



Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik, dating from 1194 Heg. 1780, made at the zāwīya of Takerkuzt, and collected on the margin of a book of the zāwīya of the Mez'ud'a.



Juridical text of the Awzal genre

The first line reads: wala aytma-sn-yan ur ten-d iqqin ljad silad gh-lmalikiyya, "no longer that the brothers of someone are excluded (from his succession) by (the existence of) the ancestor except in Malékism."

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^c^id Ou ^c^Abd en
[778] Na^c^im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
[778] to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
• [671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
462 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
184 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
512 brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the ségulas or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/134 cont./

175 *631 *634

/footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

[178] [671] [652] [712] [343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631

The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
625 it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
* 634

619

1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[451] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 619 184 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 682 •671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] 343 712 182 671 571

So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/257 cont./

343 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the
571 "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the
554 chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do
683 with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of
571 the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress
554 itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a
[574] meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collec-
[671] tion of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions,
[434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that
[681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a
[652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus con-
[556] stitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who ex-
[471] ploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones [652] into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

[681] [651] [794] [735] [465]

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
• 671

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Ait Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Ait Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Ait Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/291 cont./

*634 642 notable charged with representing his brothers. The tribal council even deliberates sometimes in public; but the decision has been prepared in the amghar's house and the tribe conforms to it exactly. The distribution of the profits of justice, of which the notables collect no more than a very small part, shows that all authority is concentrated in the hands of Bou Naga.

*634 *631 [642] But even in this case the concern for preserving the appearance of an assembly, whose presence itself is obligatory when the entire confederation reunites with Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli or at the souq /sook/ el Arbaᶜ of Imouzzer, suffices to show how, in spite of everything, personal power here remains limited by the recollection of the fundamental institutions of the country of the Ida Ou Tanan. If, by a marvel of continuity, the minor amghars of the Aït Tinkert have been able, thanks to family alliances, to the existence of a very powerful clan, to succeed in obtaining and keeping the command of the whole tribe for a century, they have at any rate remained locked within the natural cadre /292/ that this third of the great confederation formed. Even so, they are still subordinate to what the independent Berbères /Berbers/ call jokingly the "Makhzen of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli." Thus, in [619] spite of their power, they remain, like the leff-chief amghars of [671] the Seksawa, subject to the laws of the tribes (1).

1. For some years, the progress of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has manifested itself among the Ida Ou Tanan by a new development of personal power, thanks to the encouragement and external support given to the boldest clan chiefs. ᶜAli Ou Naser, amghar of the Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi ᶜAchao of Isk n Tghazout, and other party chiefs have subjugated by force the chiefs of the neighboring "afous." The artificial character of this movement has undoubtedly further accentuated the latent antagonism between the regime of the Aït arbaᶜin and that of the independent amghars.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/355 cont./

*631 *634 178 616 726 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accepting only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.

The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The [671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 *634 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] [642] [175] [669] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nineteenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
648 the definitive ruin of the "ʿorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
• 671 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraʿ" /sharʿ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraʿ /sharʿ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ʿorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/389 cont./

177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
648 the same time the part of the "chra^{c}" /shar^{c}/ grows unceasingly;
• 671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
177 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes,
648 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
671 the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba^{c}in, falls into the hands of
* 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of
* 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that
[681] take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least
[693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] [693] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] [343] [712] [652] [466] [653] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

[423] [166] Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
171 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

343 /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in
712 use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been
[178] in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is
[312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where
[351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series
[417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule
712 of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless
124 practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among
• [671]
[178]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

105

Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both [591]
customarily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps [361]
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very recently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority [175]
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman . E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

623 legislative, and judicial functions. The council concerns itself with
635 the maintainance of internal equilibrium between individuals by
634 dispensing and enforcing the customary law, modifying it if necessary; maintains relations with outside groups, and conducts wars against them; administers the communal institutions (mosque, saints' tombs, mosque school, communal granary and cemetery, and irrigation system); distributes water according to the local pattern of water rights; administers and distributes communal lands both for purposes of agriculture and grazing; fixes the schedule for agricultural operations or nomadic or transhumant migration; and in some cases also manages the local market (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-109, 112-114; Deverdun, 1942, p. 307; Doutté, 1905; Hart, 1954, pp. 65-66; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33; Laoust, 1934, pp. 140-146; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 14-15).

The *jemaa* generally carries out its functions by appointing or electing executors of various sorts and delegating power and authority to these individuals. The most important of these is the president of the council itself, known as an *amghar* or *sheikh* if head of a district or tribal council, and otherwise as a *moqaddem*. Other functionaries include the administrator of communal labor (particularly on irrigation projects), the administrator or distributor of water, the communal policeman, the religious teacher, and specialists in the administration of customary law (known as *anezzarfou*, pl., *inezzourfa*), though the council reserves the power to revise and modify this legal code (Berque, 1955, pp. 107, 112; Hart, 1954, p. 65; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 14).

• 671 c. *Customary Law*

Traditionally, all disputes among the Berbers, both of a civil or criminal nature, were settled through reference to traditional customary law (*azrif*), which was largely uncodified and showed slight variations from tribe to tribe. Although replaced among the plains populations by the Moslem *Shari'a*, Berber customary law is still functional in civil cases throughout the Middle and High Atlas (1957), partly through French intervention on its behalf (Coudino, 1942, p. 431; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 230-231).

The local and communal aspects of the *azrif* are known variously

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671 somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases (such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), [177] and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This customary law is established and revised by the local representative [692] councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mundane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671 (formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312 wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674] lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether sufficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691] areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624] the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imazzalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695 ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681] fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

609 /245 cont./
574
[344
[485]

I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert. Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners. Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

*[634]
[162]
609
57
556
563
•[672]
[464]
609
641
563

When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jemaʿa of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

609
166
*634
563

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

*634 554 /225 cont./
firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 •673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small states. [613] In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaᶜin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/332 cont./

695 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our
571 intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait dif-
695 ferently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described,
613 but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the
[674] agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), [177]
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/111 cont./

246 prohibiting cutting or opening the $ag^{w}mi$ constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our $ag^{w}mi$, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: $ag^{w}dal$).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et pas-
[175] series" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives
675 rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
221 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance, although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/112 cont./

675 221 178 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especially Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1),

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 241 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233 241 171

2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni." Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/113 cont./

634
621
233
221
675

Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221 This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the
233 limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the
241 valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and
[634] lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
776 source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old
823 black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them
[778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he
[675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not
212 the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recom-
pense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of
the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of admini-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the
periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close rela-
tions, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the
amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the begin-
ning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî
(sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each
tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants
of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole
was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That
took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our
sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client
among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./

175 794 675 [876] [126] the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

[796]

[126]

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/341 cont./

584 3) the feast called asghurt: it gives to the ensemble its name, which etymologically evokes a "ritual cry."

Beyond the presents handed over on this occasion, arising from an economy of the gift and of the feasting, the young man owes to the girl during this period clothing and ornaments, according to the customary modalities. He contributes to her support at the domicile of her parents. In exchange, she owes him a certain intimacy in general not total, and joins him in various practices bringing into play age classes and rites of passage: young people's feasts and evenings, applications of henna. The unilateral rupture of this state by the young woman entails on her part the obligation to give back the gifts and expenses incurred.

585 b) The "nuptials," tameghra, include a ritual part, a statutory part, and a conventional part.

Ritual part:

1) The tarzift: the delivery of propitiatory gifts by the young man to his parents-in-law, giving rise to a "procession," and sometimes to simulated pillage;
2) the processional conveyance of the young woman to the marital house, this is the ŝid n-tslit;
3) the exposition of the dotal contribution of the bride, the ŝid uruku;
4) the utterance of the fâtih'a, Koranic formula accompanied by wishes of good augury;

/342/ 5) The consummation: this is the ŝid ukechchum, sanctioned, if it is a matter of a virgin, by the yo-ho /Fr. youyou/ of the matron on duty, taghorit, and a new gift, lh'aqq n-ççbâh'.

Statutory part:

585 675 586 1) Conclusion of the amerwas: promise by the bridegroom to the bride to have to pay her, in case of dissolution of the marriage, a sum uniformly fixed by the custom of each tribe, and varying from one to the other: in Seksawa, 6.50 for a virgin, 3.25 for a nonvirgin;

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[192] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

[586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/344 cont./

585
675
171
[586]

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, l. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, l. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675
585
586
121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

779
792 /346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth cen-
175 tury. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and con-
585 verter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had
675 surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175 But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the
584 Z'inît' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this
584 was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise
[796] exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and
[782] the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

585 /The following three paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
675 inal source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers
175 some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/346 cont./

585 675 175 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose, wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 [562] However that may be then, not only in the division of the acquests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contractual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out 585 171 better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/388 cont./

671 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the
779 point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in
182 order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The
675 mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here.
421 The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus
182 personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkāl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawliya çah'ih'a wa'starkaba-hu fī sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fī mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarikt, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qahira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAlt Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations. Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

776 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or
792 peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting
728 case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur.
[681] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the
[628] originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast
776 groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/324 cont./

693 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears
692 most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the
634 a. A'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property
69 case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
• [681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710,
69 and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic 681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that 592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor- [621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit [634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in [613] an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

613 182 114 121 695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771 769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627 681 [114] [171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/371 cont./

627
681
[171]

/footnote 1 continued/ observations and those of C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

The dîâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrasting with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value other than a didactic one?

627
681
121

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

681
627

In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known; never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/372 cont./

627 of the "marabouts"), are solicited. The term of azwag signifies
681 both the "banished" and the "suppliant," double aspect, passive and active, of the notion.

682 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Some twenty years ago one of our officers wrote: "Today, when a murder has been committed, the tribe orders some of its members to go to burn the gutters and other pieces of wood that project from the dwelling of the murderer. This act signifies to the guilty one that he must immediately leave the territory of the tribe. It is later announced: "There is no God but Allah, and Moh'ammed is his Prophet. Hear, O people of the tribe, so-and-so must leave as azwag, and if he is seen among us he must not be pardoned." "In Seksawa, pecuniary reparation is accomplished during the time of exile, whereas elsewhere it is paid on the day of return. This day the murderer, accompanied by the jemâa, presents himself to the parents of the victim, must be the first to greet them deferentially and turn out of their way, while lowering his head."

This notation undoubtedly is in large part the interpretations of an informant. But even as such, how instructive it is that the "supplication" aspect and magical procedures of exclusion come to complicate an operation of public law! We shall not resolve this disparity; it is not the only one that the milieu manifests.

However that may be, the dîâ then paid to the parents was 100 reals and a bovine. In addition, the jemâa collected the provisions for a meal: one sheep, semolina, salted butter, sugar. Let us recognize, moreover, that the old acts almost never anticipated a case of murder, doubtlessly out of fear of bad augury. They were satisfied to decree the punishment incurred by the gesture, that /373/ is, by the intention: two degrees, as will be seen, depending on whether the weapon was brandished or utilized. This is a relatively refined technique. What has left traces, outside of codifications, a veritable literary genre and so abundant that it is surprising that a theory of retaliation has been able to exist in the modern exegesis, are veritable legal papers.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamf^c umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^c il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^cabbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/376 cont./

634 554 repairs of the séquias, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166 Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose prevalence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the moqaddem": so much fine, man idda°a bichibha wa ta^c arrad'a illâ bi-muchawarat il-muqaddam. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed.

[681]

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the moqaddem is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the moqaddem can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the jemâa is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the moqaddem or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the jemâa, illa bi-muchâwarat il-jamâ^c a".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^ca and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[794] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
• [681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
[693] which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jema^{c}t" of a "mouda^{c}" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "mouda^{c}" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "mouda^{c}" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jema^{c}t" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

632
*634

1. It may happen that the organization of the "mouda^{c}" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "mouda^{c}." One also sees from

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

*634 554 /225 cont./
firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small states. In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the [613] names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaʿin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 •681 652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 [651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
•681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 184 178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Ait Ou^c^azzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Ait Ou^c^azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Ait Arba^c^in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named deliberate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1), [625]

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Ait Arba^c^in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Ait Arba^c^in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^c^a" of the Ait Ou^c^azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^c^a" goes first of all among the Ait Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Ait Ou^c^azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are summoned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot [695] [681]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
•[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[182] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the
[619] exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[154] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a benefi-
ciary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the
one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days
of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself
according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often
also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put
in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of
the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary con-
tribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate,
levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and
the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying
contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In
the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the coun-
try and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary
of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests
or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official
measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way ob-
served in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of
the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been
said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the
legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/257 cont./

343 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the
571 "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the
554 chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do
683 with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of
571 the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress
554 itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a
[574] meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collec-
[671] tion of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions,
[434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that
[681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a
[652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus con-
[556] stitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who ex-
[471] ploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones [652] into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

[681] [651] [794] [735] [465]

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

175 /274 cont./
*634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly amel-
661 iorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop
• [681] increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/389 cont./

177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
648 the same time the part of the "chra^{c}" /shar^{c}/ grows unceasingly;
671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
177 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes,
648 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
671 the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba^{c}in, falls into the hands of
* 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of
* 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power?
• [681] Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least
[693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases [177]
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.),
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo- [692]
mary law is established and revised by the local representative
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

•••Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

• 681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

•••... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

/372 cont./

627 of the "marabouts"), are solicited. The term of azwag signifies
681 both the "banished" and the "suppliant," double aspect, passive and active, of the notion.

682 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Some twenty years ago one of our officers wrote: "To-day, when a murder has been committed, the tribe orders some of its members to go to burn the gutters and other pieces of wood that project from the dwelling of the murderer. This act signifies to the guilty one that he must immediately leave the territory of the tribe. It is later announced: "There is no God but Allah, and Moh'ammed is his Prophet. Hear, O people of the tribe, so-and-so must leave as azwag, and if he is seen among us he must not be pardoned." "In Seksawa, pecuniary reparation is accomplished during the time of exile, whereas elsewhere it is paid on the day of return. This day the murderer, accompanied by the jemâa, presents himself to the parents of the victim, must be the first to greet them deferentially and turn out of their way, while lowering his head."

This notation undoubtedly is in large part the interpretations of an informant. But even as such, how instructive it is that the "supplication" aspect and magical procedures of exclusion come to complicate an operation of public law! We shall not resolve this disparity; it is not the only one that the milieu manifests.

However that may be, the dîâ then paid to the parents was 100 reals and a bovine. In addition, the jemâa collected the provisions for a meal: one sheep, semolina, salted butter, sugar. Let us recognize, moreover, that the old acts almost never anticipated a case of murder, doubtlessly out of fear of bad augury. They were satisfied to decree the punishment incurred by the gesture, that /373/ is, by the intention: two degrees, as will be seen, depending on whether the weapon was brandished or utilized. This is a relatively refined technique. What has left traces, outside of codifications, a veritable literary genre and so abundant that it is surprising that a theory of retaliation has been able to exist in the modern exegesis, are veritable legal papers.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamî^c umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^c il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^cabbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

/229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the [613] councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to 619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the 184 other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 • 682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
175 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Ait Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Ait Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
175 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
726 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/289 cont./

*634 613 682 [6[illegible]] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 613

*634 616 [578] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Seh[illegible]
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since th[illegible]
*634 Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him
[682] by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in
seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi ap-
proaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he
himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo.
For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later
he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.
The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his ad-
versary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house,
which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influ-
726 ence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
616 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more
to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances
in the leff of the "Imsifem," which he has sometimes had to
neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si
Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of
his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident
"Imsifem" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he
finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he
annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the
"Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamf^c umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^c il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^cabbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^c anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/381 cont./
671 many dissertations to it (1).
212

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a
212 religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension
779 makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
685 of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for rob-
671 bery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of ampu-
779 tation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735,
683 emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of
671 Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some
779

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqîh from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

671 This pedantic contamination between the statute and the native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Shooting at a man but missing him.
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

778 /287 cont./
776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
794 Bu^c^anfir in Ud Bessebâ^c^ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in
[685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide
[554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom
[771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
[634] brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/381 cont./
671 212 many dissertations to it (1).

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlî, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 212 799 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 685 671 799 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for robbery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of amputation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 683 671 799 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735, emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some

/250 cont./

443 Bouzia in the Haha tribe, the "Had" of the Ait Mzal in the Anti-Atlas, or still more often at the foot of the mountains, such as, for example, the markets of Amismiz and of Tisgin of the
443 Gedmiwa. Sometimes surrounded by a contiguous wall, these
366 markets possess several hundred shops formed out of alveoli of earth and dry stone, covered with branches, divided into quarters or "rahba." One finds in their enclosure cafés, which are often unpleasant places, sometimes permanent storehouses for storing commodities, always a mosque in which people go to
443 swear an oath if some dispute arises. These markets, frequented by all the tribes of the vicinity, sometimes at two days' distance, often gather together several thousand Berbères /Berbers/. It then becomes necessary to watch particularly to protect the transactions by special regulations.

443 It is a great disgrace for the inhabitants of a country not to
625 be able to repress energetically the thefts that might be com-
685 mitted in their souq /sook/ or on the roads leading to it; so all the little codes of customary law of the tribes of the South of Morocco are devoted to long paragraphs enumerating the considerable fines that punish the thieves and route cutters who would try to practice their trade at the market or its outskirts. Incessant surveillance is exercised by the tribal authorities, so that the guilty may be immediately apprehended and condemned. There is reason to fear, as a matter of fact, that there may break out at the market an altercation whose appearance could be the signal for a panic. Sometimes similar incidents are created on purpose by the thieves in order to "break up" the souq and to enable them, by means of the disorder, to pillage valuable merchandise.

For all these reasons, it is rare that an assembly of notables suffices to make the "horma," the good name of the market, respected. /251/ Certain tribes nevertheless succeed in protecting their souqs, and then reap large profits from them (1).

1. Cf. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 128-134: the development of the market of Tinghir (Todgha) permits leasing the rights

443 /251 cont./
625
685

/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge
443 all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often,
634 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitu-
554 tions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of im-
692 posing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty
685 and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas
*634 succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on
792 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the
784 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-
[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2).

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/306 cont./
343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the
[423] village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a [685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, [184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
.685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
[358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/321 cont./

343 The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes,
712 if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given
625 a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore,
[465] he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers.
[358] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective
[184] responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed
[685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabit-
712 ants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its
621 operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns
423 poor maintenance and theft.
358
[685]
[184] In all the collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Shooting at a man but missing him,	Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Collection of blood money,	Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,	Wounding,
	Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

/316 cont./

212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 [688] In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqîh, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as
624 has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction
[689] on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
45 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436]
[104]

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.
The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
[578] ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[556] [471] [186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/324 cont./

693 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears
692 most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the
634 a. H'adduywa, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property
●69 case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
[681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710,
175 and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly em-
69 power a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./

175 grindstones, manāhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods,
69 dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'āq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'īn, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmūkī, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqāq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujūdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693
121

1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

[114]

/326 cont./

693
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/. 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwâh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 621 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation between Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 691 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of proceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 361 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Demsira]

/220 cont./

613 312 [443] [391] 1) At Timezgadiwin, an important market between the Tizi Umachcho and Argana, the law is so present that it could serve corollarially in a judiciary investigation in the proceedings setting against the present jemâa the claim of a formerly evicted ikhs, the a. Umahal. This ikhs's turn for water and its share in all the quarters of the ground: Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeranan, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, had been camouflaged by the four other ikhs-s making up the a. Timezgadiwin, but three quarters of a century of occupation did not succeed in abolishing them. Thus there were always 5 turns for water for 4 ikhs-s, no plausible explanation being alleged for such an anomaly. That in a matter which in such a milieu is always reasoned out very exactly. An error in the administration of the water: the investigation thrust itself in there and unmasked the usurpation.

613 312 423 2) At Tinnmrutin, high-mountain village of the a. Châib, endowed with a relatively large ground, there exist 7 ikhs-s. The irrigated land is divided into 12 quarters perpendicular to the axis of the torrent: Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. As a general rule, each quarter is divided among all the ikhs-s. Nevertheless inequalities of appurtenance, going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 423 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[423] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different

619 634 585 [184] 619 634 691 [186] [184]

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
[171] absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" included, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
578 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istirᶜâ' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
42

1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the
000 victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.
794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
[692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de-
794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/313 cont./

792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ [794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. [691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/322 cont./

792 Sibâ^c^î is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
[776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ^{c}ala wasat'i'l-jamâ^{c}a. In this affair, obviously of private law,

/327 cont./

695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
[794] 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

/355 cont./

423 /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the oc-
691 casion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgit. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{w}a. The jemâa proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{w}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{w}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

175 A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.:
691 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the
423 ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack
425 the Idma recovered it. But certain ikhs-s were false, being on the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
[192] The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsîra even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in [671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428

On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases [177]
such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.),
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

/163 cont./

241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
(675) nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
hûmance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[171] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agnur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

/264 cont./

42 627 In the very widespread formula of the resolutory sales, improperly called rrahn, or, in the acts, thunyâ, and which correspond to a very ancient landed-property mode of this milieu, the debtor, who is also the owner of the land, has available a means of interrupting automatically the right of the lessee. This is [692] /265/ to deposit an "obole" /obolus/, tauqit, tamuzunt (1),

> 1. And moreover istiman and l^c^arbûn. Evidently the idea of deposit itself has a very complex past and meaning. Still without any idea of systematic comparison, and, if one wishes, only for "curiosity," let us say that certain aspects of this tamuzunt of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are not free from suggesting the formality of the aes "whose restitution brings about liberation of the land" (H. Lévy-Bruhl, Quelques problèmes de très ancien droit romain /Some problems of very ancient Roman law/, p. 144).

in the hands of some sort of auctoritas: today a common magistrate, formerly such-and-such a fqih, notable or "marabout." In the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa the process is even more direct. When it is a question of orchards, the obole will be deposited on the pile of olives in the very course of the gathering: this puts an end to the usufruct of the lessee. Rationalist reinterpretations have naturally assimilated this procedure to a settlement by "deposit," l^c^arbûn. But this latter notion is itself complex. What one notices most concretely in the operation described here is that the gesture causes a break in the parties' respective situation concerning the field. As for the partimonial bond, the owner's legitimacy has never ceased. But it cut itself off from "legitimate occupation" (verb âmmer). The latter now reintegrates the initial right, an expression that we find again word for word in a writing from the eighteenth century. Henceforth, the lessee is usurping. More

/284 cont./

346 794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except 794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small 173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it:

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter [784] two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away. [211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqqura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence 776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed [778] by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the [619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin, [634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on [796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few [443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations [692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among loqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^ct, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.
794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
[692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de-
794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/322 cont./

792 Sibâ^c^ 1 is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
[776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/

A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/." R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 692 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears most often as linked to the progress of personal power and natu rally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 634 69 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and [794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous [681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 69 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710, and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/326 cont./

693
692

The appeal to an eminent sapience (2),

693
692
114

2. In the thirteenth century, al-ᶜAbdarī shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., Journal asiatique, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 de fine sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIᵉ siècle /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (ibid., Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W[illegible] a vallée du Zagmouzen," in CHEAM, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in CHEAM, p. 15).

693
692

the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

/382 cont./

671

The Community As Organ of Juridical Creation

"Public law," we would say. To what extent is such an appellation legitimate? In fact, despite the development of the contract in this society, the statutory aspect of many individual relations on the one hand, their implication with collective factors on the other, finally the omnipresence of a communitarian life whose adjuvant force and the feeling of well-being and normalcy that it inspires have for ransom a very extended gamut of sanctions, continually entail the interference of the private and of the public, of the civil and of the penal.

Such an interference will go by itself into an "archaic" law, and the fact that one sets up here a question that elsewhere would be pure scruple, and in addition anachronistic, indicates to what extent the present investigation has believed it necessary to turn aside, apropos the /383/ Seksawa system, and Chleuh /Shluh/ system in general, from such commonly accepted ideas, those of the late Marcy, for example. The distinction of public law and private law is related moreover, especially perhaps in Seksawa, to aspects of expression and elaboration rather than to the nature of things. But aspects how strongly contrasted! Up to the contemporaneous period the jemâa has remained the penal judge. On the other hand, we see from the oldest period that an external magistery is called upon in order to recognize goods and persons. But, in addition, and on this very matter, the legislator is none other than the group.

[692]

671 779

This account has sufficiently marked all the traits of indivision, confusion, or junction between this communal law, as it is expressed or is conceived itself, and the fiqh. As in several departments of private law, it is in a sort of contractual excess that a surpassing of the model, thus a useful alibi, seems to have been sought. This law has outbid a law of citizens and merchants by the meticulous extreme of the cheap-Jack. With its being so close to magico-religious bases, to the communitarian vehemence of the group, it is not by an oath that, like our good towns of the

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

*631 [174] /168 cont./
conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619 [796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/169 cont./

*631 ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe
619 fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of
[796] the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the
•[692] general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is
decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common
frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of
local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three
tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations,
the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been
strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc
*631 made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives
*634 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone
619 capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary
states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has suf-
ficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it
were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the
"taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated
blows (1).

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

/223 cont./

*634 789 184 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 554 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is [666] [613] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however, *634 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who •692 is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs presented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a 554 stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585] [586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[571] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[754] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[574] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178]

/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 619 184 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the A'lt Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the A'lt Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 184 178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Ait Ou^c^azzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Ait Ou^c^azzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Ait Arba^c^in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named deliberate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1), [625]

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Ait Arba^c^in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Ait Arba^c^in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^c^a" of the Ait Ou^c^azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^c^a" goes first of all among the Ait Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Ait Ou^c^azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are summoned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot [695] [681]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

/251 cont./

443 625 685 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, 443 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, 634 it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty 554 692 and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The 685 existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on *634 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the 792 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Ait Daoud near the tomb of Sidi 784 Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Ait Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[334] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
• [692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), [177]
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

among the *imggilla* have actually to swear, and who is to swear first; and it may be that only one of them is required to swear. In the case of homicide the *imggilla* are fifty, out of whom ten, called *immqqarn*, are chosen by the accuser. If any of these refuses to swear, the suspected person is considered guilty of the crime; hence it frequently happens that the accuser by bribery induces some kinsman of the latter to refuse to act as conjurator. If a theft has been committed the evidence of witnesses is accepted, but they must actually have seen the commission of the theft and they must all be men. In the case of homicide, on the other hand, testimony can bring about conviction only if the perpetrator of the crime is publicly known... (Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 511-513). 695

Not only did the nature of the alleged crime determine the number of required conjurators, but also the nature of the adjudicating body. Thus Coon (1931, pp. 99-106) found the following division of responsibilities among the councils of the Rif. [692]

Village Council

Theft of eggs and of poultry,
Theft of maize,
Illegal cutting of maize in adjoining terraces,
Breaking branches of fruit-trees,
Trampling vegetable gardens,
Theft in orchards,
Illegal starting of grape picking,
Illegal picking of windfall olives,
Theft of olives,
Trespassing in order to pick grass,
Letting stray goats and cattle in the cemetery,
Failure to repair irrigation ditches,
Failure to provide for exiles from other *fifths*,
Failure to contribute to entertainment of councillors of other tribes,
Entering council chamber unbidden,
Conversing with women,
Entering a cemetery occupied by women,
Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women,
Fighting with the hands,
Speaking to the enemy.

Commune Council

Failure to support village council,
Entering a women's market,
Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act,
Theft of livestock,
Fighting with sticks,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

•oo Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All [685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions [623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according [634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to [635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the [171] fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This • 692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

•oo ... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.

Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

/92 cont./

175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Abdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
651 central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Abdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/277 cont./

175 794 675 [176] [126] the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [176] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre- [127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum- [693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^c lâm registers him (1).

1. ^c Abbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^c lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor, a great one in jurisprudence (2). [181] [693]

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^c Abbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 794 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 692 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 634 69 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and [794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous [681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 69 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710, and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./

175 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods,
69 dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'în, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693
121

1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

[114]

/326 cont./

693
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/. 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwāh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

/326 cont./

693 692 The appeal to an eminent sapience (2),

693 692 114

2. In the thirteenth century, al-ᶜAbdarī shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., Journal asiatique, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 de fine sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIᵉ siècle /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (ibid., Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen," in CHEAM, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in CHEAM, p. 15).

693 692 the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

/335 cont./

695 175 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq from Daud at-Tamullî or at-Timlî, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 794 693 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evolution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to compare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594
171
114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
451 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/389 cont./

177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
648 the same time the part of the "chra^c" /shar^c/ grows unceasingly;
671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
177 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes,
648 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
671 the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba^cin, falls into the hands of
* 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of
* 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that
[681] take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to
[693] the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and [693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] [343] [712] [652] [466] [653] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[423] [166]

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

695

Shluh MW11

[For further information on oaths when used for informal settlement of disputes, see Category 627; as used in a religious context, see Category 782.]

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

/322 cont./

792 Sibâ^c^ī is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
[776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[627] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source. / An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ᶜala wasat'i'l-jamâᶜa. In this affair, obviously of private law,

695 /327 cont./

The expression s-tarad'i (1),

[192]

1. Maghrebi ethnology will have made real progress when it is able to follow, over the whole gamut of North African societies, the progress of such-and-such a notion, reduced to its precise meaning, in the most varied linguistic dress; and corollarially to study the semantic variations of such an institutional term. I am thinking, for example, of the word chert' or chchard', or of the word ta^{c}amamt, well known in the Kabyle matrimonial law, and which I find again in the Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), indeed even in an old text from the Sous ...

"by mutual agreement," certainly concerns the designation of the judge rather than the character of the verdict. It is true that even a judgment properly speaking, that of the present tribunals, for example, must little or much, in order to be executory, rally the yielding party. Ur rd'igh, "I do not agree": such an utterance occasionally indicates the nonrallying and hence also that the malcontent will appeal to other paths of recourse: obstruction, dilatory maneuvers, indeed violent resistance. Is it necessary to conclude that an arbitral aspect, profoundly ancient and authentic, has survived even in the modern organization of jurisdictions and that a fortiori the ancient s-tarad'i decision was merely arbitration pure and simple?... All that one can conjecture is that the development of the Chleuh /Shluh/ proceedings still implies today, and, with stronger reason, formerly implied, old mores rendering obligatory, under penalty of nullity or of loss, a "commitment" by both parties. This commitment has significantly taken a contractual form. In return, the distance at which the jemâa takes care to remain with respect to the settlement of the case screens the latter from the opinion of the group. And the reaction of the city procedures has cloaked the person of the magistrate and his

695 121

/327 cont./

695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
[794] 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

695 /328 cont./
212 pedantic and rustic, and the rudeness of the characters. To this proliferation of the writing corresponds the major judiciary role
171 that it is made to play. A comparison with the neighboring fiqh
695 /Islamic law/ will help one understand better how exorbitant this
212 role is.

In the fiqh, the act is only the materialization of the testimony (2).

2. E. Tyan, Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman /The notariate and the regime of proof by writing in the practice of Mussulman law/, 1945, p. 5.

Its link with the human word is always present in that this word both offers solemnity (cf. the chahâda, in the sense of "profession," of "attestation") and must express sincerity. The Mussulman criticism of testimony will also oscillate between the two poles of psychological verification and control of form. Law of the human word, the fiqh will have no particular respect for autographic proof any more than it will for objective inquiry. It rejects, almost like two equal idolatries, the cult of the writing and that of the facts. Between the two, it will follow an elegant road, that of formulas well regulated and not at all inclined to formalism so much as to a certain precision of tone, fixed once and for all, and subjected to the double control of the grammarian and the moralist. The motives for infirmation will consequently be the impurity of the agent and the defects of the language rather than the inadequation to the real. The content of the "allegation," al-qawl, and the authority of the "alleger," al-qâ'il, remain the principal objectives of the criticism. Therefore the system of proofs is hand and glove with the enchainment of tradition and the application of the essential norm, which is the "dominant opinion," machhûr. A remarkable unity of methods is manifest in all this. The same criticism of /329/ oral testimony presides over the imitation of the Prophet, the construction of the law, and

695
212 /329 cont./
[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arrâten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istir^{c}â'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t'ṭ'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/329 cont./

212 Such-and-such a jrîda, "list of parcels," victoriously brandished
695 in support of a case, rests only upon the absolutely unilateral allegations of an ancestor: what belief would it merit in strict
212 proceedings? From that, too, the frequency of falsehood. In the
695 judiciary jousting, every expedient counts. What is falsehood
577 after all, if not a meritorious trait of craftiness, of concern to give better proof, and, finally, of intelligence in the dispute? More profoundly, if the force of a title consists on the one hand of its very material, on the other hand, of the emotional intensity that it reveals on the part of the usager or avowant — force of the thing on one side, force of the person on the other, /330/ the distinction between false and authentic act will be only subtlety. This is indeed what, even today, the litigants as well as the judges confusedly feel.

695 The notion of oral testimony, on which the written act rests
212 in fiqh, could not therefore find total application here. On the one side it is replaced, in case of conflict, by chirographic proof (1).

1. Thus decided, in 1953, apropos a case of this kind, the Tribunal coutumier /Customary Court/ of the Seksawa.

695 On the other side, it is surpassed by sworn law: plural oath among others. The "witness" is effaced before the coswearer. Here the ordeal, there the human word.

... The Oath

One knows how much the cojuratio, by its still indicated magical character, mixed with rough computations, has retained the attention of our sociologists (2).

2. Summary bibliography and discussion in J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, under §15.

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laftf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is considered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest [823] will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 778 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 571 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. [602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

/332 cont./

695 571 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ [175] An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 695 613 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait differently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described, but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

[674] Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 /333/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it
695 jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the timez-
613 gida, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of s.m.h', gh.f.r., ch.h.d., proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental initium thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between ikhs-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primi-
695 tivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a fqih, Abdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a cojuratio. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," radda nafsahu fî jihat, and "is returning," tâb, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/333 cont./

175 greatly anterior to the first: by several centuries! It is probable
695 that these Seksawa societies permitted simultaneously institutions, minds of both forms, indeed impulses of one or the other genre within the same minds. Any genetic explanation consequently appears singularly suspect. On the contrary, what is likely is that this genre of contrast has existed all the time, and that this society, if one may say it, has looked upon it favorably.

695 /334/ A Document on the Historical Relations Between the Plural Oath and the "lafîf" Testimony

The Moroccan judiciary practice ended up by admitting a subsidiary form of "testimony," initially reserved for only the "just," ᶜadl. In opposition to this canonical concept, the lafîf restored the statistical concept of any witnesses whatsoever, that is to say, close or complaisant (1).

1. Al-ᶜIraqî, "La preuve par témoins, lafîf /Proof by witnesses, lafîf/," Revue du Maghreb, 1939, No. 9, pp. 1 sq. ("Doctrine"). Question frequently approached in the Moroccan juridical literature. It is the subject of an entire treatise by al-ᶜArabî al-Fâsi in the seventeenth century. Cf. also al-Wazzânî, Commentaire de l'ᶜAmal /Commentary of the ᶜAmal/, pp. 93 in fine sq.

Let us take heed, that was only the pure expression of a support of the group. Between the ordeal, which is the basis of the plural oath, and the moral criticism to which the religious law subjects the testimony, the lafîf constitutes a sort of third position, influenced by the notarial practice. The latter being specified, one no longer discriminated between witnesses as "just," ᶜadl, and
[191] nonjust, but as professionals and private persons. At Fès /Fez/
695 this mode took some time to assert itself. Polemics on this sub-
175 ject prevailed throughout the sixteenth century. The lafîf was

/334 cont./

695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long
175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the complementary oath imposed by the cadi on the cowitnesses of the lafîf was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous
[195] /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ᶜAbd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: ᶜalâmuᶜâyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ᶜalâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-duᶜâ'i bi'lbarakat. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (sic): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the baraka, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of bayyînat in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/
[212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in lafîf. "Astawqafa (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (sic) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses astachhada in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/335 cont./

695 175 initial act, here called sijla, recopied "for fear of destruction by wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole with three rudimentary responsa justifying the operation. This evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the former oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging into the solidarity of the jemâa, and doubtlessly illustrated by the rite evoked by the word du^{c}â', has been pronounced. The son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses, the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not sufficiently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover falsify the interpretation of the first text (1).

> 1. As-Suktâni, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud ^{c}Abdalmawlâ, who was interested in several of these technical notions as a result of the numerous epistolary relations that he maintained as consultant with the justiciables of tribes still plunged in custom, bâb achchahâdât, pp. 135 sq., seems to use murd'iy in the sense of "accepted witness." But this whole affair is extremely confused. Although allusion is frequently made to wathâ'iq formularies, practice often stops at the single witness and at the interferences between the oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural history of six centuries, from the Wathâ'iq of al-Mattîr'î to the recent commentary of the Fir^{c}ûnîya. At what time did this art

/335 cont./

695 175 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq from Daud at-Tamulît or at-Timît, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 794 693 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evolution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to compare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
jrda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foun-
(695) dation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the
argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if
nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the coun-
try. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription
borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the con-
solidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be
found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons
where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that
would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recog-
nize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further
in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa
an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed
property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than
effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the
settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign"
of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different
from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition,
today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the
old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes
very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced.
It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
67 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
(562) property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(184) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between
taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in
all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as
bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs
what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the
course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 12 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1/continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the conjuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/388 cont./

671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well
[613] as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/425 cont./

616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3),

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of
[695] collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/436 cont./

000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together
182 the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This
[695] proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small
634 taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions
578 without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, [613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

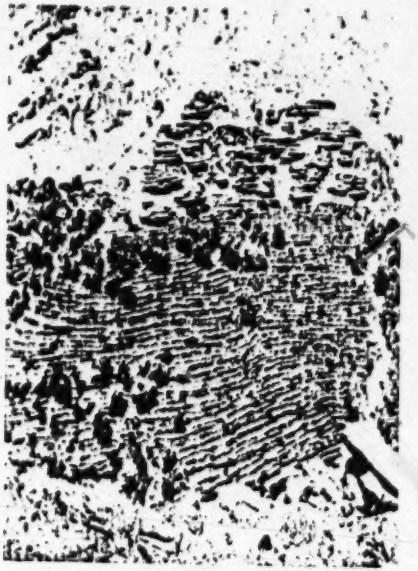
1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
346
695

Cl. L. Berque

The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

133
361



Cl. Mohammed b. Lahsen

Benches at Usikis (Idma)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

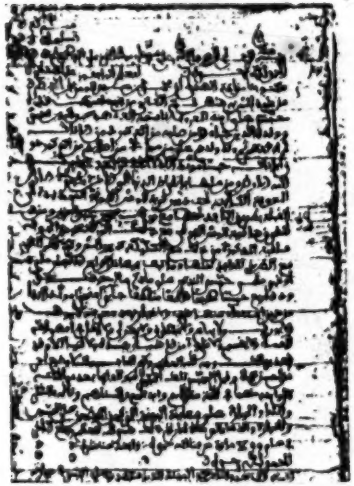
133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

212
695



From the plural oath to the notarial act, "lafif"

Act of 899 Heg. = 1494, collected in Idaw Geryun

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^c^id Ou ^c^Abd en
[778] Na^c^im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
*[631] long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
•695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
[173] /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/229 cont./

*634 619 692 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a certain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 619 692 184 178 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ouᶜazzoun and the Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, for example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arbaᶜin, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named deliberate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1), [625]

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arbaᶜin, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arbaᶜin of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmoᶜa" of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmoᶜa" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are summoned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot. [695] [681]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
• [695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being 671
somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases
(such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), [177]
and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been
replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of
criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This custo-
mary law is established and revised by the local representative [692]
councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or
by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to
have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent
and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should
be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mun-
dane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins Univer-
sity, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and 671
(formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, 312
wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regu- [674]
lated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the
Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary
law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature
of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain
of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether suf-
ficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy
his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River
which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of
land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of
the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber [691]
areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through [624]
the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imaz-
zalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in
accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was character- 695
ized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of [681]
fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the
Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an
associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to
give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

695 great *baraka* (religious power or blessing) – such as the Koran, the mosque itself, or a saintly shrine. In Berber customary law, however, the oath is employed not only for its supernatural consequences, but also as a legal device, that is, the oath is used in judicial proceedings as a means of establishing the guilt or innocence of a person accused of a crime, and may be taken either by the accuser or by the accused, or by certain other persons who, in addition to
695 the latter, swear to his innocence as conjurators. This procedure,
171 which is also found in Moroccan Moslem law, has been described by Westermarck (1926, Vol. 1, pp. 509-510):

> In Fez, for example, if a person (A.) accuses another person (B.) of theft and the latter disputes the accuracy of the charge, A. says to B., "Come then with me to the governor". The governor asks A. if he can produce witnesses, and if he can do so, sends a soldier with him to hear the evidence. If more than two persons bear testimony to B.'s guilt he has to compensate A. for his loss and pay a fee to the soldier or is otherwise thrown into prison; but the witnesses do not appear before the governor, nor are they sworn in. If they simply testify that B. has stolen something from A. without stating the amount, the latter has to confirm his accusation on oath. Again, if A. declares that he cannot produce witnesses, the governor says to B., *Ḥälf lû*, or, *A'téh ḥaqq lláh*. If B. obeys and swears to his innocence he is acquitted and has nothing to pay. On the other hand, if he refuses to swear, saying, *Qläbtsû álih*, "I turned it on him", the governor asks A. if he is willing to swear that B. is guilty. If he swears, B. has to pay or, if he does not pay, is put into prison; but it may be that A. has to swear twice, since B. may insist that A. shall not only swear to his guilt but also confirm by oath the amount he has stolen. If A. says that he cannot take the oath demanded of him because he did did not see the commission of the theft but only heard of it, or that he strongly suspects B. of it, then B. has to swear or, if he refuses to do so, is compelled to pay or is thrown in prison...

695 Among the Berber tribes the number of conjurators varies according to the gravity of the alleged offense, and includes the accused person himself and male members of his kin, including young boys – this being a consequence of the concept of the collective responsibility of kindred and their duty of mutual assistance. Thus, among the Beni Sadden (64),

> ... the *imggilla* [conjurators], as they are called, are five in case of theft, and one of them, called *amnqqar*, is chosen by the accuser. The latter decides where and how the oaths are to be made, how many and who

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

among the *imggilla* have actually to swear, and who is to swear first; and it may be that only one of them is required to swear. In the case of homicide the *imggilla* are fifty, out of whom ten, called *immqqarn*, are chosen by the accuser. If any of these refuses to swear, the suspected person is considered guilty of the crime; hence it frequently happens that the accuser by bribery induces some kinsman of the latter to refuse to act as conjurator. If a theft has been committed the evidence of witnesses is accepted, but they must actually have seen the commission of the theft and they must all be men. In the case of homicide, on the other hand, testimony can bring about conviction only if the perpetrator of the crime is publicly known... (Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 511-513). 695

Not only did the nature of the alleged crime determine the number of required conjurators, but also the nature of the adjudicating body. Thus Coon (1931, pp. 99-106) found the following division of responsibilities among the councils of the Rif. [692]

Village Council

Theft of eggs and of poultry,
Theft of maize,
Illegal cutting of maize in adjoining terraces,
Breaking branches of fruit-trees,
Trampling vegetable gardens,
Theft in orchards,
Illegal starting of grape picking,
Illegal picking of windfall olives,
Theft of olives,
Trespassing in order to pick grass,
Letting stray goats and cattle in the cemetery,
Failure to repair irrigation ditches,
Failure to provide for exiles from other *fifths*,
Failure to contribute to entertainment of councillors of other tribes,
Entering council chamber unbidden,
Conversing with women,
Entering a cemetery occupied by women,
Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women,
Fighting with the hands,
Speaking to the enemy.

Commune Council

Failure to support village council,
Entering a women's market,
Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act,
Theft of livestock,
Fighting with sticks,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 754 punishment could place himself in the protection of a prominent person by entering his tent or grasping the tent-pole at the entrance and exclaiming, "I am in God's *'ar* and your *'ar*," or, "I am seeking refuge with your children." The owner of the tent is then obliged to assist him, at least by acting as an intermediary between him and his pursuer, or by speaking to the *caid* or governor on his behalf. The pursuer, in such a case, cannot try forcible to remove the fugitive, but must apply to the owner. A similar custom prevails among the sedentary populations residing in houses. A fugitive could also place himself in the *'ar* of a woman by touching her, sucking her breast, sitting down in front of her, or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill; her husband and family then being obliged to help him. He could also place himself under the protection or *'ar* of an entire village to which he has fled by crying, "I am seeking refuge with God and You, O Community", or by seeking refuge in the village mosque. Mosques generally, however, are not as safe as saints' shrines, for an individual seeking refuge in a shrine came under the *'ar* of the saint. In the Arabic-speaking area a fugitive frequently used *'ar* to obtain a pardon from the authorities.

571 754 695 This alliance mechanism could, however, be used not only by the defendant in a civil or criminal case, but also by the plaintiff. Persons who had suffered damage or injury, or had had a relative murdered, and were unable to protect themselves or obtain vengeance, secured aid by casting *'ar* upon other individuals or upon various social groups. This could be done by hanging an earthenware pot around the neck and entering another person's tent or house; by turning the handmill in this person's tent or house; by placing a saddle upside-down at his door or sacrificing an animal there; or, in the case of women, by cutting the hair, blackening the face, covering oneself with rags and cow-dung, and passing from village to village asking for aid – the latter being a particularly powerful form of casting *'ar* which cannot be refused. Among the Beraber a person may cast an extremely compulsory kind of *'ar* by taking his little son or daughter to the house of the leading man of a village, or to the mosque, laying the child across the door, holding a knife over the artery of the neck, and threatening to kill it if the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried 571
daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying 754
that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner 695
of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in [627]
civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term 571
ameqqon ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* 563
("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

/125 cont./

*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 712 [632] domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Teïwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little [343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas- [251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the [651] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; fi- [697] nally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/289 cont./

*634 613 682 [697] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 613

*634 616 [578] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
•697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow; a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village it to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened [648] from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[701] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121]
[113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/425 cont./
616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3).

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its
[695] field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
•701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
*634
648

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
•701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
•701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
*631 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
712 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in [701]
office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of offiice, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate 635
completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally 554
in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the schedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the [701] •
military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority [72]
to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibi- [623]
lities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, ooo
qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Besseba^c, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
[171] fortiori among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
592 tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: -Agadir
[712] n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
24 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
22 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/393 cont./

175
121

Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

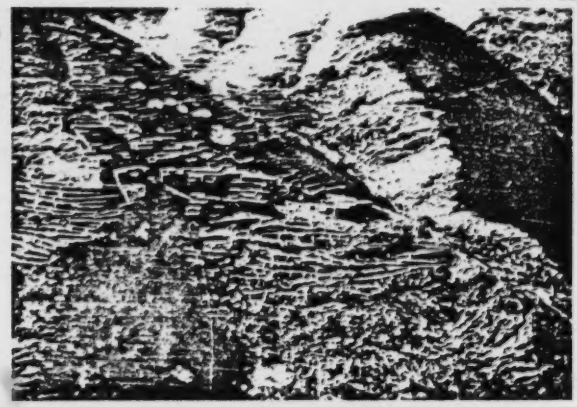
One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

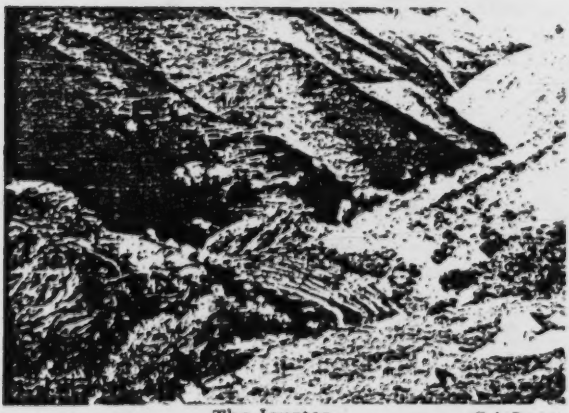
175
121
343
712

1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

Pl. XII

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[192]
[712]
[343]
[487]

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

361
.712
184

/39 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of
712 the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-
184 Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective
[343] storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes
[243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these vari-
592 ous groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/74 cont./

*175 taken supreme authority by using the name of the Almohades. After hard fights the brother of the sultan Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub scattered the Beni Gommi and destroyed Taroudant (1).

•[712]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. -- Perhaps it is necessary to attribute to Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub the construction of the immense fortress which is still seen among the Aït A^{c}issi (Haha) on the Jebel Asles facing the territory of the Ida Ou Tanan. From its appearance it seems to date from the Mérinide period; tradition attributes it to Ali Ya^{c}ich, a personage about whom there are only imprecise legends. Tadert, the place where Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub was first defeated, could be the village of this name among the Aït Zelten, near the kaid's house. Irgharen, where he put the rebels to flight, would be the present-day Iregharen among the Ida ou Tanan (Aït Ouqsri). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. III, p. 493.

In the reign of Abou Tabet, in 1308, there was first of all the disturbance created by a pretender, Yousof Ibn ^{c}Ali ^{c}Ayyad, at Aghmat among the Heskoura; then in the western part of the Deren an independent chief, ^{c}Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, claimed the title of "agellid," Berbère /Berber/ king of the Seksawa. After a semblance of war, the Sultan contented himself with receiving presents from ^{c}Omar ben Haddo, had the Rokna, a rebel tribe who had taken refuge among the Haha, pursued, and left again to chastise the Arabs in the plains of the North (2).

[103]

2. Roudh el Kartas, p. 551. Tamezouart is without doubt the present village of Tamezaourt near our post of Bigoudine, on the main Makhzen /makhzan/ road from Bibaoun. The Rokna

/125 cont./

*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain •712 hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work [632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little [343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas- [251] bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the [651] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects [697] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/126 cont./

*631 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in
•712 the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the
174 mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the
*631 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established
342 sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one
[735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the
*634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages,
[721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/134 cont./

175 *631 *634 /footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In [178] the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all [671] the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, [652] an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of [712] "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the [343] peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631 The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
[669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys. As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet • [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs 184 in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes [632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much [621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the * [634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
•712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
[625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^{c}" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
[182] Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127]

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] 343 712 182 671 571

So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113]

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Ăouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Ăît ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Ăît ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/260 cont./

343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute nat-
726 ural centers of resistance against the domination of the great
[631] chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nine-
[175] teenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
178 years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact,
726 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/261 cont./

343 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the
712 regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus
178 it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past
712 and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the
174 evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps
178 it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/." Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--
178 Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its • 712 crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 At other times the transformation of the villages is spontane-
361 ous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the
*[631] solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the
[342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above
[712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours'
361 march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one
343 of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of
712 its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege,
[726] the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
•712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecog-
[726] nizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this
old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables,
adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/
manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik
of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher,
added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a
more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former
times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become
the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth
the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it
is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He
dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while
the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-power-
ful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the
walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends
for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza."
When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he
thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred
meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of
old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the
village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the
notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that
of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar.
Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled
by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a
democratic village that the children themselves remember.
/Page 266 is blank./

/286 cont./

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
*634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
[648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
[712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries, and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the "Imsifern." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
•[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "Aït Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the Aït Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Aït
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "Aït Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Aït Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.
[726] The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[712] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered; the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
726 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
616 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
*[631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century. It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdiyen, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
*631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened [648] from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/328 cont./

175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
616 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
726 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by
night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he
came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the
North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the val-
ley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the
North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last
expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards
and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben ʿAli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila of
578 the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
*631 the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*634 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
• [712] enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ᶜAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
159 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy left in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
(1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
*631 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
578 of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/337 cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
• [712] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
*631 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of
578 conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remaining at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/ formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
.712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
.712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./

175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
•712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these construc-
[466] tions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
[333] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the A'it Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
•712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel," traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
*634 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
616 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
726 and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later, all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
* 634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 174 171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly [648] clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gellôul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.
[616]

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
• [712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
[342] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
•[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, con-
tained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted store-
houses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, in-
tended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the ma-
terial aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great
chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other
Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we
have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands
of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is
the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him
to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the
Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the de-
feated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circum-
stance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
*631 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
.712 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] [343] [712] [652] [466] [653] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/. Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

102
361
343
.112

/304/

3: Dupas--2 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343 /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in
712 use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been
[178] in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is
[312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where
[351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series
[417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule
712 of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless
124 practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among
[671]
[178]

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./
343 village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a reso-
712 nator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case
[625] they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the
village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers
that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90
chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is espe-
[621] cially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the
village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to
[423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four
[628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros,
[426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives
343 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate.
712 He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October;
625 in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/
/309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he
[465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives
a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of
343 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the
712 theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the
685 guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking
625 open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the
amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief
found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is
not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms.
Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the
victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in
order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the
712 village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two
[621] or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.
Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

3: Dupas--6 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 307 in the original source./

343
.712

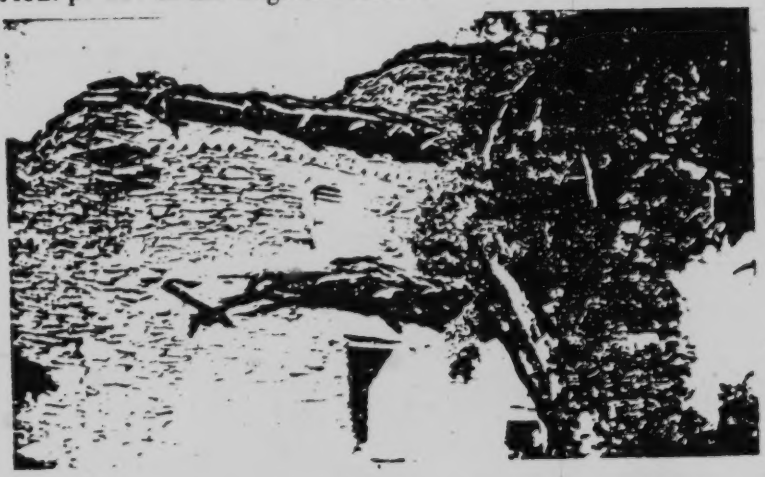


Fig. 1. -- Agadir of Ikis. Surrounding wall.

Fig. 2. -- Agadir of Ikis. Entrance gate.

3: Dupas--7 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 309 in the original source./

343
.712

Fig. 3. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

Fig. 4. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

/311 cont./

343 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of
712 Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five cham-
621 bers there.
423 Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.
625 The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was
[562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a
[685] kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft,
[184] the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re-
[465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room
[562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense
[312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres-
[727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The
[465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irre-
•712 spective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the
685 amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims
[625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the
712 people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of
[621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors
[423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50
[426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba
[432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the
[625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as
[465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his
[685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to main-
[358] tain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace
[685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for
[184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be-
[423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

3: Dupas--10 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 313 in the original source./

343
.712

Fig. 5. -- Agadir of Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), entrance gate.

[417]

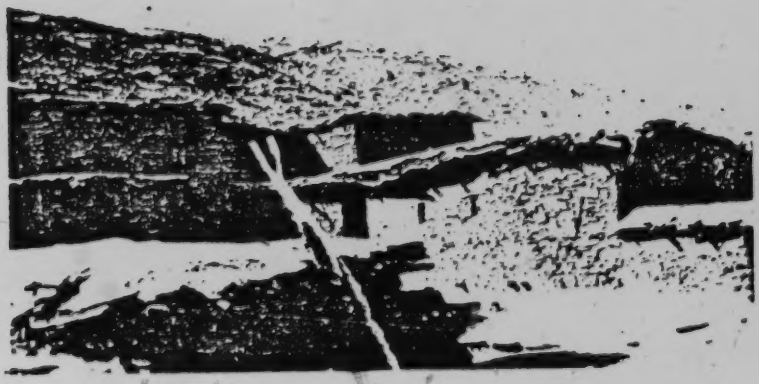


Fig. 6. -- Agadir of Tanout. The terraces.

3: Dupas--11 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
.712
417

/From p. 315 in the original source./

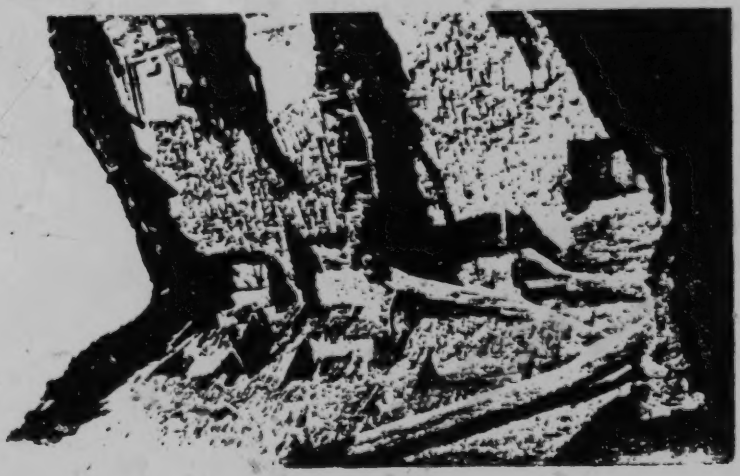


Fig. 8. -- Agadir of Annoums (Ida ou Izimmer). Interior.

Fig. 7. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf. Interior.

3: Dupas--12 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From page 317 in the original source./

343
.712
[291]
[411]

Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

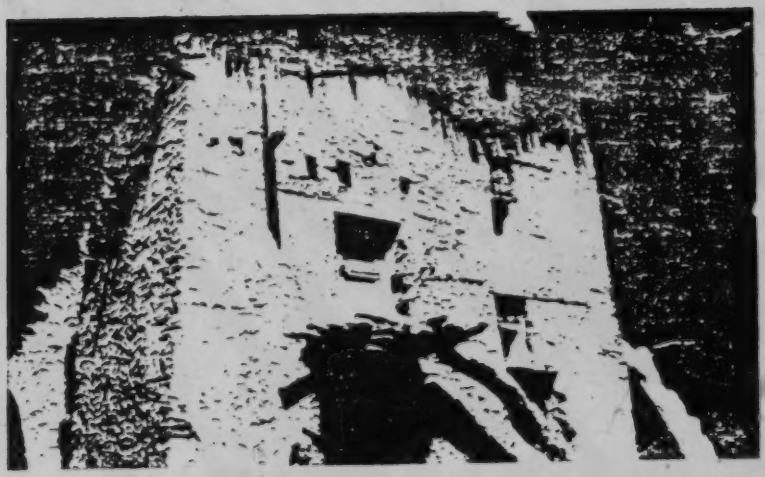


Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

3: Dupas--13 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From page 319 in the original source./

343
.712

Fig. 12. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Alt Dris).

[291]

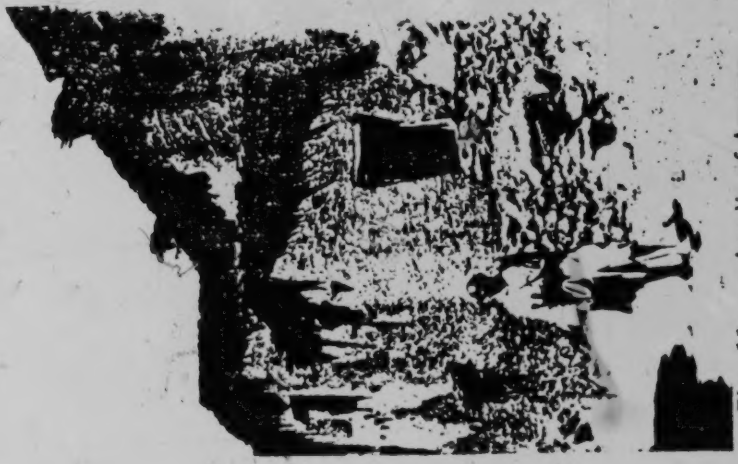


Fig. 11. -- Agadir of Amassa (Alt Dris).

/321 cont./

343 The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes,
•712 if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given
625 a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore,
[465] he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers.
[358] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective
[184] responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed
[685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabit-
712 ants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its
621 operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns
423 poor maintenance and theft.
358
[685]
[184] In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

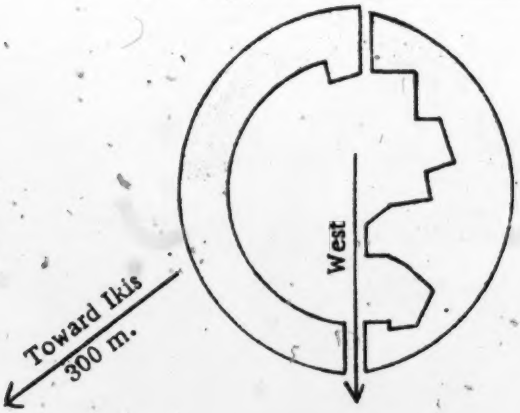
Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.
Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

3: Dupas--15 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
.712

Fig. 13. -- Agadir of Ikis.



343
712
625

Fig. 14. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.

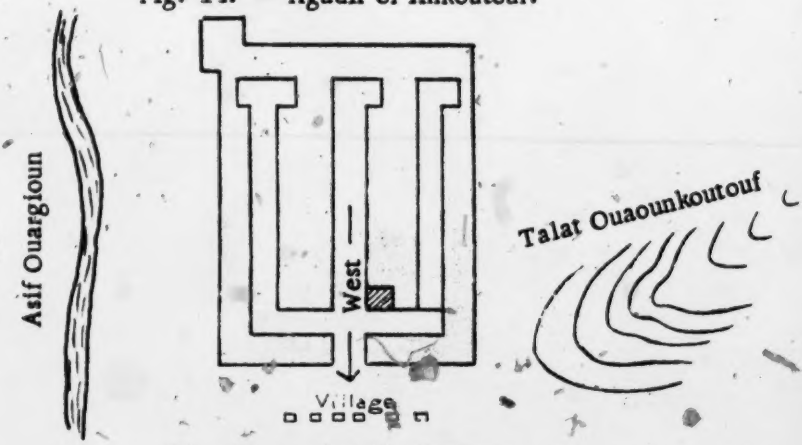


Fig. 15. -- Agadir of Tanout.

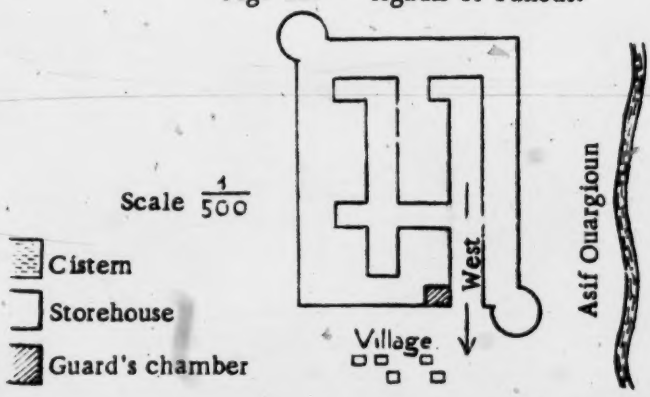


Fig. 16. -- Agadir of Talmakant.

343
-712
312

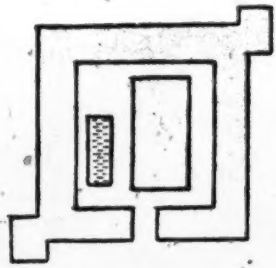


Fig. 17. -- Agadir of Assaka.

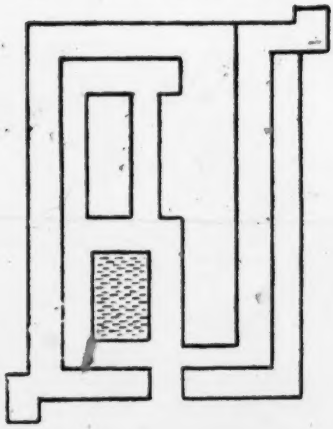
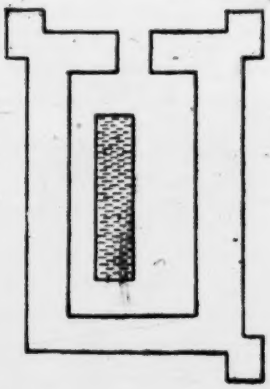


Fig. 18. -- Agadir of Azar.



3: Dupas--17 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343
.712
625

Fig. 19. -- Agadir of Tizzirt.

Fig. 22. -- Agadir of Amassa.

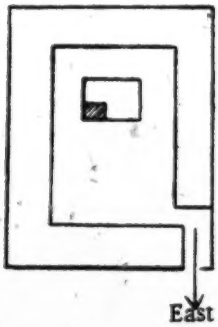


Fig. 20. -- Agadir of Annoums.

Fig. 23. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella.

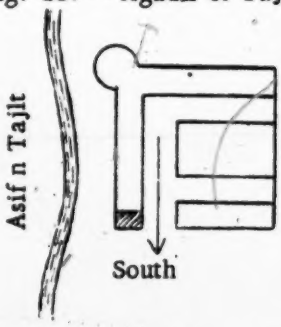


Fig. 21. -- Agadir of Tamjlojt.

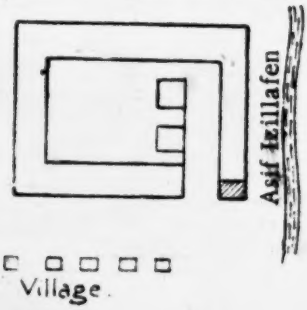


Fig. 24. -- Agadir of Meggount.

175 /381 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Ait ben
ᶜAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
175 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect consideratenesss that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
*631 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
•713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*631 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
*634 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
726 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
648 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
726 "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought
[913] to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

retained by the *jemaa*, for this body is often reluctant to delegate 635
completely its authority and functions. In theory, and generally 554
in practice, however, the *amghar* represents the tribe in its dealings with neighbouring and foreign social units; protects the interests of the community and the customs and laws of each unit; executes the decisions of the *jemaa*; proposes measures of general communal interest and certain public utilitarian projects, such as irrigation works; oversees the seasonal migrations, or establishes the schedule for planting and harvest; fixes the contribution to be made by each group in money or goods for the maintenance of the public works; acts as administrator of the tribal treasury if there is one (this is particularly the case among the *ksar* of southern Morocco); and, finally, being responsible for public order and safety, supports the police and applies the schedule of fines (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 228-229; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

The powers of the *amghar* are somewhat more extensive in the military sphere, particularly in time of war. He has the authority [701] to compel each division to buy a certain number of horses and guns; [702] together with the tribal *jemaa* he determines the size of the contingent to be furnished by each group and the supplies to be carried, as well as the place of combat and, in case of success, the division of spoils (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 229; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 283-284).

The fluid and often vague separation of powers and responsibilities between the *jemaa* and the *amghar* acts, as may be expected, [623] as a severe restraint upon initiative in leadership.

... La confusion des pouvoirs était grande; l'assemblée des notables, ooo
qui les détenait tous, n'abdiquait pas volontiers entre les mains d'un seul; égalitaire à l'excès, elle se montrait résolument hostile à toute tentative de pouvoir personnel; aussi contrôlait-elle avec méfiance les initiatives de l'Amrhar, de sorte qu'il n'osait rien entreprendre sans la consulter; l'autorité de chef était discutée dès qu'elle voulait s'affirmer; elle dépendait moins de son titre que de sa situation personnelle, de son prestige, de la fermeté de son caractère, de la puissance de ses proches, de la crainte qu'il savait à l'occasion inspirer; la situation de ses répondants, ses représentants dans les fractions, était encore moins assise. Dans cette confusion, chacun s'occupait de tout, et le nombre des interlocuteurs obscurcissait encore le débat. Pour éviter des froissements qui auraient entraîné de graves incidents, on s'efforçait de réaliser l'unani-

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth [217] century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish [127] important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma branches off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: [721] whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634 The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of [769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, [349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from [776] whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to [197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. 173 Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in- [613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [776] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'inît' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
173 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gair).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two conquering branches.

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it 121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered 721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream. At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in [701] conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121] [113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/124 cont./
*631 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and
159 the son of Ma el ᶜAlnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco organized in a uniform manner into great commands according to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --
*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids, which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/ limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions, whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the populations that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble
[628] their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, in
[721] order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even
[152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses; ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 342 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the *634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

*631 /127 cont./
*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
• [721] to be very violent" (1).
[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Ait Galr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
66 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar
by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[558] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
• [721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
72 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
[574] augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
[616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
•721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes. Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the establishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
*631 action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
178 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
•722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Ait Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Ait ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Ait ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIe siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
133 /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
101 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
634 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
[134] slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "waterholes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the 634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to 175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a 726 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied 619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./
174
175
634

Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

Here now are two documents from annals.

175 The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits. After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
• 726 follows.
619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619
175
726

/81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175
539
726
619

"The 9 çafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gsir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

175
174
619

/84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

[126] The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

/282 cont./

776 /footnote 3 continued/ arabes de
778 Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/,
[825 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliog-
[171] raphy.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds
778 only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to
[773] the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people
[823] see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

175 More significant are the archeological elements revealable
726 toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the
727 Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa,
[776] and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the vil-
[776] lage of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about
[794] forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects
000 every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/63 cont./ The large confederations of
*175 the Moroccan South as a matter of fact in our day still have the
[631] custom of assembling their contingents and throwing them into
[726] combat in a succession exactly determined and known to all; doubtless it was already like that at the time of Ibn Toumert. From that time on it sufficed to utilize the secret penchant of these egalitarian montagnards for ceremonial, their taste for the theatrical spectacle, to bend them to a rigorous discipline. In the heart of the Atlas, in a verdant basin of the Nefis surrounded by the wooded crests of the Wichedden, the snowy mass of the Wanoukrim, the red mountains of the Tizi n Imiri, the Tinmellel camp then saw unfold innumerable defiles of the tribes destined to fix the tradition and found the institutions of the new kingdom. The order of succession was regulated by the services rendered for the sacred cause of the Mahdi; the first who came forward were the Hargha, brothers of his father; then the Tinmellel, brothers of his mother; then came the Hintata first to assemble, the Gedmiwa; finally the Genfisa, a little lukewarm and sometimes coming into the community against their will. The place of each notable and of each fraction was noted with care on registers kept by the comrades closest to the master. Thus the control of the army of the Mahdi and the titles of nobility of those who were to become the Almohade sheiks were established at the same time.

During the first years, for combat and the dividing up of the booty, the "Tamyiz" was the fundamental institution of the small State of the /64/ Masmouda. A test of the solidity of that hierarchy was soon made in a striking manner. After the death of the Mahdi, kept secret for three years, when the council of Ten had accepted as leader the foreigner ᶜAbd el Moumen, the tribes defiling before the new caliph in the prescribed order recognized him as their master, putting at his service an organized force that was going to enable him to bring about in twenty years the conquest of the Occident (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 137 and sqq.

121 /140 cont./

128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation. *631

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, 177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent. •[726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was *631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Morocco, 648 supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/168 cont./

*631 174 171 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of their ethnic unity (1).

1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 Such are the Aït ᶜAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the
[726] Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These
[178] [666] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to
* [634] [616] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions opposed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 174 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

/187 cont./

*634 shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all
616 the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the
57 "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's
[574] allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek
support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the re-
[754] quest thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

*634 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to
616 correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same
.726 "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 616 .726 571 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^c" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 616 182 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 616 726 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the

/189 cont./

*634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two frac-
.726 tions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the coun-
try still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the
173 time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
*634 of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
616 at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of
726 Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaouia of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege, cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there. Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exterminated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collective fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the "Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the terri-
*634 tory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
616 fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitution and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right "to speak" in the assemblies.

*634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwon-
616 sekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa,
726 are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success, the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesmatert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced oppos-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/195 cont./

616 174 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

616 .726

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
•[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
[616] Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a

*634
648

/232 cont./

*634 648 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional [431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 •726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

[571] [782]

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
182 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies:
796 "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/259 cont./

343
114

/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343
178

But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343
172

In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343
175
.726

In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/260 cont./

343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute nat-
•726 ural centers of resistance against the domination of the great
[631] chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nine-
[175] teenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
178 years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact,
726 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
.726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "A'lt ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 343 712 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the A'lt Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, [726] the A'lt Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecog-
nizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this
[726] old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables,
adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/
manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik
of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher,
added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a
more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former
times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become
the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth
the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it
is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He
dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while
the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-power-
ful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the
walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends
for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza."
When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he
thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred
meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of
old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the
village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the
notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that
of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar.
Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled
by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a
democratic village that the children themselves remember.
/Page 266 is blank./

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

•726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
sawa in the middle of the last century. Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
175 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
*634 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
616 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished
.726 in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arbaᶜin"
*634 of his "moudaᶜ." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
*634 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
616 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at
•726 discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
616 Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
.726 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his canton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ʿAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaʿin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
616 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command,
•726 espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ʿAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
.726

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of
[184] the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./

175 and the "Ait Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Ait Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
*726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Ait Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fire.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Ait Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Ait Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Ait Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/284 cont./

*634 616 726 178 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among themselves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. [651] Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit *634 616

/285 cont./

*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/286 cont./

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
*634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
.726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa,
had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
[648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
[712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of
the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in
haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the
attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly
enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distin-
guished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his
"ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the
minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the ham-
lets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of
his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case
of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a
monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In
order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his
ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of
Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries,
and his name began to be known at a great distance and his pro-
tection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of
power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of
Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a
minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of
that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short
order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen
/makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in
open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to
flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the
"Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's
prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him
the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/290 cont./

*634 [616] actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts necessary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When [178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaʿin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up [726] the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true, [642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 642 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his
*634 authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Alt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of the "Alt Iraten" in order to conquer the "Alt Atman" of the val-
*634 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
616 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).
•726

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzán/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Alt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Alt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "A'lt
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
•726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.
*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "A'lt Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "A'lt Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "A'lt Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the A'lt Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "A'lt Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "A'lt Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "A'lt Iraten" and "A'lt Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
•726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.
648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "A'lt Atman," was in flight among the A'lt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n A'lt Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n A'lt Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "A'lt Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "A'lt Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
[343] sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/304 cont./

175 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
159 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.
*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.
•726 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ʿAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ʿAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

•726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 .726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a
victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this
moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ʿAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ʿAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./

175 159 *634 726 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 159 *634 [625] [602] Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 159 *634 616 578 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator, relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
*634 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
631 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
578 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influ-
726 ence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
616 suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/310 cont./

*634 616 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

175 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous *634 formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqad- 616 dems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combative- • 726 ness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

* [631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
.726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
[431] his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
* [631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century. It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
* 631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
[648] After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./

175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
•726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him. Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert tried to regain their independence with the support of the Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
•726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
[178] country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
*634 family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
175 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
616 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

/328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but
[648] uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
175 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*631 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
*634 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
159 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
616 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an
•726 amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./

175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
616 the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
.726 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
*631 Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*634 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
[712] establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben ʿAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
159 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
*631 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*634 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
648 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
726 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells, and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a "siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
*631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
*631 in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
•726 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
[669] reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even succeeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal, supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally fortune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/333 cont./

175 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the
*631 Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el
.726 Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar
*631 Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as
648 well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the
*631 kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of
*631 the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi,
648 Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
*631 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first begins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*631 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
*634 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
•726 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
648 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
•726 "Memzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./

175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
* 631 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
* 634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the su-
• 726 premacy of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends toward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa
[669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expeditions for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain fortress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his conquests (1902).

175 ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left vacant by the kaid in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the plain and the Dir revert to ᶜAbd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appropriates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids -- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid Saᶜid of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country. A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire

175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their

175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
[712] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
*631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
578 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi, chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Marrakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
*631 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
648 lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his elevated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marrakech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz. His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/.

/339 cont./

175 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself
*631 the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the
726 minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

175 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of
*631 the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez
648 during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani,
726 followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

175 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/
*631 the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have
648 had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*631 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
*634 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
616 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the
178 valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezžoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
•726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
•726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later, all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaᶜan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaᶜin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaᶜin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/353 cont./

175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
726 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living. Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
•726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

/356 cont./

*631 *634 178

/footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

•[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 616 *634 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 398.

multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 616 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
•726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
•726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the
middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a
command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself;
the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king
or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
•726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
177 the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
648 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conform-
671 able with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him: he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*63 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
•926 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arba^{c}in" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory). 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51). [171] [171]

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203). [726] [202]

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and 616 171

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/. Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal movements is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
579 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/304 cont./

175 159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 578 616 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar

[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 159 One last event was going to increase further the power of the chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would

*634 648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title of kaid.

*631 726 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marrakech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./
175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
• [727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
[616] mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[729] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
*631 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ᶜAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ᶜAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 190ᶜ
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel," traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
*634 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
616 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
726 and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaᶜan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaᶜin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaᶜin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
•727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
* 634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.
669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Ait ᶜAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard re- [465] ceives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, [669] and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of I'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

776 792 728 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur. [681] [628] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 776 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder; it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt,"
• 728 led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 131 .728 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division, which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 131 728 619 [173] Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group succeeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 619 184 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their dimensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous or the Imediaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After
• [728] a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

/166 cont./

*631
*634
619
175
131
•[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aït /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631
619
175

But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
128 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 175 619 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. Abdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ât.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1). [731] [428]

1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619
173
175
[428]
[131]
[648]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

173
619

His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜâ'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[634] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[578] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.
[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâfi of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâfid, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/376 cont./

648 *631

organize a single command (3).

3. Cf. "La Tribu de Massat /The Massat Tribe/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 392. With respect to the marabouts themselves, the sultan knows how to give proof of great cleverness and to utilize all their moral influence to strengthen his operations in the tribes. Moulay el Hasan's relations with the sherif of the Tazerwalt in the course of the second Sous expedition can be given as one of the best examples of the flexibility of a political operation entirely crowned with success. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Géranton, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, p. 192.

Often, in the regions controlled best by the Sultan, the kaids' authority is limited by that of the "oumana," for although the tribal chiefs merit the name of "honest servants" in sherifian literature, the sultans have never hesitated to set down very freely the thefts and exactions that most of them committed (4).

• [131]

4. On the occasion of a famine, loans of money had been granted to the populations by Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben ʿAbdallah. Writing afterward to his people that he was giving up recovering his advances, this sovereign said, "I have not given you this money with the intention of reclaiming it from you, I have told you that it was a loan solely in order that it would not be secured by your sheiks and your notables for themselves, which they would have done if they had known that it was a gift on my part." "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 333.

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'inît' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the

*631 342 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one

• [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the

*634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages,

[721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
•735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

•735 794 431 171 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as members of the Mussulman community, but the community, for them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaʿa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 171 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confederations have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] [343] [712] [652] [466] [653] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

[423] [166] Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

*631 648 17 -[735] /413 cont./
of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent populations, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty, calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut
*631 648 17 153 up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty, while the more disturbed government of the independent republics alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institutions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions.
[669] The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal government of ancient times.

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wari- 000
yaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family 596
elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on 42
a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held [562]
by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in 596
some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually 597
persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell 735
their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt 609
assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536). 596 597 735 609

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances, 613 [192] [621]

/239 cont./

776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
823 (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have takén neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1),

[171]

1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif el-Mâl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator, whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Besseba^c for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[754] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/187 cont./

*634 616 57 [574] shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

[754]

*634 616 726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113]

1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

554 /224 cont./
*634
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
[613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

[178] As a result of the general tendency toward the development of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass
[619] into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority. 619 578 627 628 171

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if 626 754 171

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

626 754 171 the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *'ar*. The *'ahd* or covenant differs from the *'ar* in being established by bilateral action – the two parties, by solemn oath, agreeing to carry out some action or to suffer unforeseen retribution (Coon, 1931, pp. 163-164; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 518-519, 564-569).

Although considered unlawful by Islamic orthodoxy, the *'ar* is nevertheless very widely employed and generally respected in Morocco – although individuals existed even in the traditional society who took no notice of *'ar* cast upon them. The *'ar* and the *'ahd* together constituted an extremely important mechanism not only for inhibiting or forcing individual action in cases of social disturbance, but also for establishing alliances and relationships which circumvented blood and territorial affiliations. These effects were accomplished through "alliances".

b. *Alliances*

609 754 574 171 Five general types of alliances existed, and still exist, in Morocco, serving various purposes and acting on different levels (see Table V). The simplest is that established unilaterally by some traveller for the purpose of securing passage and protection in a foreign territory; it may or may not involve the casting of *'ar*. A traveller, entering the territory of a foreign tribe may either request protection and safe conduct from a native through an appeal to the tribal honor, or he may cast *'ar* upon the native for this purpose by either giving a sacrifice or, more commonly, paying money. The native may or may not grant the first request, but the second allows him no choice. He is duty-bound to see the traveller conducted through the country, either by escorting him personally or by sending a son or friend; [192] furthermore, he is bound to avenge any injury to the traveller. Such protection is termed *mezrag* (literally "spear") by the Arabic-speakers of the plains, and *tazettat* by the Shluh and Zenata; the Beraber refer to it as *amur* if it involves a mere request, and as *tazettat* if *'ar* is cast. Thus, a traveller coming to a village in which he has no friends or acquaintances places himself in the *'ar* of the villagers by the phrase, "I am the guest of God", or by, "We are the guests of God and your guests." He is then given board and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539). 609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (See Text for Sources)

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur* *tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*taimat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

571 609 574 754 171 192

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from 571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 754 punishment could place himself in the protection of a prominent person by entering his tent or grasping the tent-pole at the entrance and exclaiming, "I am in God's *'ar* and your *'ar*," or, "I am seeking refuge with your children." The owner of the tent is then obliged to assist him, at least by acting as an intermediary between him and his pursuer, or by speaking to the *caid* or governor on his behalf. The pursuer, in such a case, cannot try forcible to remove the fugitive, but must apply to the owner. A similar custom prevails among the sedentary populations residing in houses. A fugitive could also place himself in the *'ar* of a woman by touching her, sucking her breast, sitting down in front of her, or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill; her husband and family then being obliged to help him. He could also place himself under the protection or *'ar* of an entire village to which he has fled by crying, "I am seeking refuge with God and You, O Community", or by seeking refuge in the village mosque. Mosques generally, however, are not as safe as saints' shrines, for an individual seeking refuge in a shrine came under the *'ar* of the saint. In the Arabic-speaking area a fugitive frequently used *'ar* to obtain a pardon from the authorities.

571 754 695 This alliance mechanism could, however, be used not only by the defendant in a civil or criminal case, but also by the plaintiff. Persons who had suffered damage or injury, or had had a relative murdered, and were unable to protect themselves or obtain vengeance, secured aid by casting *'ar* upon other individuals or upon various social groups. This could be done by hanging an earthenware pot around the neck and entering another person's tent or house; by turning the handmill in this person's tent or house; by placing a saddle upside-down at his door or sacrificing an animal there; or, in the case of women, by cutting the hair, blackening the face, covering oneself with rags and cow-dung, and passing from village to village asking for aid – the latter being a particularly powerful form of casting *'ar* which cannot be refused. Among the Beraber a person may cast an extremely compulsory kind of *'ar* by taking his little son or daughter to the house of the leading man of a village, or to the mosque, laying the child across the door, holding a knife over the artery of the neck, and threatening to kill it if the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried 571
daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying 754
that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner 695
of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in [627]
civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term 571
ameqqon ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* 563
("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
[592] that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778]
[787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or
578 I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a
[152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Ara-
[154] bic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniq-
[762] uity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

578 /266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, 1. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
175 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
[762] with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/380 cont./

671
212

/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[764]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakarn, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three of four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

621 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth [217] century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research. [127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: [721] whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of [769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, [349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic [776] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to [197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. 173 Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patrimonial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the individual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

[613] [613] [769] [776]

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[182] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frîga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671
[829] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[184] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomad sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/247 cont./

771
121
114

/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

791 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1);

[616] [783] [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

[173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/256 cont./

778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly [128] predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

778 /287 cont./
776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
794 Bu^c^anfir in Ud Bessebâ^c^ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in
[685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide
[554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom
[771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult.

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 771 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely <u>social</u> that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/311 cont./

771 History has prevailed over myth here. But it has been able to do it only by reason of the vocation, so characteristic of these groups, to /312/ affirm their temporal administration. We see this capacity being exercised on the very echelon of the canton feasts. What is dominant here is not the communional aspect, it is the contractual aspect. Auctions, sales on credit, notarial registration: the profane goes beyond the ancient sacrificial rite on all sides. An individualist debate, a communal administration, purely juridical operations already appear, and are displayed with a growing profusion as the cadre of activity becomes larger. Henceforth, law and religion are going to take separate roads.

776 And here is a holiness of great individuals and of great spaces.
771 Its tentacular action could be represented on the map, from the Haouz to the Sous and to the Drâ. Its protection is solicited from far away. Its avidity is exercised even farther. It is served in free order, with particular devotions of groups, villages, families. This mysticism with geographic expression tends itself toward another, more secret form. That of personal affiliation with a master. This phenomenon, in North Africa, has known, under the name of confrerism, an extension to which, for at least half a century, has corresponded an excessive infatuation of our investigators. In the confrerism, most often and essentially esoteric, the local community does not act, or acts less. An atmosphere of organization and of hierarchy reigns. Concurrently, the hagiological individuation assumes an extraordinary relief. Like sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, these "beacons"...

771 In short, in the course of this ascension, we shall have seen several layers of religious reality succeeding one another. On the two ends, rival forms, being exercised fully. Below, the anonymous naturist sacred of the Tamjlocht, for example, a place of deep collective vibration; on the other, the great figure of the mystic of the Tazerwalt, and his idealism with broad oriental and Mediterranean correspondences. Almost absolute social integration on the one side. Individualism colored with mystery and legend on the other. Rural order below. Initiatory wisdom above.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

/317 cont./

787
538

/footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t'ṭ'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then
778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee
776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/370 cont./

613
182
114
121
695

/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771
769

/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanâya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

627
681
[114]
[171]

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

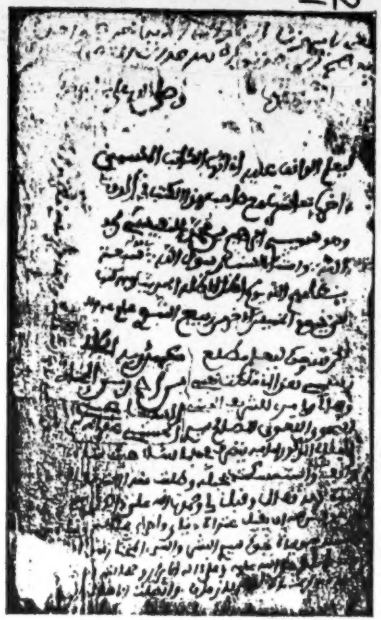
/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

• 771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
179 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

Pl. XV



Juridical text of the Awzal genre

The first line reads: wala aytma-sn-yan ur ten-d iqqin ljad silad gh-lmalikiyya, "no longer that the brothers of someone are excluded (from his succession) by (the existence of) the ancestor except in Malékism."

Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik, dating from 1194 Heg. 1780, made at the zâwîya of Takerkuzt, and collected on the margin of a book of the zâwîya of the Mez'ud'a.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

•771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./

771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[787] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
.771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 105 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both custo- [591] [361]
marily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very re- [175]
cently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [671]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

/260 cont./

779 346 671

be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, Ifçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627

That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of sworn law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

627 171

1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/261 cont./

627 171

/footnote 1 continued/ can exist for a very long time, or even rise again under the influence of archaizing conditions (cf. the role of the oath in the constitution and defense of the medieval manse). In the Roman procedure, the sacramentum in rem would also be, according to the original interpretation by H. Lévy-Bruhl, "Sur la laïcisation du droit à Rome /On the laicization of the law in Rome/," Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité, 1951, pp. 83 sq., "a test to which one can presume that by reason of the redoubtable forces that it unleashes a party would lend himself only if he considers himself quite sure of his right..." But is this not again a rationalist interpretation?

627 773

And, on the other hand, the religious accent that the myth confers upon the oath indeed risks being only an explanatory addition, quite like the formality of the oath itself. What could count in the archaic stage that appears under there is undoubtedly the gesture of touching the chain which "hangs from the sky": it properly establishes communication with the sacred.

627

Another remarkable thing, it is not to a matter in litigation that the myth's preferences go. It is to a sort of settlement brought about by the parties themselves, and the essential of which resides in the efficacy of an attitude. Technique of sudden releasing, "golden" technique, technique of "the golden age": that is what the instinctive option, the nostalgia, still discernible under the Seksawa's procedural extremism and the passion for the judiciary joust, come to. Nevertheless this archaizing is also accompanied by a critical reflection. Such ambiguity is not surprising.

Be that as it may, to the course familiar to this study, and which consists in approaching the institution only by its most concrete holds, corresponds something in the very opinion of the subject: this primacy given to the techniques of direct settlement and a fortiori to the purest among them, that of settlement without debate.

/269 cont./

776 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or
792 peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting
728 case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur.
{681} This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the
{628} originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast
776 groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/269 cont./

773
776

/footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

(628) But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ᶜâ, of the saint of Z'init'.

776
794

The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumuᶜa of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Abdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/270 cont./

776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the
776 Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the
794 enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he es-
782 caped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/282 cont./

776 /footnote 3 continued/ arabes de
778 Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/,
[825 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliog-
[171] raphy.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds
778 only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to
[773 the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people
[823 see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

175 More significant are the archeological elements revealable
726 toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the
727 Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa,
[776 and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the vil-
[776 lage of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about
[744 forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects
000 every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Âzzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Âmer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Âmer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Âzzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Âzzt. If it should be identified with the names of Âzzô or Âzzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.

794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
[692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest
794 degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial deduction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/290 cont./

773 from a rich display of clamors and colors. The rite is about to be carried out. Here is the account which the foreigner can hear and which Brives puts at the beginning of the century.

773 /The rest of this section, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ "Lalla Aziza was born right here,
776 and from an early age she went to watch the goats in the mountains. Instead of staying with the other shepherds and having her flock graze along the river, where the grass is rich and plentiful, Lalla Aziza went to the heights of the mountain, where there are only rocks. Her goats were nevertheless as fat as those of the other shepherds. By that, God was already showing that he had noticed this child. Nevertheless, jealousy helping, the father of Lalla Aziza paid no attention to the flourishing state of her flock. He demanded that his child traverse the lower parts of the valley and, as she continued to lead her goats among the dry rocks, he repeatedly beat her unmercifully.

"One day while Lalla Aziza was watching her flock at the very summit of the mountain, where no grass ever grew, the father, accompanied by some people from the village, went to join her and reproached her for not following his instructions. Father, replied the child, see for yourself what your flock is eating. And then the father confirmed that his goats had their mouths full of wheat.

"From this moment, the child was regarded as a messenger /291/ from God and everyone admired her. When she became a young woman, she was noted for her piety. She loved solitude, appeared to be always at prayer, and yet her work was always done.

"Since she was among the most beautiful young women of the village, she was sought out for marriage, but refused all suitors.

"One day when she was alone beside the path overlooking the river, she was pursued by a young man whom she had refused. She could not flee because the path had no outlet, and she was about to be seized, when suddenly she disappeared into the mountain, before the astonished eyes of the young man. The young woman's reputation for holiness increased and spread far.

/291 cont./

773 776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796 114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idmâ, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 175 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field in Inzzūyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzūyma, or Qaçba n-Qîhra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghânem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqîh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ᶜArîba, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619
131 /42 cont./
634
613 The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper de-
[217] scendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth
[127] century; the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133
101 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters.
634 Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the
487 height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-
[721] bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is
101 now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens
634 into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of
[769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint,
[349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from
[776] whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to
[197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxy-
173 tone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[176] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enor-
mous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor al-
mond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: por-
tions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
634 agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the
c 619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
• [776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geo-
101 logical nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
634 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[176] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[192] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
[167] see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idmâ have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2).
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
[176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

619 /75 cont./
173 the end of the fifteenth century (3).
175
[166]

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two
619 villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] [613] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already [796] been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and Mençur.

619 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
634 cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[176] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is extreme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tiborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave [176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Abderrah'man u Messfud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that [172] ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his [776] intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, [423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the [631] existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/235/

Third Part
Institutions and Values

000 /Page 236 is blank./

/237/

Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

/237 cont./

about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882: "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them profoundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted 776 one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of 823 other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

/239 cont./

776 823 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[151] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
• 776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[184] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
776 source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old
823 black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them
[778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he
[675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 (634) The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000 778 794 212 by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776] In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

/255 cont./

778 "mare au diable" /"pond for the devil," pond miles away/) is nothing other than a pile of branches and pebbles opposite the village of Tagenza. In this case, as in that of the rival sanctuary of "Monsieur le Saint," Sidi Lwali, at Wanz'id', no personification, and not even by name. The efficiency is by no means linked to the very fiction of a saint, were it as indefinite. This is proved by the example of the mosque of Ifesfas, whose powers and even the legendary physiognomy /256/ offer an instructive contrast with the habitual imprecision of all this hagiology. It is so redoubtable for false oaths that the prudence of the canton forbids there the practice of religious ordeals. In fact, it is told that one time, for a matter of 12 dinars, it caused to perish not only the 12 coswearers, but also their 12 partners, for the outburst of its power "so harsh," icheqqâ, does not stop of course at subjective responsibility. Similar traits, although of less anecdotal glow, apropos the mosque of Awines and that of Tagenza.

Figurative Sacred and Nonfigurative Sacred

778 One is thus led to distinguish a figurative sacred from a non-
776 figurative or anonymous sacred. The latter is largely predominant. At the two extremes, the individualized saint and the anonymous ritual place. But the name does not constitute a true criterion. In fact, its presence no more suffices to promote the rite than its absence eliminates all legendary personalities. As one has seen, this is the case for the terrible mosque of Ifesfas.

776 Another distinction is to be made between saints with descent, such as this sidi Musa of Wanz'id', master of hurricanes, and whose distant sons always retain a certain qualification, and those to whom no lineage refers. On the one hand, personages with genealogical identity; on the other, anonymous agents of the sacred. And it is not without interest that the first type, which is the very one of the hero, would, in this agnatic society, be both so rare and, where it is found, so delineated.

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
	Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
	Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
	The ensemble of the a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776 778 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221 241 776 778 782 796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
796	All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 982 796	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
		Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
		Sidi Tifawt.		
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Amer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!

[162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, 1. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

776 792 728 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur. [681] [628] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 776 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/269 cont./

773
776

/footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

(628) But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ᶜâ, of the saint of Z'init'.

776
794

The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumuᶜa of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Abdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/270 cont./

776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the
776 Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the
794 enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he es-
782 caped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

776 But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
794 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
[431] 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[735] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 794 619 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

(181)

776 794 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa, that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 484 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Âmzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527

527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'ǎjj Hfîd' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But
794 the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This re-
484 serve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

776 The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from
794 beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sǎid u Ǎbdennǎim (1);

1. Dawh'at an-nǎchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜîd, who repelled the advances of the Sǎadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûnî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the [231] periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints, [675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./

175 794 675 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

[176] [126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [176] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
776 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw", in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patrimonial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the individual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

[613] [613] [769] [776]

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint,"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2).

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825]
[171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 778 [796] [197]

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

776 778 195 193 [193]

/283 cont./

776 778 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two [823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 778 346 764 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It contains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots, luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya^u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
•776 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

778
776
794

/287 cont./

Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of Bu^c^anfir in Ud Bessebâ^c^ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in [685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide [554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom [771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

634
619
776
794

/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	2
	Tagunit	45	45			45	
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1
Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

/291 cont./

773 776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796 114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

/290 cont./

773 from a rich display of clamors and colors. The rite is about to be carried out. Here is the account which the foreigner can hear and which Brives puts at the beginning of the century.

773 /The rest of this section, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ "Lalla Aziza was born right here,
• 776 and from an early age she went to watch the goats in the mountains. Instead of staying with the other shepherds and having her flock graze along the river, where the grass is rich and plentiful, Lalla Aziza went to the heights of the mountain, where there are only rocks. Her goats were nevertheless as fat as those of the other shepherds. By that, God was already showing that he had noticed this child. Nevertheless, jealousy helping, the father of Lalla Aziza paid no attention to the flourishing state of her flock. He demanded that his child traverse the lower parts of the valley and, as she continued to lead her goats among the dry rocks, he repeatedly beat her unmercifully.

"One day while Lalla Aziza was watching her flock at the very summit of the mountain, where no grass ever grew, the father, accompanied by some people from the village, went to join her and reproached her for not following his instructions. Father, replied the child, see for yourself what your flock is eating. And then the father confirmed that his goats had their mouths full of wheat.

"From this moment, the child was regarded as a messenger /291/ from God and everyone admired her. When she became a young woman, she was noted for her piety. She loved solitude, appeared to be always at prayer, and yet her work was always done.

"Since she was among the most beautiful young women of the village, she was sought out for marriage, but refused all suitors.

"One day when she was alone beside the path overlooking the river, she was pursued by a young man whom she had refused. She could not flee because the path had no outlet, and she was about to be seized, when suddenly she disappeared into the mountain, before the astonished eyes of the young man. The young woman's reputation for holiness increased and spread far.

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

• 776 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical
175 cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/295 cont./

776 561 171 Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2).

2. Istiqçâ, A. M. tr., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ᶜAzzûna: Istiqçâ', A. M., XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ᶜAzzûna" (ibid., p. 476). Bû ᶜAzzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ᶜAzzûna and a funduq of the same name.

notably /296/ the "famous Taᶜazzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ᶜAzzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ᶜAbd Allah, expert in uçûl (1).

776 171

1. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

776 538 171 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

/296 cont./

776 538 [17]

sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb, W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Maçmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

776

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4),

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

776 /296 cont./

/footnote 4 continued/ du Maroc /Customs and legends of the Berber part of Morocco/, Hesp., 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, Conférences, A. M., 1927, p. 16; De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A. M., 1933, pp. 202 sq. For our region, let us cite the important unpublished study by Oqbani on "Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana /The sanctuaries of the annex of Argana/" (Arch. I., see especially p. 11, translation of a genealogical document). The Regraga of the high a. Abdella, in Seksawa, also display a genealogical document dated 1687, and a dahir of tawqîr of the sultan al-Mançûr (1643), where the area of the zaouia is also called sâh'a, as in the text of Ibn Khaldûn.

one of whom was formerly pointed out among the a. Gasa. Or also these men of God, makers of rain and marvels, such as this sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli who resisted the great purges of Ibn Toumert. On that, unfortunately, the imprecision of the sources makes us confuse the epochs.

175 776 /297/ We would be reduced to these hypotheses, if the windfall of a text did not permit a much more radical conclusion. It is a passage by the cadi Ibn Qunfûdh the Constantine (1).

1. Abû'l-^cAbbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1340-1408) left Constantina in 1358. In 1362 he visited the house of Ibn Toumert: it is from this time that one can date his passage into the Dir, although he stayed in Morocco a certain number of

/297 cont./

175
996

/footnote 1 continued/ years. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, "La Fârisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide /The Fârisiyya or the beginnings of the Hafsid dynasty/," Hesp., VIII, pp. 37 sq.

who stayed in Morocco toward the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the student of the famous Andalusian vizier Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khat'îb, himself a poet inspired by the Maçmûdian mountains. He visited the region toward 763 Heg., that is, 1362, and as sightseer called at the house of Ibn Toumert. In his book Uns al-faqîr wa ᶜizz al-h'aqîr (2),

2. Rabat manuscript, fol. 41a, l. 2 sq. The spelling of the name of the Seksawa has been touched up and is thus given: skswia.

he collected valuable notes on the chain of the Deren, which struck his imagination, and the religious atmosphere of the place and of the time. He extricated from it the impression of a spiritual life nourished by contrasts and drawing a lively fervor out of the fierceness of these populations. Now, our Constantine savant met Lalla Aziza.

/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "I have seen in Morocco, on the border of the Seksawa in the Deren, at a place called al-Qâhira, 'la dame princesse' /the lady princess/ (3),

3. I translate thus on the testimony of G.-S. Colin, Sources in. Port., III, p. 157, n. 1, apropos another sayyidatu'l-h'urra. But it is to be noted that this term is constant in the documents of the Moroccan S.

the saint ᶜAzîza the Saksiwîya.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 [114]

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

175 776 792

/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^c^za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^c^Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

175 776 What historical precision! ^c^Âmir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^c^Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/298 cont./

175 776 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] [778] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

Sidi ᶜAmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜAmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola of his son, ᶜAmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

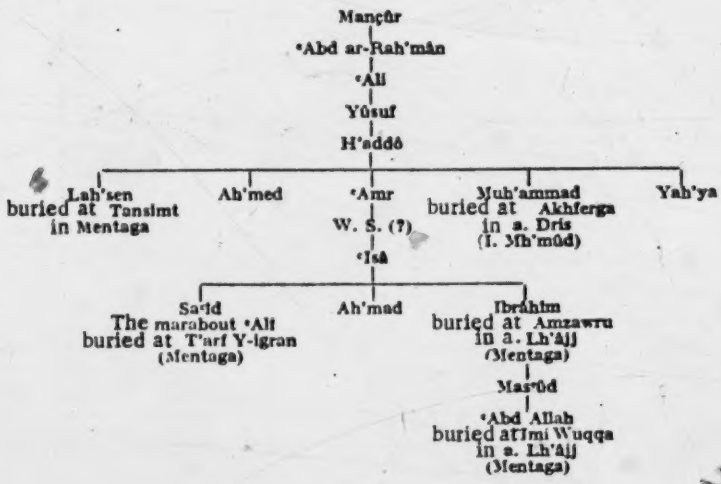
/The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜAmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga,
428 whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left
602 as heir his cousin ᶜAlī b. Saᶜīd, whom this mention undoubtedly
776 identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been
127 made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saādian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The
602 first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in
428 spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yūsef, the father of
776 ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜīd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldūnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfūdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh',
602 Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No
428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line,
776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants.
[613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they
[175] postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person-
[602] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifférently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/303 cont./

976 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre- [127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum- [693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious human limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient 174 solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 175 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field in Inzzūyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzūyma, or Qaçba n-Qihra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghânem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqîh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ᶜArîba, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

/306 cont./

776 823 [789] The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, sometimes that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya, ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med u Âli are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 184 619 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to embody it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 184 619 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts for two doctors of Mafred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who,
825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 184 619 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest. Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents, so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons between tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would rejoin a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without always being able to define it.

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
794 inal source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4
[634] villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Chaib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/307 cont./

796 794 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 782 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, dduᶜâ. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

[184]

796

/311 cont/

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
775 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/311 cont./

771 History has prevailed over myth here. But it has been able to do it only by reason of the vocation, so characteristic of these groups, to /312/ affirm their temporal administration. We see this capacity being exercised on the very echelon of the canton feasts. What is dominant here is not the communional aspect, it is the contractual aspect. Auctions, sales on credit, notarial registration: the profane goes beyond the ancient sacrificial rite on all sides. An individualist debate, a communal administration, purely juridical operations already appear, and are displayed with a growing profusion as the cadre of activity becomes larger. Henceforth, law and religion are going to take separate roads.

776 And here is a holiness of great individuals and of great spaces.
771 Its tentacular action could be represented on the map, from the Haouz to the Sous and to the Drâ. Its protection is solicited from far away. Its avidity is exercised even farther. It is served in free order, with particular devotions of groups, villages, families. This mysticism with geographic expression tends itself toward another, more secret form. That of personal affiliation with a master. This phenomenon, in North Africa, has known, under the name of confrerism, an extension to which, for at least half a century, has corresponded an excessive infatuation of our investigators. In the confrerism, most often and essentially esoteric, the local community does not act, or acts less. An atmosphere of organization and of hierarchy reigns. Concurrently, the hagiological individuation assumes an extraordinary relief. Like sidi Abdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, these "beacons"...

771 In short, in the course of this ascension, we shall have seen several layers of religious reality succeeding one another. On the two ends, rival forms, being exercised fully. Below, the anonymous naturist sacred of the Tamjlocht, for example, a place of deep collective vibration; on the other, the great figure of the mystic of the Tazerwalt, and his idealism with broad oriental and Mediterranean correspondences. Almost absolute social integration on the one side. Individualism colored with mystery and legend on the other. Rural order below. Initiatory wisdom above.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the
182 saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individ-
792 ual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, génealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

/317 cont./

787
538

/footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t'r'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then
778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee
776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/318 cont./
778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
776
/The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh
/sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[776] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Abdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

/321 cont./

159 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and in-
787 struction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/
[776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/,
[776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

/322 cont./

792 Sibâ^c^ī is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
[776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âehara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mlād, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/385 cont./

000 understood, feint, surprise, violence temporarily broke up a legitimacy that adequate means, brought into play by the other party, came to re-establish in the end. Emigration, which one may consider as going back to a very ancient practice, had an important function: that of creating voids. Individual absences, ritual flights, military dispossessions unbalanced the local group. Today we see the return of the exiled child, who is not "prodigal," /386/ but miserly, take place in feast and scandal, because the one exiled brings back his savings, and because he is immediately going to attack sedentary capital. Formerly the role of these movements of individuals or of groups seems to have been preponderant. At the same time that it reconstituted the substance of the groups, it formed the bond between the two contrary elements whose tension we are observing even at present. Right of the soil and of origins against right of money and convention, on the one hand; right of the absent one against right of the one present, on the other hand: the antiquity of the system probably resided in the play of these four terms.

177 The contemporary stage expresses the organization that is built between these basic data and the oriental contribution. But when and how does this contribution intervene, and from which foyers of diffusion? Insoluble question for the moment. What is sure is that the amalgamation took place on levels of unequal depth according to the sectors of the institution. An important thing, because the oriental norms seem to have sometimes been accepted or submitted to in such a way that the practice contrived to palliate them, sometimes voluntarily elected, indeed systematically exaggerated, or diverted toward other ends. The hypothesis of phases of deliberate adoption or of authoritarian imposition, Almohadism, for example, is not excluded. With less gigantic, less legendary proportions, there were perhaps other cases in which adjustment was attempted by the indigenous legislative genius between the ancestral ideas and the universal
• 176 alphabet that Islam brought. Whence the importance of so many
177 founding heros, today submerged under a dull or rude hagiology, but in which one has a presentiment of appurtenance to an old

/386 cont./

776 177 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Âmer u H'ad-dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 779 182 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated [212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well
[613] as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/390 cont./

776 795 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult, with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences [779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 178 177 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transformation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
•776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

•776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^c^id Ou ^c^Abd en
[778] Na^c^im of the Hahà, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
*[631] long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
[782] to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
792 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
791 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
554 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
178 could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[212] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
[796] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
*[634] power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
175 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
791 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
792 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
554 zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] [613] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, redoubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [795] [796] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 721 619 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

• 778

[For information on the invocation by an individual of 'ar--a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request--in order to seek asylum or sanctuary, see categories 571 and 754.]

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebaʿ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[178] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
[484] Âbdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-
634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[132] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 184 101 634 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

361 101 634 619 [776] [778]

133 101 634 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
• 778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green
[241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins
[619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for-
[794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634
101 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton
619 of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the
634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to
175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a
726 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied
619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, Ih'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 31 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and [794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inégalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

1: Berque--328 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/235/ Third Part
Institutions and Values

000 /Page 236 is blank./

/237/ Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

/237 cont./
778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[184] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies. because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce anciehne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 776 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[778] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[783] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 (634) The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group found the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000 778 794 212

by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776]

In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

/255 cont./

778 "mare au diable" /"pond for the devil," pond miles away/) is nothing other than a pile of branches and pebbles opposite the village of Tagenza. In this case, as in that of the rival sanctuary of "Monsieur le Saint," Sidi Lwali, at Wanz'id', no personification, and not even by name. The efficiency is by no means linked to the very fiction of a saint, were it as indefinite. This is proved by the example of the mosque of Ifesfas, whose powers and even the legendary physiognomy /256/ offer an instructive contrast with the habitual imprecision of all this hagiology. It is so redoubtable for false oaths that the prudence of the canton forbids there the practice of religious ordeals. In fact, it is told that one time, for a matter of 12 dinars, it caused to perish not only the 12 coswearers, but also their 12 partners, for the outburst of its power "so harsh," icheqqâ, does not stop of course at subjective responsibility. Similar traits, although of less anecdotal glow, apropos the mosque of Awines and that of Tagenza.

Figurative Sacred and Nonfigurative Sacred

778 One is thus led to distinguish a figurative sacred from a non-
776 figurative or anonymous sacred. The latter is largely predominant. At the two extremes, the individualized saint and the anonymous ritual place. But the name does not constitute a true criterion. In fact, its presence no more suffices to promote the rite than its absence eliminates all legendary personalities. As one has seen, this is the case for the terrible mosque of Ifesfas.

776 Another distinction is to be made between saints with descent, such as this sidi Musa of Wanz'id', master of hurricanes, and whose distant sons always retain a certain qualification, and those to whom no lineage refers. On the one hand, personages with genealogical identity; on the other, anonymous agents of the sacred. And it is not without interest that the first type, which is the very one of the hero, would, in this agnatic society, be both so rare and, where it is found, so delineated.

/256 cont./

778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly [128] predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Abdella.	Sidi Ali Aregrag; sidi Abderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776
778 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Summer.
		The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallâh.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Âzza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
746	All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
	Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting
778 along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!
[162] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into
[613] some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggâhi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to
128 the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers
[illegible] from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample
778 dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, i. Geryun, Imt'd-
[162] dan, a. Lh'sen, Ibûban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

799 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timez-
346 gida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group,
671 one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint;"
Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That • 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[145]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825] [171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tiz[illegible]z'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral 776 778 sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the [196] Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is [197] identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an 778 imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, 195 "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to 193 this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy [193] of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Tourmert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
[784] two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
[778] by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

778 776 794 /287 cont./
Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of Bu^c^anfir in Ud Bessebâ^c^ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in [685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide [554] [771] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

/298 cont./

175 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the
776 critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla
[778] Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 [778] [634] Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola 776 794 [778] of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. [796] But he notes also, and this is more important, that here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late 770 794 428 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/313 cont./

792 example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant
[534] greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/
[794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary.
[691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com-
[778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives
[778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear 781 here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

/317 cont./

787 538 /footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t't'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then 778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee 776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/318 cont./

778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 778 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 571 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. [602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mīlād, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

(Cl. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

1: Berque--660 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shiuh MW11

Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

Cl. L. Berque

[798] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787

Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
• 778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
•[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
[782] long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[778] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
695 dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
671 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

*631 619 175 • [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778]
[787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
174 intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
789 the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
184 consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*631 so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
619 things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Ait ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
• 778 must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/251 cont./

443
625
685

/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443
634
554
692
685

It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as moreover in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2).

*634
792
784
[778]

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
•798

/305 cont./

them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it, he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without combat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sultan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic cleverness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/322 cont./

*631 121 182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 554 X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While •[778] it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

/89 cont./

173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [674] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[184] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

779 671 /242 cont./
ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 175 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only with each other. They have found before them, beneath them, more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

779 671

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the [171] domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

/243 cont./

671 171 the whole ensemble of local law of an inspiration outside of or prior to Islam, the French magistrates of Algeria consider as a body of customs the ensemble of local laws, of Islamic origin or not, in contrast to the Civil Code. Did not one of our sociologists some twenty years ago entitle a work, and not one of the least ones: Loi française et coutume indigène en Algérie /French law and native custom in Algeria/ (1)?

1. R. Maunier, 1932, a book moreover picturesque and intuitive.

A second qualification is to be made concerning the term of "Berbère" /Berber/. The ubiquity of this local law, more or less even, makes very difficult its qualification as Arab or Berbère. The fact is that its most coherent expression appears especially in Berbérophone sectors, forming by that also a figure of reserves or of archeological evidence. Sectors which have constituted, for the Arabs as well as for us, both the most expressive sign and the extreme case of an autochthonous genius. A quite superficial view.

779 171 For Mussulman orthodoxy, the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/, and, with all the more reason, of a Berbère law, is an intolerable scandal. W. Marçais has acted justly to observe the very particular malevolence with which the geographer al-Yâqût stigmatizes, in the note that his dictionary devotes to them, "the singularity and the excess" of this race, h'ida wa t'aych (2).

2. Yâqût, Mu^{c}jam (1224), Wustenfeld ed., 1870, in the art. barbar., t. I, pp. 540 sq. He is struck by some aberrant aspects: ah'wâl ^{c}ajîba wa içt'ilâh'ât gharîba. W. Marçais observed that the entire note is of an unusual violence.

The last word, still living in dialectal Arabic, recovers the ancient notion hybris, "immoderation." Now many Eastern Bedouins 171

/243 cont./

171 are governed by a customary law, which, among the sedentary Yemenites, for example, is stated even in codifications bearing the singular name of t'aghût (3).

3. Ettore Rossi, "Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen /The consuetudinary law of the Arab tribe of the Yemen/," Rivista degli Studi orientali, fasc. I-IV, 1938, describes a whole patriarchal and chivalrous society where interdictions protect the guest, the suppliant, the client, the refugee, the traveling companion, and up to the namesake. There are even some dissertations on the man^{c}, an idea related to the taboo. Some problems, such as that of the disinheriting of the woman, are posed simultaneously for this society and for those of North Africa, in relation to which it offers, moreover, a more archaic shading. The homogeneity of the problems and of the solution that is applied to them is nonetheless suggestive. After the description, already old, of P. Jaussen, E. Rossi's article constitutes a new and considerable contribution to the knowledge of an Arab customary law.

671 That way, even the juridical originality of the Moroccan mountains, to take an extreme case, could only, in the eyes of the orthodoxy, be absorbed in this theme of survivals or rural deviations, of this "eternal Bedouin," both nightmare and reason for being of the proselytism of the towns.

/244/ Certain traits of the Mussulman juridical technique must have contributed enormously to this unitary confusion (1).

1. On all this, see J. Berque, tr. of al-Wazzâni, Les Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a

/244 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ du Mi^cyâr /The Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^ca of the Mi^cyâr/, 1940, pp 27 sq., and Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine /Essay on the Maghrebi juridical method/, 1944, pp. 33 sq.

First the concept of d'arûra, "necessity," and "law-making necessity," which allows absorbing, without derogation of principle, all resistant and aberrant facts, because one cannot master them, and without there being any question of penetrating their shell. Then, in the same sense, this Malekite opportunism imposing in the name of the "social good," maçlah'a, the acceptance of the illicit: but momentary, precarious and almost haughty. Finally the immoderate role of the presumptions in the penal and civil law has introduced, under the appellations of ^corf and of ^câda, "usage," a mass of local institutions, but, it goes without saying, without recognition of their character of internal obligation.

Consequently, the negation both instinctive and rational of the Berbère /Berber/ law by Islam is accompanied, in the juridical technique, by multiple means of absorbing it without admitting it. And not only without concession of legitimacy, but without an attempt at analysis. Consequently the Maghrebi reality has maintained the fiqh as an immense stock of facts without justification or depth.

For the strict orthodoxy, there is no problem of customary law.

Quite the contrary, the European exegesis, after long gropings in Algeria, and especially under the influence of institutional spontaneity, which it discovered in Kabylie /Kabylia/, then in Morocco, has let itself be dominated by a realism as unattackable, as long as it rests content with observation of the facts, as it is hazardous when it finds other inspirations. The joy of discovery has perhaps sometimes brought about a belief in a primitivism all the more malleable and assimilable as certain Mediterranean affinities "defended" it against the Orient: from there to the simplistic idea of division, there is only one step, which the system's detractors have not failed to make it cross.

/244 cont./

671 779 Let us proceed to the attitude of the user. Last, for this user is shy. He perseveres, certainly, but apologizes for it, or he does not even know himself. The two poles of this attitude are that he makes use of a superior system, which is Islam, fiqh included, and that concurrently he clings to a cantonal particularism, a sort of Proudhonian liberty which implies the preservation of his law.

It is only exceptionally that he rises to the discussion of /245/ principle. An account by the sheik an-Nâçirî (1)

> 1. An-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 42, l. 19 sq. The jurist is led to subtle distinctions on a community's degree of resistance to the law. "Question: a rural tribe resists legal norms, and replaces them with customary norms and penal tariffications enacted through deliberation. It bases its justice on that. Does it incur the qualification of infidel? Answer: No, but simply of rebel. Objection: but then what is meant by the word of God: 'He who does not act according to the Revelation is an infidel'? Answer: 'That applies only to a tribe considered in its individuals.'" (He means doubtlessly a tribe that has manifested a deliberate initiative in this direction. The anecdote of the ait Asawn in fact follows: those may be qualified as infidels.) One sees that the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists have sometimes been forced to approach the problem.

shows us a tribe of the Sous, the ait Asawn, symbolic in the name perhaps ("those of the escarpment"), who "bury" the Mussulman Law according to the classical mode of spell, and proclaiming the henceforth obligatory recourse to the "tables" of the ikchchud'en custom, that is, to local codifications. But that is only an extreme case.

/245 cont./

000 671 779 171

extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qâdirî, justifying the ᶜAmal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qâdirî nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

(114)

3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marcy, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/245 cont./

671 In any case, this is what forms the originality of the Sous and the
779 Mzab (4).
171

4. On this aspect of Mzabite law, L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâas du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâas of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 223.

But everywhere one finds this double character of Islamic option and cantonal conservatism. Whether it is transactional or, more rarely, insurrectional, the local law has always and everywhere reckoned with the fiqh, has set itself in comparison with the fiqh, indeed sometimes has pretended to be absorbed in it, or believed it.

/246/ Islam and Individual Belief

779 From the innermost subjectivity of the Chleuh /Shluh/, whose Islamic option is profound and ever bursting forth, to the most well-considered social affirmation -- this society wills itself Mussulman. In its great epochs it sought to be the Mussulman society. We find the Prophet everywhere. It is for this reason that it is so difficult to determine his part: it would not be if it were not total, or, more exactly, if it did not will itself, if it did not feel total. Such in fact must be the lot of a universalist faith. As a permanent appeal to the profession of the Unique, to the imitation of His noble witness, the Messenger of God, as a cultural and ethical system, it inspires and governs the soul of the person and that of the people: it has become an essential trait of the country. It would be a fine subtlety to distinguish in as specific a synthesis the part that, of an order properly institutional and of oriental color, has been, not rejected, but eluded by the societies of the Atlas, or adapted and assimilated by them. Nevertheless, in the realm of the law, one can circumscribe the indigenous legacy and the oriental contribution. Concerning the belief, the

/246 cont./

779 discrimination will be much more delicate and in many respects impossible.

It seems, however, that the progress of Islam is the very one of individual behavior. It asserts itself fully in this extreme case that is sanctity. The communitarian and naturistic character of the basic rites is naturally further removed from it. Hence the criticism of it that the scholars make. They were not mistaken in denouncing what they called paganism or idolatry: awkward expression of a certain specificity which we would prefer to attribute simply to the vitality of a rural system. Hence, on the other hand, the tendency of the ethnologists to overaccentuate what they believe to be agrarian "magic and religion," whose articulation to a hierarchized ensemble, which is indeed that of a Mussulman society, they do not recognize. Does this mean that, on even the echelon of the jemâa, the Islamic qualification loses in importance what the communitarian play gains? Such an assertion could be upheld only suitably nuanced. First of all, Islam is there in local law, whether it be the inspirer of it or, on the contrary, if I may venture to say it, the driving bolt /Fr. repoussoir/. This will be studied in detail farther on. But Islam reigns equally in the communal house, in this timezgida where the recitation of the Koran punctuates the time of the village and contributes, by periodic feasts, to the most intimate of the collective rites. Finally, it opens up possibilities of escape, felt by each one, and where each vaguely perceives a recourse against the terrible order of /247/ the city: it is true that here one falls back on individual cases.

779 171 However that may be, in fact it is certain that in the societies of the Atlas the stage of Islam is that of the person rather than of the group. A fundamental difference from what it was traditionally in the Arab Maghreb, where, conforming to its origins, it corresponds above all to the madîna life, to the professional and scholarly municipal life, of which Fès /Fez/ constitutes in Morocco the privileged example. Here the city is peasant, and proceeds from structures perhaps autochthonous, in any case far removed from the mercantile urbanism which the oriental

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting
778 along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!
[162] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into
[613] some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to
128 the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers
778 from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample
778 dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'd-
[162] dan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timez-
346 gida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group,
671 one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/260 cont./

779 346 671 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, lfçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of swom law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

627 171

1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;
2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fātih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/348 cont./

613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

613 The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No 779 part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say, 178 in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the 671 writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil, istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaqa, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the ççadaqa.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^ca..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [119] ^corf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

/381 cont./
671 many dissertations to it (1).
212

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a
212 religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension
779 makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
685 of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for rob-
671 bery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of ampu-
779 tation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735,
683 emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of
671 Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some
779

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/382 cont./

671

The Community As Organ of Juridical Creation

"Public law," we would say. To what extent is such an appellation legitimate? In fact, despite the development of the contract in this society, the statutory aspect of many individual relations on the one hand, their implication with collective factors on the other, finally the omnipresence of a communitarian life whose adjuvant force and the feeling of well-being and normalcy that it inspires have for ransom a very extended gamut of sanctions, continually entail the interference of the private and of the public, of the civil and of the penal.

Such an interference will go by itself into an "archaic" law, and the fact that one sets up here a question that elsewhere would be pure scruple, and in addition anachronistic, indicates to what extent the present investigation has believed it necessary to turn aside, apropos the /383/ Seksawa system, and Chleuh /Shluh/ system in general, from such commonly accepted ideas, those of the late Marcy, for example. The distinction of public law and private law is related moreover, especially perhaps in Seksawa, to aspects of expression and elaboration rather than to the nature of things. But aspects how strongly contrasted! Up to the contemporaneous period the jemâa has remained the penal judge. On the other hand, we see from the oldest period that an external magistery is called upon in order to recognize goods and persons. But, in addition, and on this very matter, the legislator is none other than the group.

[692]

671 779

This account has sufficiently marked all the traits of indivision, confusion, or junction between this communal law, as it is expressed or is conceived itself, and the fiqh. As in several departments of private law, it is in a sort of contractual excess that a surpassing of the model, thus a useful alibi, seems to have been sought. This law has outbid a law of citizens and merchants by the meticulous extreme of the cheap-Jack. With its being so close to magico-religious bases, to the communitarian vehemence of the group, it is not by an oath that, like our good towns of the

/383 cont./

671 thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by
[779] a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, unlimited in its applications. Two examples of it have already
[421] been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another
[586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two
671 other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution
794 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern. In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

/386 cont./

776 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Âmer u H'ad-
177 dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-
779 sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and
182 undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated
[212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its mo[illegible]ellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

671
779
182

/387 cont./
formation of large ensembles and broad styles, rather than the spontaneity of youth.

Among its traits, there are some archaic ones. And not only on the plane where one ordinarily looks for -- and finds -- the one of magic or of folklore, but on the plane of the law itself, a matter indeed more irrecusable. First of all, the notion of an agrarian order with ritual sanctions, with magico-religious defenses, survives in some techniques of immediate settlement, some attitudes generative of powers, of movements, or of juridical states. It is probably thus for what touches on the oldest economic foundations: relations for irrigation or pasturing, landowner equilibrium of the ikhs-s, exchanges with the communal sacred. More on the surface, an agonistic reality is expressed in the judicial joust (1)

1. J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 399 sq.

and in the very details of the procedural play. But only its expression is individual. It stems in fact from the same archaism upon which are founded the pacts of mystic patronage, seasonal feasts, and the ritual disputes for which they furnish the occasion: thus the auction for the sacrificial meats, still very recognizable under a cloak of notarial law.

But it is this elaboration that leads. A vigorous synthesis takes place at the communal echelon. It suppresses all the rest into incoherence and discontinuity. Collective tension has become /388/ dialectic of litigants. Relations with the sacred take the contractual path. The agrarian order is maintained only by resorting to contentious debate. Islamic schemas dominate the successoral material so much that the indigenous law no longer deviates from the fiqh, apparently at least, except in the quantity of subterfuges, ar. /Arabic/ h'iyal. All this law, which guarantees, through the duration, the permanence of the milieu, has

/388 cont./

671 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the
779 point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in
182 order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The
675 mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here.
421 The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus
182 personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkâl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawlîya çah'îh'a wa'starkaba-hu fî sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fî mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarikt, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
• [779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
179 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qâhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/442 cont./

Recourse To the External and
To the Transcendent

619
634
182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

•779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
177 the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
648 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conform-
671 able with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/308 cont./

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of
● 781 the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/309 cont./

114 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness,
781 descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quaestor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear
781 here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

[For further information on oaths when used in informal settlements of disputes, see Category 627; when used in formal judicial proceedings, see Category 695.]

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the [782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes [776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is [778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of [787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

241
796
619
634
184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chaîb. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

[525] [782] [787]

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

[782]

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

[784]

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

[784]

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 796 619 634 184 [613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. Hsayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur. [541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. [578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; [262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair. [613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. [578] Custom of aspersions on the morning of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; [262] battle by blows with clumps of grass. [541]

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these

241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that

796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[791] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
628 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châib.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Dtaâli.
11. Imiri y-igwrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Imegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-wgwadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[184] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way, [784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'-and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Abdella.	Sidi Ali Aregrag; sidi Abderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776
778 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains,
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'adduyws]

259 cont.

221 241 776 778 782 796 T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
	Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Amer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid:

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/270 cont./

776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the
776 Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the
794 enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he es-
782 caped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/277 cont./
175 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).
675
[376]
[126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice,
tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in
675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from
[176] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
[432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
[693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to
782 Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember,
H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae,
[634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ..., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
(785)
(783)

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahîm near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

(171)

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182

and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Ali u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Mîlâd of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

/295 cont./

796 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the pro-
782 fane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the
182 different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical
175 cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically
776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would
551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle
171

/307 cont./

776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added
[184] the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu^{c}â. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

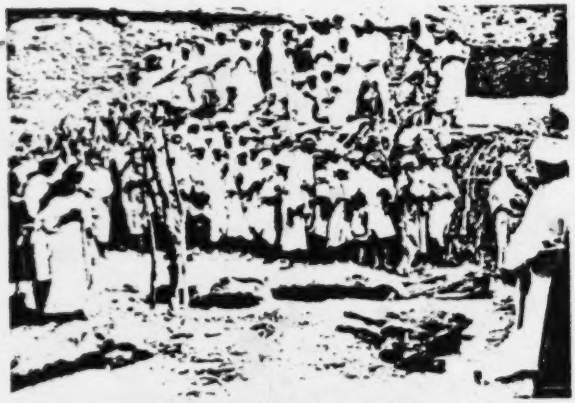
585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796



(J. L. Berque)

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^c^id Ou ^c^Abd en
[778] Na^c^im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
*[631] long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
•[782] to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
[173] /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113] 1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
791 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center

/232 cont./

*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

[571] [782]

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitᶜe und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 [171] In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

159 /318 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[976] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
[648] After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared the were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphère has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1): [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

[173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison
796 with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[798] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles
[823] the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ...., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
[785]
[783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3),

[171]

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

241 796 619 634 184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chaïb. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

[525] [782] [787]

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

[782]

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uaziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Saïd.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqaïleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

[784]

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

[784]

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way, [784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphemei as the Greeks said.

578/266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)
[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, 1. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laf'if, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-
784 religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains
[245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it
[824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con-
[823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces
[585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also
[184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to
784 take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the
778 timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the
[821] sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve ex-
571 pression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group.
[602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/251 cont./

443
625
685

/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443
634
554
692
685

It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as moreover in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2).

443
*634
792
784
[778]

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
•784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women, perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ...., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
[785]
[783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

[171]

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
241 796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the ir-
[525] rigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried
[782] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood
[787] runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-
[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general
[784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the Iqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as
[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

578 /266 cont./ Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts, istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence, moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently, the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old, local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation. She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact, in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential
[571] condition: whether the chchard' (1)
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to
782 Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation
[634] starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

787 [539] /317 cont./

-- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [171] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hîba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ^{c}a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât' of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/." Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

/317 cont./

787 538 /footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t'ṭ'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then 778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee 776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

159 /320 cont./
792 that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
789 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah was endowed with the gift of
787 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Âli, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Âbdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

159 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and in-
787 struction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/
[776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/,
[776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

1: Berque--660 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shuh MW11

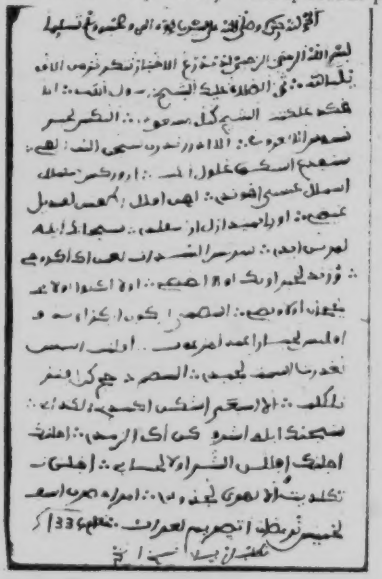
Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787



Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

/50 cont./

771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
562 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
789 regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
776 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard re-
[788] sistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;

2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fâtih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1). 562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
184 an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/129 cont./

114 been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its
241 baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces --
789 these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" / constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Doutté on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/130 cont./

114 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above
121 all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the
789 "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered
171 according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way, [784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1); [789]

> 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, "with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa. [173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrîm who,
again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/316 cont./

212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 (688) In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqîh, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z...". I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh /sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[776] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
792 that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
789 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Abdallah was endowed with the gift of
787 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Ali, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Abdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

695
212 /329 cont./
[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istirᶜâ'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t'ṭ'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/380 cont./

671
212

/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[784]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakarn, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
[642] state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth
[789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

> 1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^c^id Ou ^c^Abd en
[778] Na^c^im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
*[631] long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
•789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./

771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
562 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
789 regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

*634 /222 cont./
184 replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "an-
174 flous" (1)
.789

[113]

> 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2).

> 2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and
[184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the
*[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in
[619] the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3).

[113]

> 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their rôle
651 is indispensable. Among the Ait ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/223 cont./

*634 •789 174 178 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the affairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple notables, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the *634 789 184 [174 [178 number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2)

2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3).

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

/223 cont./

*634 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical
•789 powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the
184 moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton
554 meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is
[666] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by
[613] lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however,
*634 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who
692 is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs pre-
554 sented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 178 .791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

(113)

2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
796 scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked ([illegible]).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

[For information on the sherif (shorfa) nobles who are descendants of the Prophet, see Category 554.]

792 Shluh MW11

[For information on "saints", see Category 776.]

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[139] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The char-
acteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô,"
just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these
names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more
characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is domi-
nated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which
there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows
who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this
is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot
where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagi-
ology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of
transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants;
and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran
domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the
original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of
brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or
even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pasture-
land between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge
ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut'
n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	(166)
	Iqorran.	Ighelmel-len.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 175 726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 539 726 619 "The 9 çafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

776 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or
792 peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting
928 case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur.
[681] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the
[628] originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

773 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast
776 groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûnî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

792
184

/274 cont./
ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tamgrût (2),

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is that of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

[191]

3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
776 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 (114)

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

175
776
792

/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^C^za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^C^Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

175
776

What historical precision! ^C^Âmir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^C^Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious human limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient 174 solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the aggressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its 634 support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
794 inal source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4
[634] villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the
182 saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individ-
792 ual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ^c, for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 121

792 171

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

/313 cont./

792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ [794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. [691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 781 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^c lâm registers him (1).

1. ^cAbbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^c lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u
[181] Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor,
[693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlâs, a Suktânî, a ^cAbbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the
794 t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/318 cont./

778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:

776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zâouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh /sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[776] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," Iwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaouâ came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
792 that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
789 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah was endowed with the gift of
787 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Âli, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Âbdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

159 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and in-
[187] struction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

• 792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/
[776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/,
[776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

/322 cont./

792 [776] Sibâ^c^î is a saint whose memory survives at the zâouia of Takerkuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^c^âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 [692] Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

691 695

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[792] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

[586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
•792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
initiator from the Moroccan South.

675 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

792
795

[For a general history of the maraboutic brotherhoods in Morocco from the beginning of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century, see category 116, pp. 106-132 and 138-139; historical information on the establishment of the Zaouias (schools or religious centers for the various orders), will be found in category 116, pp. 122-124.]

/44 cont./

562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.
565 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/.
•792 These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[171] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
• [792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101]

2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt.

• [792] [795] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the A'lt Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this 159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan 175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

/138 cont./

114 *63 *634 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

*631 *634 VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. — Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the [619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the [178] Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases [621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant 175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the *631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi •792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

*631 [174] /168 cont./
conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619 [796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/202 cont./

616
619
[101]
*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616
184

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

[792]
[578]

616
619
578
184

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726]
[538]

616
619

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
• [792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran," the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar, in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

/251 cont./

443 625 685 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, 443 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, 634 it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty 554 692 and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The 685 existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on *634 a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the •792 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi 784 Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
-792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
*634 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
578 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
661 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
726 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

•792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113]

1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 /324 cont./
791 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
792 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
554 warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[224] [541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these mara-
[681] bouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

-792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
*631 istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
[178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

•792 /408 cont./
795 to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain,
*631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.
171 In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Ta'ibi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ᶜAli Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792 The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
795 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families,
*631 thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the
182 fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

*792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this
[578] moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity
[178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

•792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
*631 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
648 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries be-
171 tween the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the
same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el
Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
*631 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
648 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less ser-
vile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their
lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that
of the representatives of the Sultan.

Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
178 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
792 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
795 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
*631 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then
from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in
the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political
importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the
kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the
desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden
among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where
the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages
have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary popu-
lations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peace-
ful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 /411 cont./
it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
•792 Makhzen /makhzan/.
795 However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 [578] [669] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re- [712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

[For information on the secular activities of the talebs (t't'olba) or scribes, see Category 212.]

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century, "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," Hesp., 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his Rih'la, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly
485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of
794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a
621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a madinâ. He will savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room
000 and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt
613 splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is
794 that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green [241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton
101 of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity
619 at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the
634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to
175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the
726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a
619 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum,
794 lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment
311 of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices,
[133] downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Tajmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and
[794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

/198 cont./
423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
[452] and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is
credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
592 more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Âli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Âli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Âli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Âli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Rea-
423 son invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimo-
178 nies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the
613 a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave
178 no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property
[613] mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has
[794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the prin-
613 cipal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Bul^{c}wân]

/214 cont./

312 distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to
178 groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of
(624) the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits
794 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution
184 protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A' first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 796 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[386] [263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic [221] activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 796 533 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, [574] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 [634] The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah*med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000 778 794 212

by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776]

In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugemi (which means something like a

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
784
787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776
794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

[571]
[634]

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be
[681] penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

773
776

/footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

(628) But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex-base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ᶜâ, of the saint of Z'init'.

776
794

The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumuᶜa of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Âbdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/270 cont./

776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the
776 Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the
794 enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had
782 the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he escaped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/271 cont./

794
437

in series, whose complexity doubtlessly offers an interesting clue, but about which we are still unable to say whether it is authentic or results from a deformation of the system.

/The next two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ During the agricultural periods suitable for collection the jemâa takes in the quota of each one and stores it in a traditional location: the mosque at Awines, an ad hoc chamber at Wanz'id', for example. Upon the arrival /272/ of the titulary (let us take in this case at hand the representative of Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment), the products are sold. Most often they are sold at auctions, according to the mode giving rise to free contests and charitable works, which is commonly observed in this kind of thing. But sometimes, too, at Tagenza among others, this grain is bought at the market price by destitute citizens who lack the beasts of burden to provision themselves in the plain.

Lastly, it happens that the gift may be "portable": this is the case for the large collective dues for sidi Ah'med u Ali. Once gathered together in the mosque of Awines, they are sold at auction, and it is the cash that will be paid to the saint by a delegation from the taqbilt. In the course of recent years, this sale has produced a sum of 25 to 30,000 fr. for the cereals alone, which, if one applied the rule of 1/80, would lead to an evaluation of a harvest of some 2,500,000 fr. for the Bas /Lower/ a. Lh'sen: an interesting economic indication, because it is a matter of about a hundred foyers.

Fiscal exactitude, distributive sharpness, rigorous calculation in the assessment of the charge and the collection of the product, but also reveling at the time of payment, joyous release of the auctions, ostentatious generosity in its place: all these aspects join to make of this system of dues, punctuating the agricultural year, a rich source of religious feelings and juridical ideas.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
(181) vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Abdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

776 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

/The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
794 source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own
484 taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of
527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create mûsems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'âjj Hfîd' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This reserve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

794 484

The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

776 794

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim (1);

1. Dawh'at an-nâchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜîd, who repelled the advances of the Sâadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeîhat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Abdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

794 184 /The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic gens of the Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Abdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two ikhs-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân, [613] the other of Agawz, furnish the mârûf of Sidi Abderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September.

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, taryalt, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a kharruba of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. It has [613] been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the ikhs.

In a. Abdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Abdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. Bûl^{c}wân does not pay chchard' to the outside.

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is necessary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their (634) totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable [241] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural [221] periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the 212 repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli- 875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison [634] of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, [423] to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints, tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

[231] [675]

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chlèuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./
175 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2)
675
[876]
[126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in
675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from
[776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
[432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
[693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

175
794
675
212
539

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

اتفقت جماعة آل العجلاني وهم من أيت الحسن
بوفنة من سكساوة منهم الحسن بن محمد الملقب بـ برو
وابراهيم بن محمد بنيتي بـ بيعي واخوه سعيد واخو
هما مبارك بن محمد وعلي الحرج بلقب مقدم الرحالبي
ومع سعيد بن سعيد وهم أعيان من أيت ماخلي
والعفير سعيد بن مولود من بني مولود الله وعبد
الله بلخوش بيعي من أيت بري والعفير سعيد
ابن مبارك النسب وغيرهم من الجماعة المذكورة
قبلا أو صغارا تعلقا تاما ورضاء وسرورا
منهم وبرحا رجاء في بركة الله ورسوله وبركة
الشيخ سيدي أحمد بن علي أبو النحل نفعنا الله ببركة
كرامته وانتشر طوامع في بيته سيدي أحمد
جعفر بن محمد أبو النحل أن يعطوا له ولمن تأخر
ويأتي من بعده عشرة أيام متتالية في كل كنونة
في الأكران ولم أشمل الجوز في بلادهم وكذا الك
خرو بنيس لعل كنونة من اللوز الحلو أو لم
وقبلوا ذلك فبولد تاما ورضاء نافعا على أداء
ذلك لأولاد سيدي أحمد بن علي الكنوني ما دام
الدنيا باقية وما دامت سلالة الشيخ [776]
كذا. فمن سعى في تبديله أو تغييره فالله يحاسبه
يوم القيامة فنسأل الله تعالى أن يجعل البركة
والمنفعة في غلة الشجار ويصلح الله دينهم
ودنياهم وأخرتهم بجاه النبي والأصلاح [126]
بمنه وكرمه بكل منهم وعن جميع كل قبيلة سكان
بيته وبنات أبيه أو أخ في نعمة الحرام على وطنا
وخمسين ومائتين والعشرين بعد الألف من هجرته
وعبد ربه إبراهيم ابن محمد
في الصفوح الأكبر وأوناس

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
776 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
[778] by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
776 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
[788] us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

778
776
794

/287 cont./
Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of Bu^c^anfir in Ud Bessebâ^c^ used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in [685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide [554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom [771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

634
619
776
• 794

/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tubratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'at	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	2
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Abdella.							1
Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers, I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one. 794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand, 578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate [691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in [692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de- 794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments [794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even [796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any [128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/298 cont./

175 776 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] [798] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has
[778] his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
[634] that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that
[776] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

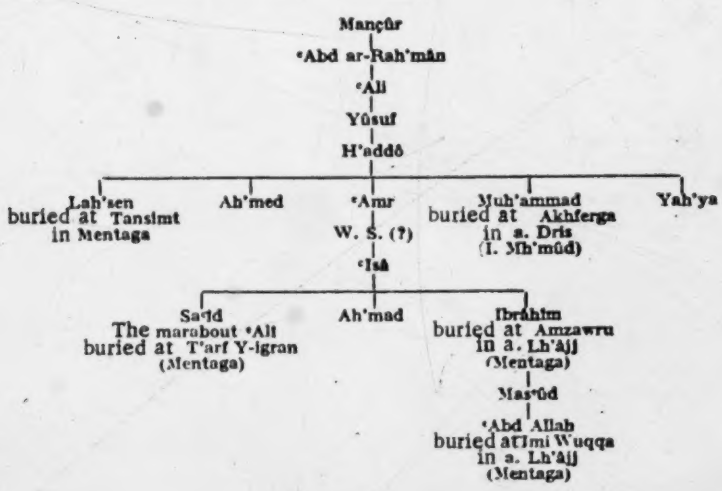
775 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
794 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
428 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
794 inal source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4
[634] villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Chaib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/307 cont./

776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla
[184] Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu^{c}â. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/308 cont./

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/313 cont./

792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ [794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. [691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^c^lâm registers him (1).

1. ^c^Abbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^c^lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u
[181] Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor,
[693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^c^Abbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the
794 t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/316 cont./

212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 [688] In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqîh, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

/318 cont./
778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imi..tanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, [693] in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi- [794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIIIe siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears
692 most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
634 inal source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the
69 a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
[681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710,
69 and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/327 cont./

695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
[794] 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

1: Berque--462 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

695
212

/329 cont./

[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istir^{c}â'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t't'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

1: Berque--472 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/335 cont./

695 175 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq from Daud at-Tamulît or at-Timît, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 794 693 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evolution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to compare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

/337/

II. Familial Law

594
171
114

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

/363 cont./

432 country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093
[195] Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the
[175] forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

•794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 562

2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 423 428 562 [432] [184]

/footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is exercised not only in the margin, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Ih'âchit, that the "agnatic sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant procedural theme. The women's share often being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will later bring about their annulment for all that concerns the women's share, and without prescription intervening. On the other hand, in neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example, if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 428 562 [171]

From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is formally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 428 [175]

War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An interesting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamullî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

/364 cont./

794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all 794 428 these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

671 An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'âchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfâa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634 The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1),

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

/365 cont./

794
428
634

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in
[671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

794
428

On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A
[691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga.
[177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
(695) jrida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
(177) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
(178) inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

12 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
(173) suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
671 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
(562) from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
(184) ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/366 cont./

794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.
671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
212

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the commune looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^ca and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[794] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine, and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

/383 cont./

671 thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by
[779] a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, unlimited in its applications. Two examples of it have already
[421] been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another
[586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two
671 other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution
794 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern. In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

/384 cont./

67 [194] private and public law, but further to the administration of the sacred.

Let us remember the constant intervention of the group that is revealed at all levels in the religious, economic, juridical institutions of these societies. Let one judge what its initiative could have been in the periods of expansion.

/385/ Group Reaction
Individual Ethics

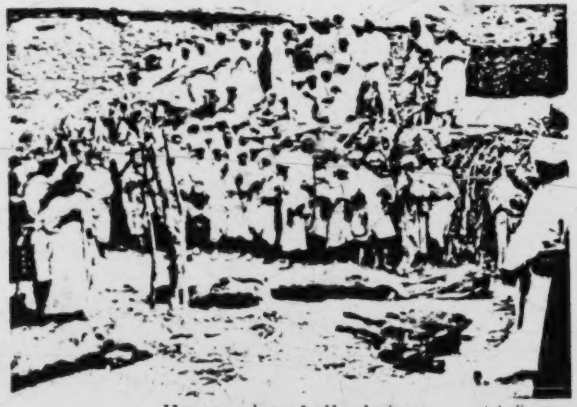
Attempt at Reconstitution

000 Thus, in this life, two elements confront each other. The one, patrimonial; the other, movable and acquisitive. One establishes an equilibrium on the structure of the group, itself linked to an agrarian order; the other provokes incessant competition fed by full monetary play and the expansion of contracts.

On the one hand, law of the soil and of origins; on the other, law of money and convention, in other words, also a law of individual work and adventure. Between the one and the other, a tension, which further results from certain aspects of the judiciary joust, but formerly must have been expressed more fully. For four centuries a least a contentious genre ruled, where the law is expressed by action and has writing at its disposal. But the group, let us take heed, maintains this justice outside its walls. It may conspire, indeed in spite of itself, with the montagnard order. It is too far removed from it in its spirit as well as in its methods. In the end, it will destroy it.

There was undoubtedly a time when states, or, better, juridical attitudes, counted more, linked to the structure of the city and guaranteed by immediate safeguards, some traces of which still remain. It is not that their relations excluded movement or the unforeseen, or froze the person in an immovable communitarian equilibrium. On the contrary, one might imagine that the economic modes did not often depend upon what we call equity. Temporary success by violence, seizure of pledges very broadly

201
634
619
782
796



Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as mem-
.794 bers of the Mussulman community, but the community, for
431 them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and
191 they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jemaʿa" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confedera-
191 tions have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 799 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

[681] [651] [794] [735] [465]

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
10 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
133 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moresk from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
[795] erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

36/ 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in- [613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaīd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re- [795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, [796] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. 173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a 721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. 619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

/389 cont./

695 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well
[613] as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/390 cont./

776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
•795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
179 layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

792
795

[For a general history of the maraboutic brotherhoods in Morocco from the beginning of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century, see category 116, pp. 106-132 and 138-139; historical information on the establishment of the Zaouias (schools or religious centers for the various orders), will be found in category 116, pp. 122-124.]

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[767] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

•795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101]

2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt. [792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, [795] is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the A'lt Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this *159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan 175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
•795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
[175] istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[178] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

792
.795
*631
171

/408 cont./

to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain, that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.

In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Ta'ibi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ᶜAli Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792
795
*631
182

The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families, thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this
[578] moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity
[178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
•795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
*631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
648 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
171 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries between the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
*631 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
648 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less servile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that of the representatives of the Sultan.

178 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
792 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
795 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the displacement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
*631 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary populations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peaceful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 /411 cont./
792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.
*631 However that may be, the long influence of the religious
792 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
178 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[669] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;
[578]

/130 cont./

805
171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221
527
[196]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128

Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221
241

Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ſchura or amſchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

[539] [233] [796]

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

[539] [178]

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al- [539] ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And et us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who ....," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

241 796 [121] It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

/135 cont./

241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

241 796 619 634 184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chaîb. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

[525] [782] [787]

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

[782]

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Ih'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

[784]

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

[784]

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 796 619 634 184 [613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkia open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur. [541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. [578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; [262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair. [613]

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning [578] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; [262] battle by blows with clumps of grass. [541]

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdellâ. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these

241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that

796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut[1] in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ᶜAchûrâ): the choᶜala of the Ud Bessebâᶜ redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Mîlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
• 796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Abdella make the fires of
241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
184 when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-Ibûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/139 cont./

796 241 184 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 121 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1); [789]

[173]

1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison
• 796 with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
196 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[178] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

[386]
[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flower-pots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt,
[574] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 [634] The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med uᶜAli for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques: timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Abdella.	Sidi Ali Aregrag; sidi Abderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques,
778 one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221
241
776
778
782
796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Summer.
		The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796 Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

259 cont.

221 241 776 778 982 796	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
		Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
		Sidi Tifawt.		
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable [241] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural [221] periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the 212 repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli- 875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison [634] of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the [423] liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7-8. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not
212 the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recom-
pense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of
the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of admini-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the
periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close rela-
tions, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the
amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
● [796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the begin-
ning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî
(sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each
tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants
of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole
was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That
took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our
sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client
among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./

175 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).
675
[876]
[126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in
675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from
[776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
[432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
[693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2 000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

776 778 [796] [197]

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

776 778 195 193 [193]

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/285 cont./

776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to set-
[692] tle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.
794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
[692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de-
794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/291 cont./

773 776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796 114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession [533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat [787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, [634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The [171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796
782
182
171
783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ...., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796
782
182
[785]
[783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

[171]

3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182

and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Ali u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Mlid of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

/295 cont./

796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically 776 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would 551 be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle 171

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 [778] [634] Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola 776 794 [778] of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that [796] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late 776 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga 794 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," 428 that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/307 cont./

776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla
[184] Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu^{c}ā. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/308 cont./

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksâwa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of
781 the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mîlâd, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
[776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

779
792
175
585
675

/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175
584

But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'inît' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

584
[796]
[782]

585
675
175

/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

1: Berque--*655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

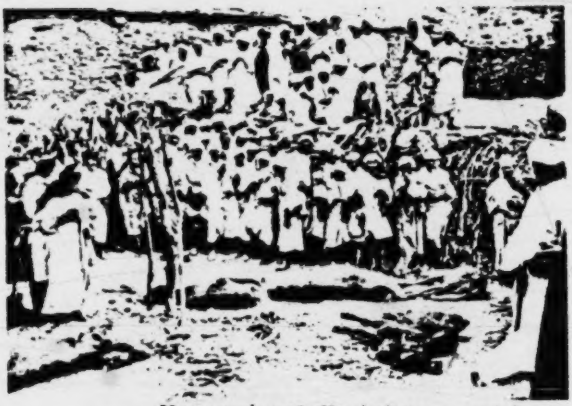
133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796



(I. L. Berque)

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(I. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

*631 /168 cont./
[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619

• [796] [692]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/169 cont./

*631 619 [796] [692] ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations, the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has sufficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the "taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated blows (1).

*631 *634 619

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange

*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed; but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
•796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The
182 great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of
619 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
642 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by fam-
ilies infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians
to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
182 the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of
money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim
at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or
Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

/221 cont./
*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arba^c^in are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

[178] [174]

[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "reba^c^," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the
•802 western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their move-
174 ment, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

634 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south ver-
184 sant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arba^c^in" is generally

/13 cont./

Measure of This Space

804 Nothing would be more erroneous than to appraise the mass of the country according to our metric system. The real unit, which is the man's very same measure, is the duration of the effort of the agile walker or the notable perched on a mule at a lively trot. Moreover, it would be necessary that this duration be appraisable quantitatively. It is not, of course, in hours and
805 minutes. At the very most, the interval between prayers, themselves marked by the positions of the sun, could serve as a standard. But one hardly prays. To tell the truth, it is even looser measurements: morning, noon, evening, ccbah', zziwal, icfirar, which would be the most sympathetic to the heart. But we shall not repeat here the reflections of Lucien Febvre on the "temps flottant" /fluctuating time/, the "temps dormant" /dormant time/ of societies of "médiéval" type (1).

1. L. Febvre, Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle /The problem of unbelief in the sixteenth century/, 1942, pp. 426 to 434, and G. Friedmann, "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

804 Moreover, it being a question of mechanical time, I mean very
805 precisely time serving to measure or to divide up an effort very precise and of constant duration, it is indeed hours that we shall avail ourselves of in order to measure Seksawa space, just as the officers of the penetration did.

184 Let us disregard the immense confines which, beyond the
804 villages, on the Tichka side, as on that of the Ras Mulay Ali, extend much farther still. Seksawa life, the life of the valley bottom, which is the municipal life, the dense life with full potential, is measured by /14/ very slight durations. We shall see, in fact: the intercalary spaces correspond to other rhythms, entablatures separating the valleys, rounded summits, and, with

/14 cont./

184 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure
804 is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

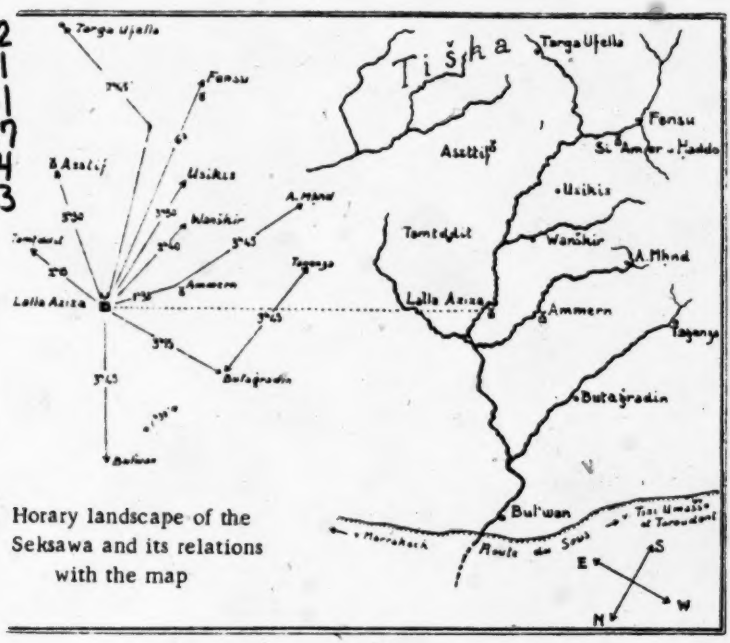
487 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1]
484 and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which
804 will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These dura-
823 tions, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

1. [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont:/

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

[127] 1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/149 cont./

312 in the Todgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as per-
[648] haps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the dis-
[171] tribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical utilization and above all of collective organization what they gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis, being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize successes and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily reach.

/150/ Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert, each being connected to it by its particular "intake," açder or ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary intakes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distribution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open, directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur. ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irrigable by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according
[804] to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a certain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211]

151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or subfraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'açt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/13 cont./

Measure of This Space

804 Nothing would be more erroneous than to appraise the mass of the country according to our metric system. The real unit, which is the man's very same measure, is the duration of the effort of the agile walker or the notable perched on a mule at a lively trot. Moreover, it would be necessary that this duration be appraisable quantitatively. It is not, of course, in hours and
805 minutes. At the very most, the interval between prayers, themselves marked by the positions of the sun, could serve as a standard. But one hardly prays. To tell the truth, it is even looser measurements: morning, noon, evening, ccbah', zziwal, icfirar, which would be the most sympathetic to the heart. But we shall not repeat here the reflections of Lucien Febvre on the "temps flottant" /fluctuating time/, the "temps dormant" /dormant time/ of societies of "médiéval" type (1).

1. L. Febvre, Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle /The problem of unbelief in the sixteenth century/, 1942, pp. 426 to 434, and G. Friedmann, "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

804 Moreover, it being a question of mechanical time, I mean very
805 precisely time serving to measure or to divide up an effort very precise and of constant duration, it is indeed hours that we shall avail ourselves of in order to measure Seksawa space, just as the officers of the penetration did.

184 Let us disregard the immense confines which, beyond the
804 villages, on the Tichka side, as on that of the Ras Mulay Ali, extend much farther still. Seksawa life, the life of the valley bottom, which is the municipal life, the dense life with full potential, is measured by /14/ very slight durations. We shall see, in fact: the intercalary spaces correspond to other rhythms, entablatures separating the valleys, rounded summits, and, with

/130 cont./

114 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above
121 all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the
789 "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered
171 according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

/130 cont./

805
171

/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

221
527
[196]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128

Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte a[illegible]ris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
619 doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gâir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

619
174
175

Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more profound than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of
771 saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

/133 cont./

22 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
24 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides Ighechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lâncrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now pota-
toes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
82 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to
784 take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the
778 timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the
sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his
[821] whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve ex-
571 pression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and
[602] nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

• [823]

3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/14 cont./

184 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure
804 is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

487 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1]
484 and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which
804 will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These durations, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the
● 823 bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

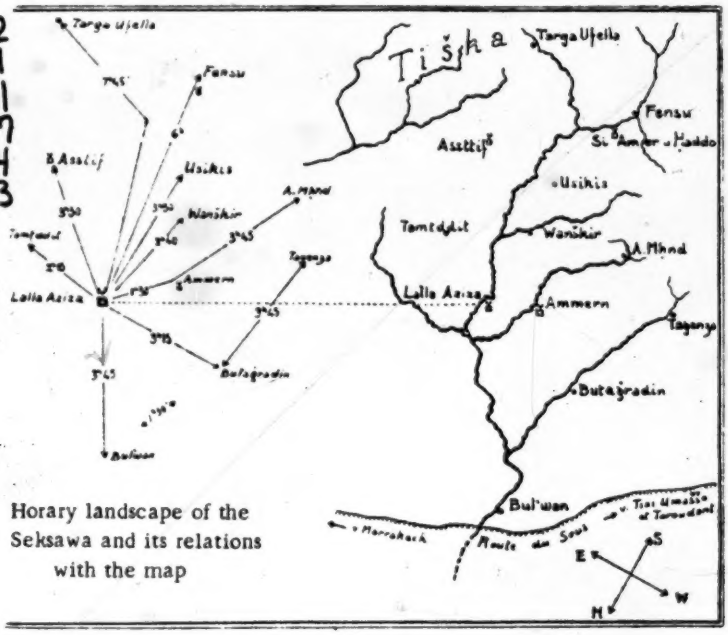
1, [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.

823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

"cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
823 not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construc-
312 tion of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu
423 waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner
[823] of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'-umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter ŝbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

/239 cont./

776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
823 (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
776 source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old
823 black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them
[778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he
[675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mḥ'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

/250 cont./

823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seizè if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles
[823] the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

796
782
182
783
171

1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkrim who,
again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laftf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 114 /I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the 824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart [856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer 122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 124 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

137 [241] [824] /22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anâghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laftf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/380 cont./

671
212

/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[764]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakarn, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

"cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
823 not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construc-
312 tion of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough vis-
778 age, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825]
[171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
Jait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkrim who,
825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/50 cont./

771 entirely; in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
178 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
562 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
789 regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

But a
595 /35 cont./ contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Besseba^c, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle.

175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 [829] Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis. But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166

/footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1908, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamés, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 829 [634] [521] They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

/169 cont./

245 476 829 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

[624] "The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

[613] "The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 476 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the analytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual [613] distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
121 these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxical-
[191] ly far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the mucha^c of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

423 /230 cont./
613 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
184 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It
[177] governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ^c. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," Ikraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an intemal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
619 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
121 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude
171 of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671
[829] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[184] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but sim-
ply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
*829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
•829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1).
128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

•829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

*631
*634
619

/169 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ one would have seen a new confederation rise, which could have taken the name of Ait Haddiyous and whose aspect would doubtless not have differed much from the group of the Ida Ou Tanan.

XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- /170/ It is easy for us to see at present the relative importance of the various social groups whose presence we observe in the Sous.

The confederations appear to us as true states only by exception or in short periods of their existence; they most often have no activity other than that of the weaker units that compose them. The tribes, too, for the most part, are only inert masses of separate cantons. It seems that the most important groups are customarily only geographic and historic cadres, within which the life of the smaller units that form them is organized to their liking, according to the particular convenience of each of them.

In a word, it is a small state of a few square kilometers that, in the eyes of the montagnard, is the true fatherland. Tribe, confederation have limits too vast for the play of his passions and ambitions. The profitable organization of a great command, the attraction of distant expeditions into the rich conquered plains of the North or the irrigated valleys of the South, the strength of the spirit of holy war or the love of independence, sometimes threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/, are necessary for the mind of the Berbère /Berber/ to rise for a moment to the idea of associations more extensive than those of the 20 families of his native country. He still keeps in his heart, in these grand circumstances, one feeling stronger than all the others: the love of his "taqbilt" of origin, defined by its territory, its institutions, its alliances, and its internal hatreds. If there should occur a weakening of the bond that has united the mountain cantons for a time, the bloc breaks up anew, and each one again finds, without surprise as well as without regret, the narrow and familiar cadre of his valley.

[829]

/383 cont./

*631 648 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 648 •829 619 661 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid himself who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the transformation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 648 661

*631 *634 602 661 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 661 602 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin, while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/234 cont./
621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*631 nocturnal dances (2).
796
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/251 cont./

443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
•834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203
R
[681]

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

1: Berque--652 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

1: Berque--650 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. V

142
222
291
292
301
302
415
462
854
857

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract. [241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [634] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1). [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the [231] periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant; with the sacrifice to the saints, [675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIIIe siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

695
212 /329 cont./
[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istir^{c}â'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] The rural scribe, t't'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently culti-
[875] vates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same
[794] time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

597 671 [428] /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 671 [881] The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator. Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 421 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 421 175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Aluş, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.